

# 美國讀本：感動了整個國家的文字 (The American Reader)

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| 關於宣戰對國會的演講 (War Message to Congress)                   | 佛蘭克林.德拉諾.羅斯頓<br>(Franklin Delano Roosevelt) |
| 伊斯塞的詩 (Poems of the Issei)                             |   |
| 陸軍航空兵 (The Army Air Corps)                             | 羅伯特 . 克羅福德<br>(Robert Crawford)             |
| 讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥<br>(Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition) | 弗蘭克.洛埃瑟 (Frank Loesser)                     |
| 自由的精神 (The Spirit of Liberty)                          | 勒尼德.漢德 (Learned Hand)                       |
| 為一名士兵唱的輓歌 (Elegy for a Dead Soldier)                   | 卡爾.夏皮羅 (Karl Shapiro)                       |
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| <p>第二次世界大戰大後</p> <p>After World War II</p>                   |                                    |
| 巴魯克關於控制原子能的方案 (The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy) | 伯納德.巴魯克 (Bernard Baruch)           |
| 聽證會演說 (Confirmation Hearings)                                | 戴維.利連撒爾 (David Lilienthal)         |
| 爭取民權 (A Plea for Civil Rights)                               | 休伯特.漢弗萊 (Hubert Humphrey)          |
| 就職演說 (Inaugural Address)                                     | 哈里.S.杜魯門 (Harry S. Truman)         |
| 良心宣言 (Declaration of Conscience)                             | 瑪格麗特.蔡斯.史密斯 (Margaret Chase Smith) |
| 沉默的一代 (The Silent Generation)                                | 路易斯.辛普森 (Louis Simpson)            |
| 《在美國的流亡者》和《哈萊姆》 (Refugee in America) and (Harlem)            | 蘭斯頓.休斯 (Langston Hughes)           |
| 布朗訴教育局案 (Brown v. Board of Education)                        |                                    |
| 告別演說 (Farewell Address)                                      | 德懷特.D.艾森豪威爾 (Dwight D. Eisenhower) |

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| 母親 (The Mother)                                    | 格溫多琳·布魯克斯 (Gwendolyn Brooks)         |
| 它就會是個極好的世界 (It Could Be a Wonderful World)         | 海·札雷特，盧·辛格 (Hy Zaret and Lou Singer) |
|  |                                      |
| 動盪不安的時期<br>Troubled Times                          |                                      |
| 就職演說 (Inaugural Address)                           | 約翰·F.甘迺迪 (John F. Kennedy)           |
| 那些花都到哪兒去啦 (Where Have All the Flowers Gone)        | 皮特·西格 (Pete Seeger)                  |
| 對廣播業的講話 (Address to the Broadcasting Industry)     | 牛頓·邁諾 (Newton Minow)                 |
| 休倫港宣言 (Huron Statement)                            | 湯姆·海登 (Tom Hayden)                   |
| 昨夜我做了個最奇怪的夢 (Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream) | 埃德·麥克迪 (Ed McCurdy)                  |
| 寂靜的春天 (Silent Spring)                              | 雷切爾·卡森 (Rachel Carson)               |
| 從伯明罕市監獄發出的信 (Letter from Birmingham City Jail)     | 小馬丁·路德·金 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)   |

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| 在柏林牆邊的演說 (Speech at the Berlin Wall)        | 約翰.F.甘迺迪 (John F. Kennedy)            |
| 向華盛頓進軍演說詞 (The March on Washington Address) | 小馬丁.路德.金 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)    |
| 我們一定會勝利 (We Shall Overcome)                 |                                       |
| 啊，自由 (O Freedom)                            |                                       |
| 假如我有一把鐵錘 (If I had a Hammer)                | 李.海斯，皮特.西格 (Lee Hays and Pete Seeger) |
| 在風中吹響 (Blowin' in the Wind)                 | 鮑勃.戴倫 (Bob Dylan)                     |
| 伯明罕民歌 (Ballad of Birmingham)                | 達德利.蘭德爾 (Dudley Randall)              |
| 女性的奧秘 (The Feminine Mystique)               | 貝蒂.弗萊頓 (Betty Friedman)               |
| 小盒子(Little Boxes)                           | 馬爾維納.雷諾爾茲 (Malvina Reynolds)          |
| 在霍華德大學的演說 (The Howard University Address)   | 林頓.B.約翰遜 (Lyndon B. Johnson)          |
| 我是喬昆 (I Am Joaquin)                         | 羅道爾佛.岡薩雷斯 (Rodolfo Gonzales)          |
| 反對越南戰爭 (Against the War in Vietnam)         | 羅伯特.F.甘迺迪 (Robert F.Kennedy)          |
| 關於小馬丁.路德.金之死 (On the Death of               | 羅伯特.F.甘迺迪                             |

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| Martin Luther King, Jr.)  | (Robert F.Kennedy)                             |
| 愚蠢的美國 (Stupid America)  | 阿貝拉多．德爾嘎多<br>(Abelardo Delgado)                |
| 保留自然環境的想法 (The Wilderness Idea)                                     | 華萊士．斯泰格納<br>(Wallace Stegner)                  |
| 難民船 (Refugee Ship)  | 羅娜．迪．塞萬提斯<br>(Lorna Dee Cervantes)             |
|   |  |
| <p>當 代</p> <p>Contemporary Times</p>                                |  |
| 內玎坐在她鄰居的門戶階上休息 (Nadine, resting on her neighbor's stoop)            | 朱迪．格倫 (Judy Grahn)                             |
| 晚安，威利．李，我明早見你 (Good Night, Willie Lee, I'll See You in the Morning) | 艾莉斯．沃克 (Alice Walker)                          |
| 由街道組成的城市 (A City of Neighborhoods)                                  | 哈維．米爾克 (Harvey Milk)                           |
| 自由選擇 (Free to Choose)   | 米爾頓．弗萊德曼，羅斯．弗萊德曼<br>(Milton and Rose Friedman) |
| 處於危險中的國家 (A Nation at Risk)   |  |

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| 在伊朗一反對派問題聽證會上的講話 (The Iran-Contra Hearings)                 | 喬治.J.米切爾 (George J. Mitchell)     |
| 在莫斯科國立大學的演說 (Speech at Moscow State University)             | 羅納德.雷根 (Ronald Reagan)            |
| 在民主黨全國大會上的演說 (Speech to the Democratic National Convention) | 傑西.傑克遜 (Jesse Jackson)            |
| 美國人(AmeRican)   | 塔托.拉伐厄熱 (Tato Laviera)            |
| 美國的觀念(The American Idea)                                    | 西奧多.H.懷特(白修德) (Theodore H. White) |
|   |                                   |

「五月花號」 公約

### The Mayflower Compact

在船上簽署公約

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我們這些簽署人，在上帝面前共同莊嚴立誓簽約，自願結為一民眾自治團體。

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美州殖民始於一種思想，這思想就是一個社會裏的公民可以自由結合併同意通過制定對大家都有益的法律來管理自己。

1620 年 11 月 11 日，經過在海上六十六天的漂泊之後，「五月花號」大帆船向陸地靠近。船上有一百零二名乘客。他們的目的地本是哈德遜河口地區，但由於海上風浪險惡，他們錯過了目標，於是就在現在的科德角外普羅溫斯頓港拋錨。由於那時已是深秋，他們決定就在那兒登陸而不繼續航行。而且由於他們不再是到一塊他們持有執照的領地上，為了建立一個大家都能受到約束的自

治基礎，他們在上岸之前簽訂了一份公約。

這些乘客中約三分之一的人是英國分離主義教會的成員，他們早先曾逃到荷蘭的萊登去尋求宗教自由。後來這一批英國殖民者全都被稱為朝聖者。他們曾與倫敦的維吉尼亞殖民公司談判達成一項協定，即維吉尼亞殖民公司授權他們在該公司遼闊的土地上任選一塊地方定居並管理自己。

四十一名男乘客在船上簽了這份公約。在這份後來被稱為《「五月花號」公約》的文件裏，簽署人立誓創立一個自治團體，這個團體是基於被管理者的同意而成立的，而且將依法而治。

這份公約是由「五月花號」船上的每一個家長，每一個成年單身男子和大多數僱傭的男所簽署的。不論是分離主義的教徒還是非分離主義的教徒都參加了簽署。由於婦女那時沒有政治權利，所以沒有請她們簽署。

聖誕後一天，一百零二名定居者在現在的馬薩諸塞州的普利茅斯上岸。那些參加簽約的人組成了普利茅斯殖民地的自治體，這個自治體具有選舉官員、通過法律和吸收新的投票委員的權力。那年 11 月 1 日，在下錨於荒涼的海港的一條船上所達成的公約為在新大陸上建立自治和法治打下了基礎。

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以上帝的名義，阿門。我們這些簽署人是蒙上帝保佑的大不列顛、法蘭西和愛爾蘭的國王——信仰和教會的捍衛者詹姆斯國王陛下的忠順臣民。

為了上帝的榮耀，為了增強基督教信仰，為了提高我們國王和國家的榮譽，我們漂洋過海，在維吉尼亞北部開發第一個殖民地。我們在上帝面前共同立誓簽約，自願結為一民眾自治團體。為了使上述目的能得到更好地實施、維護和發展，將來不時依此而制定頒佈的被認為是對這個殖民地全體人民都最適合、最方便的法律、法規、條令、憲章和公職，我們都保證遵守和服從。

據此於主後 1620 年 11 月 11 日，於英格蘭、法蘭西、愛爾蘭第十八世國王暨蘇格蘭第五十四世國王詹姆斯陛下在位之年，我們在科德角簽名如下。

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### **The Mayflower Compact**

In the name of God Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace

of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

班哲明.富蘭克林

(BENJAMIN FRANKLIN)

窮理查年鑑

**Poor Richard's Almanack**

班哲明.富蘭克林(1706－1790)是有史以來最傑出的美國人之一。他是作家、印刷商、政治家、外交家、教育家、發明家、哲學家、幽默大師、企業家、店主、公民領袖、科學家、自學成才者、公務員、民族英雄，富蘭克林嘗試了各種事業並在所有這些方面都取得輝煌的成就。他作的年鑑是作為一個虛構的理查.桑德斯(因此叫"窮理查")的著作從 1733－1758 年在費城年年發表。這些年鑑在殖民地居民中極受歡迎。典型的年鑑包含有日曆、天氣預測，忠告、食譜以及其他許多有用的知識。窮理查的諺語、格言和箴言有的是他自己創作的，



有的不是。它們使富蘭克林實用、寬容和今人快活的妙語和哲學得到傳播普及。  
以下是“窮理查”幾百條諺語和評論中選出的格言。

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窮人幾乎沒有，乞丐一無所有，富人擁有太多，沒人會說夠了。

與狗一起躺下的人，起來時滿身跳蚤。

唯人與瓜難知。

請聽又窮又破的理查一句話，

凡以憤怒開始的事必以恥辱告終。

凡不勤勉的人，決不會有榮譽。

勤則萬事易，懶則萬事難。

要想說服人家，應曉之以利，而非以理。

教你孩子緘默，他很快就學會說話。

不能服從的人，就不能指揮。

法官應服從法律，人民應服從法官。

守株待兔者，美餐無保證。

有知識的傻瓜比沒知識的傻瓜更糟。

你把商店管好，商店管你吃飽。

如果三人之中兩人死了，那秘密就可能守住。

早睡早起身，富裕、聰明又健身。

對上級謙恭是職責，對平輩謙恭是禮貌，對下級謙恭是高尚。

如果你知道如何支出少於收入，你就有了點金術。

訪客和魚三天都會發臭。

凡親屬中沒有傻瓜、娼妓和乞丐的人必非凡人。

勤勉乃幸運之母。

凡靠希望過日子的人，將會絕糧而死。

不要幹你本來不知道的事。

財富不屬於擁有它的人，而屬於享受它的人。

有牛又有羊，人人對我點頭忙。

天助自助者。

如果你自家的窗戶是玻璃的，就不要向鄰居扔石頭。

暴力在道理背上拉屎。

債主的記憶力比債戶強。

上帝醫治，醫生收費。

就是在最威嚴的王位上的最偉大的君主也必須坐在自己的屁股上。

通向榮譽的快捷方式是把為榮譽而幹的事當作為良心而幹。

世上最高尚的問題是：我能做什麼有益的事。

若要在死後屍骨腐爛時不被人忘記，

要寫出值得人讀的東西，要做些值得人寫的事。

不要出賣道德去買財富，

也不要出賣自由去買權力。

古人告訴我們什麼是最好的，

但我們應該知道什麼是現代人最合適的。

你要管理事務，別讓事務管理你。

一年根除一惡習，惡棍也能成好人。

若對小錯誤視而不見，那你就會犯大錯。

吃乃快活自家，穿是取悅人家。

工作未完就付錢，兩分錢只值一分錢。

歷史學家講他們信以為真的事多於講史實。

讓你小孩先學會服從，其次才學你要他學的東西。

什麼都不想的人最幸福，因為他從不失望。

如果你損害良心，良心就會向你報復。

不要聽朋友的壞話，也不要說敵人的壞話。

把你欠的還掉，你就知道什麼是你的。

不要把你知道的一切，你欠的一切，你擁有的一切

你所能做的一切都向人公佈。

每個民族都有足夠的勇氣忍受其他民族造成的痛苦，

同時也有足夠的勇氣寬恕其他民族。

歷史無趣的國家是幸福的，

歷史無趣的時代是幸運的。

狼只是偶爾吃羊，

而人卻吃了千萬隻羊。

人的舌頭既軟又沒骨，

可用它可敲斷人的脊樑骨。

若怕幹壞事，別的就都不用怕了。

借錢給一個敵人，你會贏得他。

借錢給一個朋友，你會失去他。

論學技巧：自學的人是拿傻瓜當師傅。

讓你的不滿成為你的秘密，——如果讓世人知道了，他們會看不起你，而且會增加你的不滿。

二十歲意氣用事，三十歲機智處事，四十歲斷事不惑。

一藝在身，勝如田莊在手。

明天要做的事今天就做。

人每天都在變，憑感覺的事是不是也和無影無蹤的事一樣不可靠。

說起任何人都不可用輕蔑的語氣，無論他是國王還是奴隸。只有最毒的蜂才會用刺。

說話尖刻交不了朋友；一勺蜜要比一加侖醋能抓住更多蒼蠅。

急事緩辦。

注意小筆開支，小漏將會沈大船。

沒有辛苦就沒有收穫。

許多人抱怨自己記性不佳，幾乎沒人說自己判斷力差。

井乾方知泉水貴。

人人都要有良知。有良知的人寥寥無幾，沒人認為他們缺乏良知。

暗地裏還敬重好人的不算壞。

好的榜樣就是最好的說教。

不聽勸告的人，沒法幫助他。

一群烏合之眾就像一個怪物，頭長得很多就是沒腦筋。

傻瓜的日子是泡在酒裏，

智者的生活放在思考裏。

酒不能消愁，只能澆愁，而且使愁上加愁。

天才不受教育就像是埋在礦裏的銀子。

一點一點砍，也能砍下一棵大橡樹。

如果不知道事物的本質，光知道名字有何意義？

玻璃、陶瓷和名譽都很容易破裂，而且永遠無法彌補。

黃金時代永遠不是現在的時代。

老少都有自己的玩物，只是價格不同而已。

倉促造成浪費。

鄰居可相愛，籬笆不能拆。

小孩以為二十先令總花不完，二十年總過不完。

無知不為恥，不想學才可恥。

一個今天等於兩個明天。

工作時就像你會活到一百歲似的，

祈禱時就像你明天就要死似的。

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## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

### Poor Richard's Almanack

The poor have little, beggars none, the rich too much, **enough** not one.

He that lies down with Dogs, shall rise up with fleas.

Men and melons are hard to know.

Take this remark from Richard poor and lame. Whate'er's begun in anger ends in sham.

No man e'er was glorious, who was not laborious.

**All** things are easy to Industry.

**All** things are difficult to **sloth**

Would you persuade, speak of Interest, not Reason.

Teach your child to hold his tongue, he'll learn fast enough to speak.

He that cannot obey, cannot command.

The magistrate should obey the Laws, the people should obey the magistrate.

He that waits upon a Fortune, is never sure of a Dinner.

A learned blockhead is a greater blockhead than an ignorant one.

Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee.

Three may keep a secret if two of them are dead.

Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy wealthy and wise.

To be humble to Superiors is Duty, to Equals Courtesy, to Inferiors Nobleness.

If you know how to spend less than you get, you have the Philosophers Stone.

Fish & Visitors stink in 3 days.

He that has neither fools, whores nor beggars among his kindred, is the son of a thunder gust.

Diligence is the Mother of Good Luck.

He that lives upon Hope, dies farting.

Do not do that which you would not have known.

Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it.

Now I've a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good morrow.

God helps them that help themselves.

Don't throw stones at your neighbours, if you own windows are glass.

Force shites upon Reason's Back

Creditors have better memories than debtors.

God heals, and the Doctor takes the Fees.

The greatest monarch on the proudest throne, is oblig'd to sit upon his own arse.

The nearest way to come at glory, is to do that for conscience which we do for glory.

The noblest question in the world is, **what good may I do in it.**

If you wou'd not be forgotten

as soon as you are dead and rotten,

Either write things worth reading.

or do things worth the writing.

Sell not virtue to purchase wealth, not Liberty to purchase power.

The ancients tell us what is best; but we must learn of the moderns what is fittest.

Drive thy Business, let not that drive thee.

Each year one vicious habit rooted out, In Time might make the worst Man good throughout.

Wink at small faults; remember thou has great ones.

Eat to please thyself, but dress to please others.

He that pays for Work before it's done, has but a pennyworth for twopence.

Historians relate, not so much what is done, as what they would have believed.

Let thy Child's first lesson be Obedience, and the second may be what thou wilt.

Blessed is he that expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed.

If thou injurest Conscience, it will have its Revenge on thee.

Hear no ill of a Friend, nor speak any of an Enemy.

Pay what you owe, and you'll know what's your own.

Proclaim not all thou knowest, all thou owest, all thou hast, nor all thou canst.

To bear other Peoples Afflictions, every one has Courage enough,

and to spare.

Happy that nation, fortunate that age, whose history is not diverting.

A wolf eats sheep but now and then,

Ten Thousands are devour'd by Men.

Man's tongue is soft, and bone doth lack;

Yet a stroke therewith may break a man's back.

Fear to do ill, and you need fear nought else.

Lend money to an Enemy, and thou'lt gain him, to a Friend and thou'lt lose him.

Learn of the skilful; He that teaches himself hath a fool for his master.

Let thy discontents be thy Secrets; --if the world knows them, 'twill despise **thee** and increase **them**.

At 20 years of age the Will reigns; at 30 the Wit; at 40 the Judgment.

He that hath a Trade, hath an Estate.

Have you somewhat to do to-morrow; do it to-day.

Men differ daily, about things which are subject to Sense, is it likely then they should agree about things invisible.

Speak with contempt of none, from slave to king.

The meanest Bee bath, and will use, a sting.

Tart Words make no Friends; a spoonful of honey will catch more flies than a Gallon of Winegar.

Make haste slowly.

Beware of little Expences, a small Leak will sink a great ship.

No gains without pains.

Many complain of their Memory, few of their judgment.

When the Well's dry, we know the Worth of Water.

Good Sense is a Thing all need, few have, and none think they want.  
There is no Man so bad, but he secretly respects the Good.  
A good example is the best sermon.  
He that won't be counsell'd, can't be help'd.  
A Mob's a Monster; Heads enough, but no Brains.  
Life with Fools consists in Drinking;  
With the wise Man, Living's Thinking.  
Drink does not drown **Care**, but waters it, and makes it grow faster.  
Genius without education is like Silver in the Mine.  
Little Strokes,  
Fell great Oaks  
What signifies knowing the Names, if you know not the Nature of  
Things.  
Glass, China, and Reputation, are easily crack'd and never well  
mended.  
The Golden Age never was the present Age.  
Old Boys have their Playthings as well as young Ones; the  
Difference is only in the Price.  
Haste makes Waste.  
Love your Neighbour; yet don't pull down your Hedge.  
A Child thinks 20 **Shillings** and 20 Years can scarce ever be spent.  
Being ignorant is not so much a Shame, as being unwilling to learn.  
One **To-day** is worth two **To-Morrows**.  
Work as if you were to live 100 years,  
Pray as if you were to die To-morrow.

安德魯·漢密爾頓

(ANDREW HAMILTON)

為出版自由辨護



## Defense of Freedom of the Press

對於一個思想高尚的人，失去自由，不如死。

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1733 年，約翰·彼得·曾格開始出版《紐約週刊》。這本雜誌批評了殖民總督的政策。一年後，曾格因煽動性誹謗罪被捕，在獄中受了十個月的折磨，直至 1735 年 8 月對他審判為止。他的律師安德魯·漢密爾頓辯護說，曾格在雜誌上發表的文章不可能是誹謗性的，因為文章裏說的都是真的。他還進一步堅持說，根據已經確定的先例，應當由陪審團而不是由法官來決定印刷文字的真實性。陪審員會被漢密爾頓說服了，認為對皇家總督的指責是真實的，宣告曾格無罪，這是在英國殖民地上出版自由的重大勝利。

在審判曾格的時候，安德魯·漢密爾頓(約 1676-1741)是殖民地著名的律師之一。他出生於蘇格蘭，1770 年前不久，他作一個契約僕人移民到佛吉尼亞。他教過書，後經學習考取律師資格，在馬里蘭州議會下院工作。在倫敦學習法律以後，他定居在費城，在那兒他成為一個傑出的律師。

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閣下，我同意檢查官先生(理查德·布拉德利)關於政府是神聖的說法。但是，如果他想暗示受壞政府折磨的幾個人的正當抱怨就是在誹謗那個政府，我的意見就和他大相逕庭。要是我相信那應當成為法律，那我就不會勞駕法庭來聽證我在這樁訟事中所說的一切...

不僅在宗教方面而且在法律方面也有異端邪說，而兩者都已產生了很大變化。我們很清楚一個人因為在宗教問題上持像今天這樣公開寫出和印出的意見而被當作持異端邪說者燒死的現象不是兩個世紀前才有的。看來他們都是有過失的人。我們不僅冒昧在宗教觀點上與他們不同而且還譴責他們以及他們的觀點。我必須假定我們這樣自由地思考和談論信仰或宗教問題是正確的。因為，儘管據說在紐約人們對這類問題十分放肆，可我還沒有聽說過檢查官先生曾對這類違法問提出過起訴的情況。由此我想事情很明白，在紐約一個人可以對上帝很隨便，但他必須特別注意他講到總督的話。大家都同意這是一個自由的時代。當人們保持在事實這個界限之內時，我希望他們在談論和寫到對當權者品行的意見時，應當有安全保障。我是指僅僅影響到在他管轄之下的人民的自由

或財產的那部分品行。如果這種保障都沒有，那麼下一步就是要把人民變成奴隸。人們遭受了最大的傷害和壓迫還不能隨便抱怨，或者說如果敢抱怨，他們的身體和財產就會因此被摧毀。如果這種折磨不是奴役，那還有什麼國家才能保持奴隸制呢？

據說，而且檢查官先生也堅持認為，政府是神聖的，政府應得到支援和尊重；政府保護了我們的人身和財產；政府防止了叛國、兇殺、搶劫、暴亂，及所有推翻王國和國家，毀滅個人的一系列罪惡的發生。他認為如果政府官員，尤其是最高長官，都得讓他們的品行受到私人的責難，那政府就無法存在。這就叫無法無天，是不能忍受的。據說這會使統治者受到蔑視，因此他們的權威就得不到尊重，結果使法律得不到執行。這些，我說，以及諸如此類的說法是當權者及其擁護者堅持要談的一般題目。但我希望你們會同時考慮到，濫用權力是造成這些罪惡的主要原因，這是經常發生的。而且正是這些大人物的不公正和壓迫常常使他們受到人民的蔑視。儘管這種人權術高超，但是就是最不熟悉歷史或法律的人，誰還會不知道這種當權者常用的表面偽裝，誰不知道他們利用這種偽裝進行專制統治並被破壞自由人民的自由.....

如果誹謗是像檢查官先生極力主張的那樣是在廣泛而無限的意義上來理解，那麼就我所知幾乎沒有什麼文章可以不被稱為誹謗，或幾乎沒有什麼人可以不被責為誹謗者。因為，儘管摩西很謙和，但他還是誹謗了該隱，而又有誰沒有誹謗過魔鬼呢？根據檢查官先生的意見，說一個人名聲不好是不正當的。那麼伊查德就誹謗了我們的好國王威廉；伯內特在其他許多人中誹謗了查爾斯國王和詹姆斯國王；拉賓還誹謗他們所有的人。一個人應當怎麼說或怎麼寫，或他應寫聽什麼，讀什麼，或唱什麼？或者他應當什麼時候笑，以便不至於被當作誹謗者逮捕？我誠信，要是現在有幾個人走過紐約街道並讀出一段聖經，如果人們不知道這是聖經中的一段話，那麼檢查官先生借助他的註釋技巧，就很容易將這段話說成是誹謗。例如《以賽亞書》十一章第十六節："人民的領袖使他們誤入歧途，這些受他們領導的人被摧毀了。"但如果律師先生想把這句話當作誹謗，他就會這樣來讀這個句子："人民的領袖"(暗指紐約的總督和市議會)"使他們"(暗指這個省的人民)"誤入歧途"和"他們"(指總督和市議會)"被摧毀"(暗指被欺騙而失去他們的自由)"這是最壞的一種破壞"。或者，如果某人以

一種令他的上司不快的方式公開重覆同一本書中五十六章的第十和第十一節，那麼檢查官先生在巧妙運用他的註釋本領方面就有發揮他技巧的廣闊天地。這些話是："他的看守人是瞎眼的，都是無知的。"等等。"的確，它們都是貪食的狗，從不知飽足。"但是要把這些話當作誹謗，根據檢查官先生的教條，只要借助他正確採用註釋的技巧，別的什麼都不需要了.....

對於一個高尚的人，失去自由，不如死。可是我們知道在各個時代都有那麼一些人，為了晉陞或虛榮，就隨便幫助人壓迫，不，來摧毀他們的國家。這使我想起不朽的布魯特斯說的話，當他看著凱撒的那些人——這些人都是大人物，但決不是好人——時，他說："你們羅馬人、如果我還能這麼稱呼你們的話，那麼你們想一想你們在幹什麼。記住，你們正在幫助凱撒打造鎖鏈，正是這些鎖鏈，他有一天會強迫你們戴上的。"這是每一個珍惜自由的人所應當考慮的問題。他應當憑自己的判斷行事，而不是憑感情或私利行事。因為在感情和私利佔上風時，就不會考慮到國家和親屬的關係。正如在另一方面，一個熱愛自己國家的人，寧可一切都不考慮，也要國家的自由，因為他很清楚，沒有自由，生活是痛苦的.....

權力可正確地比作是一條大河，當河水保持在河界之內時，既美麗又有用，但是，當河水溢出河岸，那就變成奔騰的激流，無法抑制，它會摧毀一切，無論流到哪裡，都會造成破壞和荒涼。那麼，如果權力的性質是如此，讓我們至少盡我們的職責，做個珍惜自由的聰明人，用我們最大的關心去支援自由。自由是反對濫用權力的唯一堡壘。在各個時代，濫用權力都是以最優秀的人的血為代價換取其野性的慾望和無窮的野心。先生，我希望能原諒我在這種場合所表現的衝動。"鄰居失火時，我們得注意自己的房子。"這是一個古老而明智的警告。因為，雖然托上帝的福，我生活在一個自由能被理解並自由享受的政府裏，可是經驗已經向我們大家表明(我確信經驗已經向我表明)一個政府裏的一個壞先例，很快就會在另一個政府裏建立起權威。因此，我只能認為當我們對當權者作出應有的服從時，我們同時應當警惕權力在我們擔心的任何地方可能影響我們自己或我們的同胞，這是我的責任，也是每一個誠實的人的責任。

由於多種原因，我實在是無法勝任這樣一種工作。你們看到我是在多年的重壓下工作的，而且被身體的虛弱所壓垮。可是儘管我又老又弱，我還是認為我有

責任，在需要我的時候，去最邊遠的地方，用我的服務去幫助熄滅對新聞報道起訴的火焰。這是由政府發起的，其目的是要剝奪人民抗辯和抗議當權者專制企圖的權利。那些傷害和壓迫管轄下的人民的人激起了人民的吶喊和抗議，接著又把這種抗議當作新的鎮壓和起訴的基礎。我希望我能說不存在這樣的例子。但是，總而言之，擺在法庭面前的問題，還有你們，陪審團的先生們面前的問題，既不是小問題，也不是私人問題。你們現在審判的不是一個窮印刷工的訟事，也不光是紐約的訟事。不！就其後果，這將影響到美洲大陸在英國政府統治下的每一個自由人。這是一樁最好的訟事。這是自由的訟事。我毫不懷疑，今天你們的正直行為將不僅會使你們受到同胞的愛戴和尊敬，而且每一個熱愛自由、不願過奴隸生活的人，都將祝福你們，給你們以榮譽，把你們看作是阻撓了暴君企圖的人。你們以公正、清明的判決，為保證我們自己、我們的後代和同胞得到自由打下了崇高的基礎。這種自由是上天和我們國家的法律所賦予我們的權利，是以說真話、寫真話來揭露和反對專制權力(至少在世界上的這些地方)的自由.....

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#### Defense of Freedom of the Press

May it please your honors, I agree with Mr. Attorney [Richard Bradley] that government is a sacred thing, but I differ very widely from him when he would insinuate that the just complaints of a number of men, who suffer under a bad administration, is libeling that administration. Had I believed that to be law, I should not have given the court the trouble of hearing anything that I could say in this cause. . . .

There is heresy in law as well as in religion, and both have changed very much; and we well know that it is not two centuries ago that a man would have burned as a heretic for owning such opinions in matters of religion as are publicly written and printed at this day. They were fallible men, it seems, and we take the liberty, not only to differ from them in religious opinion, but to condemn them and their

opinions too; and I must presume that in taking these freedoms in thinking and speaking about matters of faith or religion, we are in the right; for, though it is said there are very great liberties of this kind taken in New York, yet I have heard of no information preferred by Mr. Attorney for any offenses of this sort. From which I think it is pretty clear that in New York a man may make very free with his God, but he must take special care what he says of his Governor. It is agreed upon by all men that this is a reign of liberty, and while men keep within the bounds of truth, i hope they may with safety both speak and write their sentiments of the conduct of men of power; I mean of that part of their conduct only which affects the liberty or property of the people under their administration; were this to be denied, then the next step may make them slaves. For what notions can be entertained of slavery beyond that of suffering the greatest injuries and oppressions without the liberty of complaining; or if they do, to be destroyed, body and estate, for so doing.

It is said, and insisted upon by Mr. Attorney, that government is a sacred thing; that it is to be supported and revered; it is government that protects our persons and estates; that prevents treasons, murders, robberies, riots, and all the train of evils that overturn kingdoms and states and ruin particular persons; and if those in the administration, especially the supreme magistrates, must have all their conduct censured by private men, government cannot subsist. This is called a licentiousness not to be tolerated. It is said that it brings the rulers of the people into contempt so that their authority is not regarded, and so that in the end the laws cannot be put in execution. These, I say, and such as these, are the general topics insisted upon by men in power and their advocates.

But I wish it might be considered at the same time how often it has happened that the abuse of power has been the primary cause of these evils, and that it was the injustice and oppression of these great men which has commonly brought them into contempt with the people. The craft and art of such men are great, and who that is the least acquainted with history or with law can be ignorant of the specious pretenses which have often been made use of by men in power to introduce arbitrary rule and destroy the liberties of a free people....

If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any person safe from being called to account as a libeler, for Moses, meek as he was, libeled Cain; and who is it that has not libeled the devil. For, according to Mr. Attorney, it is no justification to say one has a bad name. Eachard has libeled our good King William; Burnet has libeled, among many others, King Charles and King James; and Rapin has libeled them all. How must a man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing. Or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being taken up as a libeler. I sincerely believe that were some persons to go through the streets of New York nowadays and read a part of the Bible, if it were not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of his innuendoes, would easily turn it into a libel. As for instance: Isaiah 11:16: "The leaders of the people cause them to err, and they that are led by them are destroyed." But should Mr. Attorney go about to make this a libel, he would read it thus: "The leaders of the people" (innuendo, the Governor and council of New York) "cause them" (innuendo, the people of this province) "to err, and they" (the Governor and council meaning) "are destroyed" (innuendo, are deceived into the loss of

their liberty), "which is the worst kind of destruction." Or if some person should publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters, the tenth and the eleventh verses of the fifty-sixth chapter of the same book, there Mr. Attorney would have a large field to display his skill in the artful application of his innuendoes. The words are: "His watchmen are blind, they are ignorant," etc. "Yea, they are greedy dogs, they can never have enough." But to make them a libel, there is, according to Mr. Attorney's doctrine, no more wanting but the aid of his skill in the right adapting his innuendoes. . . .

The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death; and yet we know there have been those in all ages who, for the sakes of preferment or some imaginary honor, have freely lent a helping hand to oppress, nay, to destroy, their country. This brings to my mind that saying of the immortal Brutus, when he looked upon the creatures of Caesar, who were very great men, but by no means good men: "You Romans," said Brutus, "if yet I may call you so, consider what you are doing; remember that you are assisting Caesar to forge those very chains which one day he will make yourselves wear." This is what every man that values freedom ought to consider; he should act by judgment and not by affection or self-interest; for where those prevail, no ties of either country or kindred are regarded; as, upon the other hand, the man who loves his country prefers its liberty to all other considerations, well knowing that without liberty life is a misery. ...

Power may justly be compared to a great river; while kept within its bounds, it is both beautiful and useful, but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If, then, this be the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and,

like wise men who value freedom, use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which, in all ages, has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition the blood of the best men that ever lived.

I hope to be pardoned, sir, for my zeal upon this occasion. It is an old and wise caution that "when our neighbor's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own." For though, blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed, yet experience has shown us all (I am sure it has to me) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty that, while we pay all due obedience to men in authority, we ought, at the same time, to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow subjects.

I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking. on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations, set on foot by the government to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating, and complaining too, of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I -wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But, to conclude, the question before the court, and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor



printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! It may, in its consequence, affect every free man that lives under a British government on the main continent of America. It is the best cause; it is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizen, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and, by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right--the liberty of both exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least) by speaking and writing truth. . . .

詹姆斯.奧蒂斯

(JAMES OTIS)

限制搜查和扣押的要求

### **A Demand to Limit Search and Seizure**

一個人的住宅就是他的城堡，只要他安分守己，他在城堡裏就應當受到像王子一樣的保護。

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詹姆斯.奧蒂斯(1725－1783)於 1750 年在波士頓開始他的律師生涯。十年後，他成為國王在附屬海事法庭上的總辯護律師，那時英國政府授權海關官員可以在任何人的屋裏搜查走私物品。奧蒂斯不想監督執行這些命令，他辭掉職務，並於 1761 年 2 月在法庭辯論反對這些「搜查令狀」。由於那時沒有反對這些法令的法律依據，奧蒂斯雄辯地堅持說這些法令粗暴地踐踏了人民的自由。當時年僅二十五歲的約翰.亞當斯參加了這個訴訟程序，他後來寫道，奧蒂斯是「一團火焰！.....美國獨立就是在那個地方，那個時候誕生的；愛國者和英雄的種子就是在那個地方，那個時候播下的。反對大不列顛蠻橫無理的要

求的第一個行動就是在那個地方，那個時候發生的」。雖然奧蒂斯敗訴了，但英國政府撤回了「搜查令狀」。

這些事件之後，奧蒂斯成了一個主要的政治活動家。奧蒂斯於 1761 年 5 月被選入馬薩諸塞州議會，並於 1776 年被選作議長。然而該州皇家總督卻阻撓選擇他為議長。在許多年裏，他的演講和文章在殖民地廣為流傳。他的話經常被引用。在英國議會，他也經常遭到譴責。「徵稅而不准選舉代表是暴政。」這句話通常認為是他講的。1769 年，一個英國軍官在奧蒂斯頭部猛擊一拳，使他患了精神病，奧蒂斯的職業生涯就這樣突然中止了。

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閣下，本法庭一位法官要求我審閱這些卷宗，並考慮現在擺在他們面前的關於「搜查令狀」的問題。我已根據他的要求考慮了這個問題，現在出庭不僅是服從你們的命令，而且也代表本城居民，他們考慮到了這個問題所允許的權限，又提出一份申訴。我想借此機會宣佈，不論是收費還是不收費，（因為在這樣一樁訴訟案中，我是不屑收費的。）我至死也要以上帝賦予我的一切力量和才能，一方面反對一切這樣的製造奴役的文件，另一方面反對像這個「搜查令狀」這樣的卑劣行為。

在我看來，這是在一本英國法律檔案裏所能找到的表明專制權力的最壞的文件。這是對英國自由和法律根本原則的最嚴重的破壞。因此，我得請求閣下不僅要耐心注意聽完全部的辯論，也許這個辯論會在許多事情上出現與眾不同的看法，同時也要注意那些更細微更不同尋常的學術觀點。這樣，我的意圖的整個傾向就可以更容易被理解，結論就能更好地得出，而且其力量也會被更好地感覺到。在這樁訴訟案中我並不在

乎我個人所受的痛苦，因為我是為原則而參與這樁案子的。我是被懇請作為總辯護律師來為本案辯護的，由於我不想這麼做，我已被指控犯了擅離職守罪。對於這項指控，我可以作一個非常充分的答覆。我斷然拒絕那個職務。出於同樣的原則，我來為此案辯護。我是以極大的樂趣來為此案辯護的，因為這是在支援英國的自由。我曾聽到世上最偉大的君主宣佈說，他為不列顛人感到光榮，對他來說他的臣民的基本民權比他自己最寶貴的君主持權更珍貴。而且還因為這是在反對一種權力，在過去的歷史裏，行使這種權力曾使一個國王丟了腦袋，

另一個丟了王位.....

閣下將在關於治安法官職責的古老卷宗裏找到搜查涉嫌房屋的一般許可證的先例。但在更現代的卷宗裏，你只能找到搜查某間房子的特別許可狀。這許可狀是特別指名的，而且由原告事先宣誓懷疑他的東西被藏在這間屋裏。閣下將發現法律判定只有特別許可狀才是合法的。同樣地，我完全相信在這份申訴狀中所強烈請求取消的令狀，由於是一般的令狀，也是不合法的。這是一份將每個人的自由都交給一個小官吏的授權證書。我承認搜查特指的地方時，「搜查令狀」可以經宣誓授予某些人。但是，我決不認為現在請求取消的這個令狀可以授予某些人。在我轉而辯論議會其他法案之前，我請求允許我就這令狀本身談幾點看法。首先，這個令狀是適用於任何情況的，因為這是發給「每一個法官、司法官、巡警和所有其他警官和百姓」的，因此，簡單地說，這是發給王土之中每一個臣民的。有了這個令狀，每一個人都可能成為暴君。如果這個授權狀成為合法，那麼一個暴君也可以用合法的方式，在他管轄的區域內控制、監禁或殺害任何人。其次，這個令狀是永久的，不必送還法院。一個人不必為他做的事對任何人負責。每個人都可能獨霸一方，成為小小暴君，在他周圍製造恐怖和荒涼，直至天使長的喇叭在他的靈魂裏激起不同的感情為止。第三，有了這個令狀，一個人便可在光天化日之下隨意進入任何商店、房屋等，並命令所有的人來協助他。第四，根據這個令狀，不僅副警長等人，甚至他們的奴才都可以爬到我們頭上作威作福。除了讓我們確定無疑地遭到伽南的詛咒，成為僕人的僕人，成為上帝造物中最卑下的東西之外，這又算什麼呢。英國自由的最重要的一部分便是一個人的房屋的自由。一個人的房屋就是他的城堡，只要他安分守己，他在自己的城堡裏就應當受到像王子一樣的保護。這個令狀如被宣佈為合法，將完全破壞這種特權，海關官員只要他們高興，就可進入我們的房子。我們被命令要允許他們進入。他們的奴才也可以進入，也可以打掉鎖、柵欄，打掉一切妨礙他們的東西。不管他們是蓄意破壞或是報復，沒有人，也沒有任何法庭可對此進行調查。沒有宣誓僅有懷疑就夠了。這種不負責任地行使這個權力的行為不是我頭腦發熱憑空捏造出來的。我將舉一些實例，皮尤先生有這樣一個令狀，韋爾先生接他職務時，他就將這令狀批轉給韋爾先生。因此，這個令狀是可轉讓的，可以從一個官員手裏轉到另一個官員手裏。這樣，

閣下就沒有機會斷定哪些是被授予這麼大權力的人。還有一個例子是：沃利法官曾令一巡警把這同一個韋爾先生帶到他面前來回答關於違反《安息日法案》的問題，或者污言咒罵的問題。結束時，韋爾先生就問他是否完了。他回答：「是的。」韋爾先生說：「好了，那麼我來向你顯示我的一點權力。我令你讓我搜查你的房子，尋找未報關的物品。」而且接著就從閣樓搜到地下室。然後以同樣的方式對那個巡警進行搜查！但是，為了指出這個令狀的另一荒唐之處，我堅持認為，如果這個令狀被確立，根據查理二世第十四條令，每個人都應當與海關官員有同樣的權力。令狀上的文字應當是這樣：「這對於授權的任何人或人們都是合法的。」等等。這將造成一個什麼景況！每個人只要出於報復，心情不佳，或蠻橫任性想去鄰居屋裏查看，都可以得到「搜查令狀」。其他人出於自衛，也會要求得到「搜查令狀」，一個人一意孤行將刺激另一個人也一意孤行，直至社會陷入騷亂和流血之中.....

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#### A Demand to Limit Search and Seizure

May it please your honors, I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have, accordingly, considered it, and now appear not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me all such instruments of slavery, on the one hand, and villainy, on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English lawbook. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of an

argument, that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual: that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt. I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as Advocate General; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power the exercise of which, in former periods of history, cost one king of England his head and another his throne. . . .

Your honors will find in the old books concerning the office of a justice of the peace precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner I rely on it that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say I admit -- that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some

observations on the writ itself, before I proceed to other acts of Parliament. In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the king's dominions. Everyone with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner, also, may control, imprison, or murder anyone within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime, may enter all houses, shops, etc., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation. Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Customhouse officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court, can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he indorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from

one officer to another; and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath Day Acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied: "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods"; and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar, and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ, if it should be established, I insist upon it that every person, by the 14th of Charles II, has this power as well as the customhouse officers. The words are: "It shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill humor, or wantonness to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood....

## 洋基歌

### Yankee Doodle

早在美國革命以前，在這些英國殖民地上《洋基歌》的曲調和歌詞的某些段落就已經很流行。甚至在十八世紀七十年代以前，英軍就曾唱《洋基歌》來嘲笑殖民者。歌詞的早期版本是嘲笑這些殖民地居民的勇氣以及他們粗俗的衣著和舉止。「洋基」是對新英格蘭土包子的輕蔑之詞，而「嘑得兒」的意思即蠢貨或傻瓜。然而，在美國革命期間，美軍卻採用《洋基歌》作為他們自己的歌，以表明他們對自己樸素，家紡的衣著和毫不矯揉造作的舉止感到自豪。歌詞有許多不同版本。多年來，這首歌一直被當作非正式的國歌，而且是人們最喜歡的兒歌。

洋基.嘍得兒，  
騎著小駒進城去，  
帽上插根羽毛，  
稱為時髦哥兒。

(合唱)

洋基.嘍得兒，加把勁兒，  
洋基.嘍得兒，時髦哥兒，  
留心音樂和腳步，  
輕巧地伴著姑娘舞。  
我爹和我上軍營，  
跟古丁上尉同行，  
在那我們看見許多士兵，  
密密麻麻就像玉米布丁。  
在那兒我們看見上千人，  
都是大衛財主一樣的有錢人；  
他們每天揮霍的東西，  
我真想能夠省下一絲。  
還有那首領華盛頓，  
騎著一匹高頭駿馬，  
向部下發號施令，  
我猜準有上百萬人。  
在那我看到一小桶，  
它的蓋是用皮做的，  
他們用兩根棒擊它，  
把士兵召集到一起。  
在那我看到一尊巨大的炮，  
大得就像一根長長的楓木，  
架在一輛堅實的小車上，

Yankee Doodle went to town,  
A ridin' on a pony,  
Stuck a feather in his cap  
And called it Macaroni.

CHORUS:

Yankee Doodle, keep it up,  
Yankee Doodle Dandy,  
Mind the music and the step  
And with the girls be handy,  
Father and I went down to camp,  
Along with Captain Gooding,  
And there we saw the men and boys  
As thick as hasty pudding.  
And there we saw a thousand men,  
As rich as Squire David;  
And what they wasted every day,  
I wish it could be saved.  
And there was Captain Washington  
Upon a slapping stallion,  
A-giving orders to his men;  
I guess there was a million.  
And there I saw a little keg,  
Its head was made of leather;  
They knocked upon it with two sticks  
To call the men together.  
And there I saw a swamping gun,  
As big as a log of maple,



|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>要我爹的牛來拉。<br/>         每次他們開炮，<br/>         得裝一牛角火藥，<br/>         響聲就像我爹的槍，<br/>         只是大大超過槍聲。<br/>         啊，亂七八糟一大堆，<br/>         我連一半都說不全，<br/>         於是我脫帽鞠個躬，<br/>         急奔回家去找娘親。<br/>         洋基.嘍得兒，<br/>         美利堅人就愛這曲兒，<br/>         它可供你吹哨、唱吟或彈奏，<br/>         而且在戰鬥時有它最帶勁。</p> | <p>Upon a mighty little cart,<br/>         A load for father's cattle.<br/>         And every time they fired it off<br/>         It took a horn of powder,<br/>         And made a noise like father's gun,<br/>         Only a nation louder.<br/>         I can't tell you half I saw,<br/>         They kept up such a smother,<br/>         So I took my hat off, made a bow<br/>         And scampered home to mother.<br/>         Yankee Doodle is the tune<br/>         Americans delight in,<br/>         'Twill do to whistle, sing or play<br/>         And just the thing for fightin'.</p> |
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約翰.亞當斯

(JOHN ADAMS)

自由和知識

**Liberty and Knowledge**

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

讓我們大膽地去讀，去想，去說，去寫.....讓知識的每一道閘門都打開，讓知識的源泉暢流。

約翰.亞當斯(1735 — 1862)生於麻塞諸塞，畢業於哈佛學院，學過法律，教過初級中學，並獲得了律師資格。1765 年亞當斯在《波士頓公報》上發表文章抨擊《印花稅法》，自此他便積極參與殖民地的政治。這些文章以《論宗教法規》和《封建法律》為題發表在一起。以下便是這些文章的摘要。

儘管亞當斯批評英國的政策，但他還是為那些被控在 1770 年波士頓大屠殺中殺死五個殖民地居民的英國士兵辯護；結果指揮官和幾個士兵都被宣判無罪。

他這樣心甘情願地站在令人討厭的一邊辯護並沒有妨礙他的政治生涯。1774年，他當上第一次大陸議會的代表。他也是由托馬斯·傑斐遜組成的《獨立宣言》起草委員會的成員。亞當斯是美國第一任副總統，後來又當選為總統(1797—1801)。1800年競選總統時被托馬斯·傑斐遜擊敗。他和傑斐遜都是在美國獨立五十週年紀念日——1826年7月4日去世的。

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.....凡是人民普遍有一般知識和覺察能力的地方，專制統治和各種壓迫就會相應地減弱和消失。人類肯定有高尚的靈魂，而且在人性中也有同樣的原則，即建立在博愛基礎上並為知識所珍視的崇高原則；我是說對權力的貪戀常常是造成奴役的原因，而任何時候只要有自由存在，這種貪戀也是要求自由的原因。如果正是這個原則一直在激發著世上的王公貴族使用各種欺騙和暴力手段擺脫對他們權力的所有限制，那麼同樣也是這個原則一直在激勵著百姓去追求獨立，爭取將大人物的權力限制在公正和理智的範圍內。

窮人的確遠不如大人物成功。他們難得有機會去組成聯合併發揮他們的力量。由於沒有文化知識，他們難以形成和支持一個固定的反對派。不過大人物們已經知道這是人類的秉性。於是在各個時代，他們都極力阻止那些被他們稱為群氓的百姓得到有關他們的權利以及侵犯他們的權利的知識，並且剝奪了他們維護自己的權利、矯正侵犯他們的權利的行為的權力。我所說的權利，無疑是指在世上任何政府成立之前他們就有的權利，是人類法律無法廢除或限制的權利，是宇宙偉大立法者所賦予的權利.....

如果人民沒有一般的知識，自由就難以得到維護。人民有天賦獲得知識的權利，因為無所不能的偉大造物者已經賦予他們理解能力和求知的慾望。但是，除了這種權利之外，他們還有一個權利，一個無可爭議、不可讓與、無法廢除的神聖權利去獲取最令人畏懼和羨慕的那種知識，我指的是瞭解他們統治者的品質和德行。對於人民來說統治者只不過和律師、代理人和董事一樣。如果他們的事業、利益、和信任被陰險地背叛了，或者被不負責任地虛耗了，那麼人民就有權利取消他們自己所授予的權威，並任命更能幹、更好的代理人、律師和董事。在最底層人民中保留獲取知識的手段對公眾來說比保留全國所有富人的財產更重要。這對富人本身以及他們的後裔甚至更重要。唯一的問題是這是否要

由公眾出錢，如果是，那麼富人無疑應當按與其他公眾負擔同樣的比例出錢，也就是說，按他們財富的比例出錢，況且這些財富的安全是用公共費用來保護的。但是沒有一種獲取消息的手段比新聞報導更神聖、更為北美居民所珍視的。人們已經採取措施鼓勵印刷技術的發展，使任何人都能很容易、很便宜、很安全地把他的思想與公眾交流……

讓我們大膽地去讀，去想，去說，去寫。喚起各階層人民的注意，激發他們下定決心，讓他們都去注意教會的和世俗的統治基礎和原則。讓我們研究自然法規，探求英國憲法的精神，閱讀古代歷史，思考希臘和羅馬的偉大史例，對照我們英國祖先的品行。我們的祖先已經為我們保衛了人類的固有權利，即反對國內外暴君和篡權者，反對專制國王和殘酷的神父，總之，反對人間和地獄之門的權利。讓我們閱讀、回顧、銘記我們自己更直系的祖先在離開他們土生土長的國家，來到這淒涼的荒野時的意圖和目的。讓我們審查那種把他們趕出家鄉的權力的性質和那種壓迫的殘酷性。讓我們回顧他們令人驚歎的不屈不撓精神，回顧他們所遭的苦難——食不果腹，衣不蔽體，寒冷不堪，而這些他們都堅忍地承受了。讓我們回顧他們在野獸和野蠻人帶來的危險之中，在他們有時間，或有金錢或物質去經商之前，清理場地，建造房子，種植糧食，飼養牲畜的艱苦勞動。讓我們回顧那些一直支撐著他們默默忍受所有艱難困苦の世俗的和宗教的原則、希望和期待。讓我們回顧一下，正是自由，正是為他們自己、為我們和我們的後代爭取自由的希望征服了所有的挫折、危險和考驗。讓我們在這幾個部門裏的人都進行這樣的研究，尤其是法律、知識和宗教の合適保護人和支持者應該進行這樣的研究！

讓我們の講壇迴盪著宗教自由的主張和意見。讓我們聽到由於無知、極端貧困和依賴，總之，由於政府和政治の奴役使我們の良知處於受奴役狀態の危險。讓我們看清我們面前人類真實面目の輪廓。讓我們聽到人性的尊嚴，聽到在上帝造物中人類所處の崇高地位。讓我們聽到人們說同意受奴役就是褻瀆神の信任，在上帝看來這就像損害我們自己の榮譽、利益和幸福一樣使他生氣。讓我們聽到人們說萬能の上帝已經從天上賦予人類自由、和平和親善！

讓法庭宣佈那些從遠古時代傳下の「法律、權利、權力の寬大策略」。讓法庭告訴世人我們の祖先為捍衛自由所作の有力鬥爭和無數犧牲。讓人們知道他們

原來的權利、他們原來契約上的條件是和帝王的特權平等的，而且是和政府同時並存的。讓人們知道我們的許多權利是固有的而且必不可少，早在國會存在之前人們就同意以這些權利為金科玉律並把它們確定為預先必備的權利。讓他們從人性的構成，從知識和道德世界的組成方面去探求英國法律和統治的基礎。這樣我們就會看到真理、自由、正義和博愛是其永久的基礎，如果這些可以被拿掉，那麼上層建築當然就會被推翻。

讓各個團體的和聲都加在一起組成一個共同的快樂音樂會。讓每一篇演講都來談自由和道德之美，都來談奴役和邪惡之醜陋、卑鄙和惡毒。讓公眾的爭論都變成探究統治的依據、性質和目的，以及保留善剷除惡的手段。讓我們把有關權利的主張以及對自由的感覺通過對話和正或演說銘刻在溫和的思想裏，並向遠近各處傳播。

一句話，讓知識的每一道閘門都打開，讓知識的源泉暢流。

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### Liberty and Knowledge

Wherever a general knowledge and sensibility have prevailed among the people, arbitrary government and every kind of oppression have lessened and disappeared in proportion. Man has certainly an exalted soul; and the same principle in human nature--that aspiring, noble principle founded in benevolence, and cherished by knowledge; I mean the love of power, which has been so often the cause of slavery--has, whenever freedom has existed, been the cause of freedom. If it is this principle that has always prompted the princes and nobles of the earth by every species of fraud and violence to shake off all the limitations of their power, it is the same that has always stimulated the common people to aspire at independency, and to endeavor at confining the power of the great within the limits of equity and reason

The poor people, it is true, have been much less successful than the great. They have seldom found either leisure or opportunity to form

a union and exert their strength; ignorant as they were of arts and letters, they have seldom been able to frame and support a regular opposition. This, however, has been known by the great to be the temper of mankind; and they have accordingly labored, in all ages, to wrest from the populace, as they are contemptuously called, the knowledge of their rights and wrongs, and the power to assert the former or redress the latter. I say RIGHTS, for such they have, undoubtedly, antecedent to all earthly government--rights that cannot be repealed or restrained by human laws--rights derived from the great Legislator of the universe. . . .

Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings, and a desire to know; but besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible, divine right to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge; I mean, of the characters and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees, for the people; and if the cause, the interest and trust, is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents, attorneys, and trustees and the preservation of the means of knowledge among the lowest ranks is of more importance to the public than all the property of all the rich men the country. It is even of more consequence to the rich themselves, and to their posterity. The only question is whether it is a public emolument: and if it is, the rich ought undoubtedly to contribute, in the same proportion as to all other public burdens--that is, in proportion to their wealth, which is secured by public expenses. But none of the means of

information are more sacred, or have been cherished with more tenderness and care by the settlers of America, than the press. Care has been taken that the art of printing should be encouraged, and that it should be easy and cheap and safe for any person to communicate his thoughts to the public....

Let us dare to read, think, speak, and write. Let every order and degree among the people rouse their attention and animate their resolution. Let them all become attentive to the grounds and principles of government, ecclesiastical and civil. Let us study the law of nature; search into the spirit of the British Constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome; set before us the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended for us the inherent rights of mankind against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers, against arbitrary kings and cruel priests; in short, against the gates of earth and hell. Let us read and recollect and impress upon our souls the views and ends of our own more immediate forefathers in exchanging their native country for a dreary, inhospitable wilderness. Let us examine into the nature of that power, and the cruelty of that oppression, which drove them from their homes. Recollect their amazing fortitude, their bitter sufferings--the hunger, the nakedness, the cold, which they patiently endured--the severe labors of clearing their grounds, building their houses, raising their provisions, amidst dangers from wild beasts and savage men, before they had time or money or materials for commerce. Recollect the civil and religious principles and hopes and expectations which constantly supported and carried them through all hardships with patience and resignation. Let us recollect it was liberty, the hope of liberty for themselves and us and ours, which

conquered all the discouragements, dangers, and trials. In such researches as these let us all in our several departments cheerfully engage--but especially the proper patrons and supporters of law, learning, and religion!

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty. Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences from ignorance, extreme poverty, and dependence; in short, from civil and political slavery. Let us see delineated before us the true map of man. Let us hear the dignity of his nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God--that consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of God as it is derogatory from our own honor or interest or happiness--and that God Almighty has promulgated from heaven liberty, peace, and goodwill to man!

Let the bar proclaim "the laws, the rights, the generous plan of power" delivered down from remote antiquity--inform the world of the mighty struggles and numberless sacrifices made by our ancestors in defense of freedom. Let it be known that original rights, conditions of original contracts, [are] coequal with prerogative and coeval with government; that many of our rights are inherent and essential, agreed on as maxims and established as preliminaries, even before a parliament existed. Let them search for the foundations of British laws and government in the frame of human nature, in the constitution of the intellectual and moral world. There let us see that truth, liberty, justice, and benevolence are its everlasting basis; and if these could be removed, the superstructure is overthrown of course.

Let the colleges join their harmony in the same delightful concert. Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue,

and the deformity, turpitude, and malignity of slavery and vice. Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds and nature and ends of government, and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil. Let the dialogues, and all the exercises, become the instruments of impressing on the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing far and wide, the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom.

In a word, let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set a-flowing.

約翰．迪金森

(JOHN DICKINSON)

自由之歌

### The Liberty Song

《自由之歌》是美國第一首愛國歌謠，寫於 1768 年，作者約翰．迪金森(1732—1808)是賓夕法尼亞的一位傑出律師，因發表《賓夕法尼亞一農夫的來信》而聞名，書中收入他 1767—1768 年發表的十二封信，這些信有助於使輿論轉向反對將新稅強加於殖民地的《湯森條例》。迪金森是賓夕法尼亞出席大陸議會的代表。他反對《獨立宣言》，希望避免戰爭。但儘管如此，他還是參加民團服役。他也是參加制憲會議的代表，會上起草了《美國憲法》，迪金森促使憲法得到批准。賓夕法尼亞州卡萊爾的迪金森學院就是以他的名字命名的。

《自由之歌》在殖民地非常流行。實際上到處都在唱這首歌——在公共場合唱，而且常常就是為要激怒英國人和他們的美國朋友。人們很快就接受了歌中的信條：「聯合則存，分裂則亡。」

來，勇敢的美利堅  
人，手拉著手，  
大膽去回應吧，美  
好的自由在招手；

#### The Liberty Song

Come join hand in hand brave Americans all,  
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call:  
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just



殘暴的行為壓不住  
正義的呼聲。

也玷辱不了美利堅  
的好名聲。

我們生於自由也將  
生活在自由裏，  
我們的錢包已裝滿  
金錢，

沈著，朋友們，沈  
著，

給錢不是當奴隸，  
只為作個自由人。

讓我們向可敬的先  
輩們歡呼，

他們勇敢地奔向未  
知的地帶；

為了自由，他們越  
過大洋，來到荒漠，  
死後把自由和美名  
留給我們。

他們胸懷博大，敢  
蔑視一切危險，

他們崇高，明智，  
珍視生來的權利；

我們將虔誠地保留  
他們給予我們的遺  
產，

決不破壞他們在陸  
上和海上的勞動成

claim,

Or stain with dishonour America's name.

CHORUS:

In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll  
live.

Our purses are ready, Steady. Friends, Steady.  
Not as slaves, but as Freemen our money we'll  
give.

Our worthy Forefathers--Let's give them a  
cheer

To Climates unknown did courageously steer;  
Thro' Oceans, to deserts, for freedom they  
came

And dying bequeath'd us their freedom and  
Fame.

Their generous bosoms all dangers despis'd, so  
highly, so wisely, their Birthrights they priz'd:  
We'll keep what they gave, we will piously  
keep.

Nor frustrate their toils on the land and the  
deep.

The Tree their own hands had to Liberty rear'd;  
They liv'd to behold growing strong and  
rever'd;

With transport they cry'd, "Now our wishes we  
gain

For our children shall gather the fruits of our  
pain."

Swarms of placemen and pensioners soon will

果。  
先輩們用雙手種下  
的自由之樹，  
並為它的壯大和尊  
嚴而生活；  
滿懷喜悅他們高  
呼：「我們的願望已  
滿足，  
因為我們的子孫將  
採到我們辛勞的果  
實。」  
官老爺和侍從即將  
蜂擁而至，  
他們像蝗蟲摧殘當  
年的收成；  
假如我們得為別人  
揮霍而苦幹，  
太陽升起有何用，  
雨水下了也枉然。  
那麼，勇敢的美利  
堅人，手拉著手，  
聯合則存，分裂則  
亡；  
從事正義的事業，  
我們必將成功，  
因為上天讚許一切  
高尚的行為。  
千秋萬代都將拍手  
讚歎，

appear  
Like locusts deforming the charms of the year;  
Suns vainly will rise. Showers vainly descend,  
If we are to drudge for what others shall spend  
Then join hand in hand brave Americans all,  
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;  
In so Righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,  
For Heaven approves of each generous deed.  
All ages shall speak with amaze and applause,  
Of the courage we'll show in support of our  
laws;  
To die we can bear--but to serve we disdain,  
For shame is to freedom more dreadful than  
pain.  
This bumper I crown for our Sovereign's health,  
And this for Britannia's glory and wealth;  
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,  
If she is but just--and if we are but Free.

我們勇敢地支援我  
們的法律；  
我們不怕死但不屑  
聽人使喚，  
因為論自由羞辱比  
痛苦更可怕。  
讓我為我們君王的  
健康乾杯，  
為不列顛的光榮和  
財富乾杯，  
如她確有公正，我  
們真有自由，  
那種光榮和財富就  
會永存不朽。

### 洛根首領的哀辭

#### Chief Logan's Lament

誰去那兒為洛根哀悼？沒有一人。

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1774 年，住在俄亥俄河流域的印地安人與白人之間發生了一系列流血事件。據托馬斯·傑斐遜在《維吉尼亞記事》(1784—1785)中的一篇報告說白人對印地安人的搶劫行為極為憤怒。為了報復白人士兵殺死了許多無辜的印地安人，其中包括明戈印地安人的首領洛根的家人，而洛根是以白人的朋友而聞名的。在洛根的領導下，印地安人發動一場反對白人定居者的戰爭，他們剝去了許多無辜的男人、婦女和兒童的頭皮，但最終還是在 1774 年 10 月被維吉尼亞的民團打敗。在這個決定性的戰役之後，洛根拒絕和其他首領一起去向獲勝的白人屈膝哀求。相反，他給維吉尼亞皇家總督鄧莫爾勳爵寄去以下這篇演講。當鄧莫爾勳爵征討印地安人回來時，他帶回了這篇演講，據傑斐遜說，「這篇演講成了威廉斯堡所有談話的話題」。它被刊在《維吉尼亞公報》上，後又被登在北美大陸各報上，甚至連大不列顛的報刊上也發表了這篇演講。傑斐遜在

他的《維吉尼亞記事》中又印出這篇演講，以駁斥那些歐洲人，他們「以為在北美的土壤、氣候和其他環境中有某種東西導致動物先天的或後天的、肉體的或道德的本性的退化，甚至連人類也不例外」。傑斐遜把洛根的這篇演講作為「這個國土上土人的天才，尤其是他們的雄辯之才」的證據。他斷言「歐洲從未產生過比這篇短小精美、富於雄辯的演說更優秀的東西」。洛根的演說曾是十九世紀學校讀本中固定的文章，並為幾代美國年輕人所熟悉。

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我懇請任何一位白人說說，他是否曾餓著肚子走進洛根家的小屋，而洛根沒有給他肉吃；他是否曾在又冷又沒衣穿時來到洛根家，而洛根沒有給他衣服穿。在最近這次漫長而血腥的戰爭中，洛根一直呆在自己的小屋裏，一直是一位宣傳和平的人。我對白人的愛就是這樣的，以致我的同胞經過我家時都指著說：「洛根是白人的朋友。」如果不是一個人傷害了我們，我甚至想過和你們住在一起。去年春天，克雷薩普上校無緣無故地殘酷殺害了洛根的所有親人，甚至連我的女人和孩子也不放過。在現在活著的人中，沒有一個人的血管裏流著我的血。這個事實呼喚我去報復。我尋求報復；我殺死了許多人；我已經復仇夠了；為了國家，我很高興看到和平的曙光。但不要以為我的高興是出於害怕。洛根從不懼怕。他不會為了保全自己的生命而突然作一百八十度的轉身的。誰去那兒為洛根哀悼。——沒有一人。

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#### Chief Logan's Lament

I appeal to any white man to say. if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, "Logan is the friend of white man." I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan. not even sparing my women

and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan.--Not one.

### 奴隸向麻塞諸塞皇家總督的申訴

### **The Slaves' Appeal to the Royal Governor of Massachusetts**

我們是生而自由的而且從未簽訂任何契約或協議放棄上帝的這項恩賜。

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1619 年，一艘荷蘭船將二十個非洲人帶到維吉尼亞的詹姆斯敦。這些人究竟是奴隸還是契約僕人，沒人知道。十七世紀後期，隨著南方種植園的發展，非洲人的輸入也增加了，同時殖民地的法律也確定他們終身為奴。在三百五十年的奴隸貿易中，約九百萬到一千二百萬非洲人在極其殘惡的條件下被帶到美洲各國，其中約四十萬被帶到北美。

有些殖民者反對奴隸制，尤其是教友派和孟諾派，以及像班哲明.佛蘭克林、亞歷山大.漢密爾頓和約翰.傑伊這樣的領袖人物。以人類天生權利為基礎的革命號召激勵這些奴隸提出他們也有獲得自由的權利的主張。1774 年 5 月 25 日，麻塞諸塞的一群奴隸向皇家殖民總督托馬斯.蓋奇提出了以下申訴。

在革命開始時，美國軍隊將黑人排除在外。但是，當英國人號召奴隸參加到他們那邊時，美國革命軍就將其政策顛倒過來。大約有五千非洲裔美國人參加美國軍隊作戰，其中有奴隸也有自由人。許多人由於在戰爭期間服役而獲得自由，還有其他數以千計的奴隸在戰爭期間從奴隸制枷鎖下逃跑。不過，大部分非洲人仍然還是奴隸，這是對這個新國家理想的玷污。

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在這個自由和基督的國家裏，由於神的許可，處於被奴役狀態的許多本省黑人向您提出申訴。

我們謹向您表明

您的申訴者明白，如果我們的同胞沒有剝奪我們的自由的話，我們也和其他人一樣都有獲得這些自由的天賦權利，因為我們是生而自由的而且從未簽訂任何契約或協定放棄上帝的這項恩賜。但是，我們是被殘酷的強權之手把我們從我們最親愛的朋友身邊拖走的，有些人是從慈愛的父母的懷裏被偷走的，是從一個人口眾多、美麗富饒的國土上被拉走的，我們被帶到這裏，被迫在一個基督教國土裏終身為奴。這樣我們就被剝奪了一切哪怕使生活僅可忍受的東西，夫妻之間的甜蜜關係與我們無緣，因為我們不再是像我們的男主人或女主人認為的那樣經正當結合或未曾結婚的夫妻。我們的孩子也被強行從我們身邊奪走，被送到離我們許多英里以外的地方，強迫他們終身為奴，在那種地方我們很難得或者永遠無法再見到他們。由於他們是從母親懷裏被強行拖走的，他們的生命有時是非常短暫的。由於這些原因，我們的生活非常痛苦。我們這種可憐的狀況使我們無法向萬能的上帝表示我們的服從。一個奴隸如何向妻子履行丈夫的職責，或者向孩子履行父母的職責。一個丈夫怎麼能離開主人去為妻子幹活並向妻子表示忠心。妻子又怎麼能事事順從自己的丈夫。孩子怎麼能事事服從自己的父母。我們中有許多人是虔誠的基督徒。主人和奴隸怎麼能說是履行了那條友愛相處，有難同當，讓兄弟般的友情繼續加深的訓戒。當主人給我套上沈重的奴隸鎖鏈並壓迫我的意志時，怎麼可說他是在分擔我的苦難。在這種情況下，我們怎麼能盡到我們對上帝的職責，因為處於這種情況，我們就不能像我們應該做的那樣去侍奉上帝。這個國家的法律並不認為奴隸制是正當的而且譴責奴隸制，可我們卻不能從這些法律中得到同等的利益。如果真的有過什麼法律可以使我們成為奴隸，那麼我們謹以為過去從來就沒有過什麼法律規定我們的孩子在一個自由的國家裏一出生就成為終生奴隸。所以我們懇請大人閣下，對於我們的申訴予以重視和考慮。您可據此使一頂法案通過，以使我们獲得天賦的自由權利，我們的孩子也可在二十一歲時獲得自由。特別是為了我們的孩子，您的申訴者有義務向您提出申訴。

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The Slaves' Appeal to the Royal Governor of Massachusetts

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blacks of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of

a free and Christian Country

Humbly Shewing

That your Petitioners apprehend we have in common with all other men a naturall right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn People and have never forfeited this Blessing by any compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest friends and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife than our masters or mistresses think proper married or unmarried. Our children are also taken from us by force and sent many miles from us where we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of for Life which sometimes; is very short by Reason of Being dragged from their mothers Breasts Thus our Lives are embittered to us on these accounts By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child How can a husband leave master to work and cleave to his wife How can the wife submit themselves to their husbands in all things How can the child obey their parents in all things. There is a great number of us since ... members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in love let Brotherly Love continue and abound Bear ye one anothers Burdenes How can the master be said to Bear my Burden when he Bears me down with the Chains of slavery and oppression against my will and

how can we fulfill our parte of duty to him whilst in this condition and as we cannot searve our God as we ought whilst in this situation. Nither can we reap an equal benefet from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi but condemns Slavery or if there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondage we are Humbely of tile opinion ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therfor Bage your Excellency and Honours will give this its deer weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at lebety at the yeare of twenty one for whoues sekas more petequaley your Petitioners is in Duty ever to pray.

帕特裏克.亨利

(Patrick Henry)

在第二次維吉尼亞大會上的演說

### **Speech to the Second Virginia Convention**

我不知道別人會怎麼做，但是，對於我來說，不自由，毋寧死！

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帕特裏克.亨利 (1736-1799) 是革命事業中的主要愛國者。他生於維吉尼亞，是維吉尼亞殖民地上最成功的律師之一，以其機敏和演說技巧而著稱。

1763 年，他被選入維吉尼亞議會，直言不諱被鼓吹殖民地的權利。1765 年，在反對《印花稅法》的演說中，亨利說，「凱撒有他的布魯圖，查理一世有他的克倫威爾.喬治三世有.....」（那時他被一片「大逆不道!大逆不道!大逆不道!」的叫喊聲打斷。）「...但願我們能從他們的例子中獲益，如果這是大逆不道，那就充分利用它吧」。

在日益發展的獨立運動中，亨利發揮了突出的作用。他是第一屆維吉尼亞通訊委員會的成員，也是 1774 年和 1755 年大陸議會的代表。以下摘錄的是他最著名的演說，這是他在 1775 年 3 月 23 日於維吉尼亞裏士滿聖約翰教堂裏召



開的第二次維吉尼亞大會上發表的演講。這篇演說為給與英國人戰鬥的維吉尼亞民團提供裝備的決議提供了有力的論據。

亨利是維吉尼亞的第一任州長，他在州裏和國家裏還擔任許多其他的公共職務。不過他的永久名聲還是來自這篇 1775 年發表的慷慨激昂的演說，其結束語是世界聞名的。

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.....耽於幻想是人的天性。我們很容易無視痛苦的事實，而去聽蠱惑人心的女妖莎琳的歌聲，直至她把我們變成畜牲為止。難道這就是我們那些為自由從事偉大艱苦鬥爭的智者們的一部分嗎？難道我們要與那些有眼看不見，有耳聽不到那些很快就關係到他們現世拯救的事情的人為伍嗎？就我而言，不論在精神上會造成什麼樣的痛苦，我還是願意知道全部真相，瞭解最壞的情況並防備其發生。

我只有一盞指引我走路的燈，這就是經驗之燈。我知道無法判斷未來，但可以根據過去的經歷來作判斷。從過去的經歷來看，我想知道在最近十年裏力英國內閣的行為中有什麼可以證明這些先生們的希望是對的，這些先生們一直樂於以這些希望來慰藉他們自己和議會。難道是他們最近接受我們的請願時的那種陰險的微笑嗎？先生們，請別相信這種微笑，這將證明是設在你們腳下的陷阱。別自討苦吃，被人以一個親吻就出賣了。問問你們自己，這種親切地接受我請願的行動與那些在我們的陸上和水上所作的戰爭準備怎麼相稱。一個表示愛和調和的工作需要艦隊和軍隊嗎？難道我們已經表示如此不願調和，以致要用武力來贏得我們的愛嗎？先生們，我們不要自欺欺人了。這些是戰爭和征服的手段，是國王們訴諸的最後理由。先生們，我問那些先生，如果這種戰爭部署不是要迫使我們屈服，那又是什麼意思？對此，先生們可以提出任何其他可能的動機嗎？難道大不列顛在世界的這個地區有什麼敵人需要她在這裏集結海軍和陸軍嗎？不，先生們，她沒有敵人。他們是針對我們的，他們不可能是針對別人的。他們是被派來給我們綁住和釘上英國內閣長期以來一直在鑄造的鎖鏈。我們有什麼可以用來反對他們呢？沒有。我們已經想盡辦法弄清楚這個問題，但都沒用。難道我們要向他們搖尾乞憐，卑躬屈膝嗎？那我們應當找什麼沒有被用盡的條件？先生們，我要求你們，不要再欺騙自己了。先生們，為了

避免這即將來臨的風暴，我們已經做了一切能做的事。我們已經請願過了，我們已經抗議過了，我們已經哀求過了，我們已經俯伏在內閣和議會暴虐之手面前。可我們的請願已被藐視，我們的抗議已增添了對我們的暴力和侮辱，我們的哀求人家不予考慮，人家已經輕蔑地把我們從君王的腳下趕走。在這些都白費之後，我們難道還會沈浸在和平和調和的可笑希望之中。再也沒有希望的餘地了。如果我們想得到自由，如果我們要保護那些我們長期爭取的無價的特權不受侵犯，如果我們不想怯懦地放棄我們長期從事的崇高鬥爭，如果我們不想放棄我們已發誓不達到我們的鬥爭應當取得光榮目標就決不罷休的崇高鬥爭，我們就必須戰鬥！先生們，我再說一遍，我們必須戰鬥！我們現在唯一能做的就是拿起武器，祈求上帝的幫助！

先生們，他們告訴我們，我們是弱者，無法與這強大的敵手對抗。但我們何時才能強大呢？下個星期嗎？還是下一年？要到我們完全被解除武裝，每個房子都駐上一個英國衛兵的時候嗎？我們優柔寡斷，坐著不動就不可以聚集力量嗎？我們無精打采地仰臥在那裏，抱著虛妄的希望直到敵人把我們的手腳都捆起來，這樣就可以獲得有效的抵抗手段嗎？先生們，如果我們適當利用上帝在我們的力量中所賦予的各種手段，我們就不是弱者。三百萬人民為了自由神聖事業武裝起來，在這樣一個我們擁有的國家裏，是無敵於我們敵人能派來對付我們的任何力量的。而且，先生們，我們將不會孤軍作戰。還有一個主宰各國命運的公正的上帝，他將召集朋友們為我們作戰。先生們，打戰不只適合於強者，有警惕性的人，有活力的人，有勇氣的人都會打戰。而且，先生們，我們沒有選擇。如果我們曾自私地期望這場鬥爭，那麼現在要退出來已經太遲了。除了屈服和奴役沒有別的退路！給我們的鎖鏈已經鑄好了！在波士頓平原上就可聽到這些鎖鏈的叮噠聲！戰爭是不可避免的，就讓它來吧！我再說一遍，先生們，讓它來吧！

先生們，辯解是沒有用的。先生們盡可呼喊和平，和平，但事實上不存在和平。戰爭實際上已經開始了！北方吹來的下一陣大風將給我們的耳朵帶來響亮的武器撞擊聲！我們的弟兄已經上了戰場！為什麼我們還站在這裏不動？那些先生們到底想要什麼？他們會得到什麼？生命就這麼貴，和平就這麼甜，以致可以用鎖鏈和奴役為代價把它們買來嗎？萬能的上帝，禁止這種事情發生吧！我不

知道別人會怎麼做，但是，對於我來說，不自由，毋寧死！

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### Speech to the second Virginia Convention

..It is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty. Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation. For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received. Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation. Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love. Let us not deceive ourselves sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission. Can gentlemen assign any other possible

motives for it. Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies. No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them. Shall we try" argument. Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject. Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication. What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted. Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free--if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending--if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so

formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger. Will it be the next week, or the next year. Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house. Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction. Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot. Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable--and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come! It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace--but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle. What is it that gentlemen wish. What would they have. Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

托馬斯.傑斐遜

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

## 獨立宣言

### The Declaration of Independence

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我們認為下述真理是不言而喻的：人人生而平等，造物主賦予他們若幹不可讓與的權利，其中包括生存權、自由權和追求幸福的權利。

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托馬斯·傑斐遜(1743—1826)作為一個包括約翰·亞當斯和班哲明·富蘭克林在內的起草委員會的成員，起草了美國《獨立宣言》的第一稿。大陸議會對傑斐遜的草稿作了重大改動，特別是在喬治亞州和南卡羅來納州代表們的堅持下，刪去了他對英王喬治三世允許在殖民地存在奴隸制和奴隸買賣的有力譴責。(被刪去的內容中一部分是這樣寫的：「他向人性本身發動了殘酷的戰爭，侵犯了一個從未冒犯過他的遠方民族的最神聖的生存權和自由權，他誘騙他們，並把他們運往另一半球充當奴隸，或使他們慘死在運送途中。」) 1776年7月4日，大陸會議通過了這份宣言。

托馬斯·傑斐遜生於維吉尼亞一個富裕的家庭。他曾就讀於威廉瑪麗學院，並於1767年在維吉尼亞獲得律師資格。1769年，他當選為維吉尼亞下院議員，並積極參加獨立運動，而且代表維吉尼亞出席大陸議會。他兩次當選為維吉尼亞州長，還擔任過美國駐法大使。1800年他競選總統時，與阿倫·伯爾所得選舉人票數相等，後由眾議院選擇傑斐遜當總統。

傑斐遜曾寫道，《獨立宣言》是「籲請世界的裁判」。自1776年以來，《獨立宣言》中所體現的原則就一直在全世界為人傳誦。美國的改革家們，不論是出於什麼動機，不論是為了廢除奴隸制，禁止種族隔離或是要提高婦女的權利，都要向公眾提到「人人生而平等」。不論在什麼地方，當人民向不民主的統治作鬥爭時，他們就要用傑斐遜的話來爭辯道，政府的「正當權力是經被治者同意所授予的」。

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## 獨立宣言

1776年7月4日，美利堅合眾國十三州議會一致通過的宣言。

在人類事務發展的過程中，當一個民族必須解除同另一個民族的聯繫，並按照自然法則和上帝的旨意，以獨立平等的身份立於世界列國之林時，出於對人類輿論的尊重，必須把驅使他們獨立的原因予以宣佈。

我們認為下述真理是不言而喻的：人人生而平等，造物主賦予他們若干不可讓與的權利，其中包括生存權、自由權和追求幸福的權利。為了保障這些權利，人類才在他們中間建立政府，而政府的正當權力，則是經被治者同意所授予的。任何形式的政府一旦對這些目標的實現起破壞作用時，人民便有權予以更換或廢除，以建立一個新的政府。新政府所依據的原則和組織其權力的方式，務使人民認為唯有這樣才最有可能使他們獲得安全和幸福。若真要審慎地來說，成立多年的政府是不應當由於無關緊要的和一時的原因而予以更換的，過去的一切經驗都說明，任何苦難，只要尚能忍受，人類還是情願忍受，也不想為申冤而廢除他們久已習慣了的政府形式。然而，當始終追求同一目標的一系列濫用職權和強取豪奪的行為表明政府企圖把人民置於專制暴政之下時，人民就有權，也有義務，去推翻這樣的政府，並為其未來的安全提供新的保障。這就是這些殖民地過去忍受苦難的經過，也是他們現在不得不改變政府制度的原因。當今大不列顛國王的歷史，就是屢屢傷害和掠奪這些殖民地的歷史，其直接目標就是要在各州之上建立一個獨裁暴政，為了證明上述句句屬實，現將事實公諸於世，讓公正的世人作出評判。

他拒絕批准對公眾利益最有益、最必需的法律。

他禁止他的殖民總督批准刻不容緩、極端重要的法律，要不就先行擱置這些法律直至徵得他的同意，而這些法律被擱置以後，他又完全置之不理。

他拒絕批准便利大地區人民的其他法律，除非這些地區的人民情願放棄自己在立法機構中的代表權，而代表權對人民是無比珍貴的，只有暴君才畏懼它。

他把各州的立法委員會召集到一個異乎尋常、極不舒適而又遠離它們的檔案庫的地方去開會，其目的無非是使他們疲憊不堪，被迫就範。

他一再解散各州的眾議院，因為後者堅決反對他侵犯人民的權利。

他在解散眾議院之後，又長期拒絕另選他人，於是這項不可剝奪的立法權便歸由普通人民來行使，致使在這期間各州仍處於外敵入侵和內部騷亂的種種危險之中。

他力圖阻止各州增加人口，為此目的，他阻撓外國人入籍法的通過，拒絕批准其他鼓勵移民的法律，並提高分配新土地的條件。

他拒絕批准建立司法權力的法律，以阻撓司法的執行。

他迫使法官為了保住任期、薪金的數額和支付而置於他個人意志的支配之下。

他濫設新官署，委派大批官員到這裏騷擾我們的人民，吞噬他們的財物。

他在和平時期，未經我們立法機構同意，就在我們中間維持其常備軍。

他施加影響，使軍隊獨立於文官政權之外，並凌駕於文官政權之上。

他同他人勾結，把我們置於一種既不符合我們的法規也未經我們法律承認的管轄之下，而且還批准他們炮製的各種偽法案，以便任其在我們中間駐紮大批武裝部隊；不論這些人對我們各州居民犯下何等嚴重的謀殺罪，他可用假審判來庇護他們，讓他們追逐法外；他可以切斷我們同世界各地的貿易；未經我們同意便向我們強行徵稅；在許多案件中剝奪我們享有陪審制的權益；以莫須有的罪名把我們押送海外受審；他在一個鄰省廢除了英國法律的自由制度，在那裏建立專制政府，擴大其疆界，使其立即成為一個樣板和合適的工具，以便向這裏各殖民地推行同樣的專制統治；他取消我們的許多特許狀，廢除我們最珍貴的法律並從根本上改變我們各州政府的形式；他中止我們立法機構行使權力，宣稱他們自己擁有在任何情況下為我們制定法律的權力。

他們放棄設在這裏的政府，宣佈我們已不屬他們保護之列，並向我們發動戰爭。

他在我們的海域大肆掠奪，蹂躪我們的沿海地區，燒燬我們的城鎮，殘害我們人民的生命。

他此時正在運送大批外國僱傭兵，來從事其製造死亡、荒涼和暴政的勾當，其殘忍與卑劣從一開始就連最野蠻的時代也難以相比，他已完全不配當一個文明國家的元首。

他強迫我們在公海被他們俘虜的同胞拿起武器反對自己的國家，使他們成為殘殺自己親友的劊子手，或使他們死於自己親友的手下。

他在我們中間煽動內亂，並竭力挑唆殘酷無情的印地安蠻子來對付我們邊疆的居民，而眾所周知，印地安人作戰的準則是不分男女老幼，是非曲直，格殺勿論。

在遭受這些壓迫的每一階段，我們都曾以最謙卑的言辭籲請予以糾正。而我們



一次又一次的請願，卻只是被報以一次又一次的傷害。

一個君主，其品格被他的每一個只有暴君才幹得出的行為所暴露時，就不配君臨自由的人民。

我們並不是沒有想到我們英國的弟兄。他們的立法機關想把無理的管轄權擴展到我們這裏來，我們時常把這個企圖通知他們。我們也曾把我們移民來這裏和在這裏定居的情況告訴他們。我們曾懇求他們天生的正義感和雅量，念在同種同宗的份上；棄絕這些掠奪行為，因為這些掠奪行為難免會使我們之間的關係和來往中斷。可他們對這種正義和同宗的呼聲也同樣充耳不聞。因此，我們不得不宣佈脫離他們，以對待世界上其他民族的態度對待他們：同我交戰者，就是敵人；同我和好者，即為朋友。

因此；我們這些在大陸會議上集會的美利堅合眾國的代表們，以各殖民地善良人民的名義，並經他們授權，向世界最高裁判者申訴，說明我們的嚴正意向，同時鄭重宣佈：我們這些聯合起來的殖民地現在是，而且按公理也應該是，獨立自由的國家；

我們取消對英國王室效忠的全部義務，我們與大不列顛王國之間的一切政治聯繫從此全部斷絕，而且必須斷絕；作為一個獨立自由的國家，我們完全有權宣戰、締和、結盟、通商和採取獨立國家有權採取的一切行動。我們堅定地信賴神明上帝的保佑，同時以我們的生命、財產和神聖的名譽彼此宣誓來支援這一宣言。

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## Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America  
When in the Course of human events, it be comes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them. a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the cause which impel

them to the separation.--We bold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness--That to secure these rights. Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.--He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.--He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and

when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them,--He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.--He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository" of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.--He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.--He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within,--He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.--He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.--He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.--He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.--He has kept among us, in times of peace. Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.--He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.--He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and

unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: --For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:--For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: --For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: --For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: --For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: --For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:--For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: --For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:--For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.--He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.--He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people.--He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.--He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.--He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the

merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.--

We, therefore, the Representatives of the **United States of America**, in General Congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare. That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States: that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things

which Independent States may of right do.--And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

托馬斯.傑斐遜

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

維吉尼亞宗教自由法令

### **A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia**

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我們維吉尼亞全州代表大會現頒佈以下法令，即任何人不得被強迫參加或支援任何宗教禮拜、宗教場所或傳道職位，任何人不得因其宗教見解或信仰不同而在肉體或財產上受到強制、約束、騷擾、負擔或其他損害。

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托馬斯.傑斐遜滿腔熱情地忠於自由思想的原則。為了達到這個目的，他不斷提倡言論自由、新聞自由及宗教和教育自由。像和同輩的其他有教養的人一樣，他很清楚人類為宗教偏見所付出的代價，多少世紀以來，宗教偏見一直是造成仇視和流血的原因。1779年，傑斐遜在維吉尼亞議會提出以下這個劃時代的法令，但一直到1786年這個法令才被正或通過。法令中對宗教自由的保證即是後來《美國憲法第一修正案》的前驅，該修正案禁止國會建立宗教或干預宗教的自由。

傑斐遜在為自己墓碑所寫的墓誌銘中寫道：「這裏埋著托馬斯.傑斐遜，《美國獨立宣言》的作者，維吉尼亞宗教自由法規的制定者和維吉尼亞大學之父。」

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一、誰都知道、人們的見解和信仰並不取決於他們的意志，而是無意識地順應別人向他們提供的證據；萬能的上帝已經把人的思想創造成自由的。而且通過把思想造成完全不受約束的東西表明他的最高旨意，即思想必須保持自由；任何企圖以人世間的刑罰或壓迫，或以行政法規限制來影響思想的作法，其結果只能是造成虛偽和卑鄙的習性，背離我們宗教的神聖創始者的旨意。他是軀體

和精神的主宰。他無所不能，但他並不強行向我們的軀體和精神宣揚他的旨意，而是以其對理性本身的影響來提高它；有些在世間的和教會中的立法者和統治者，他們本身不過是常犯錯誤和沒有聖感的人，而竟然對上帝不敬。以為他們有權主宰其他人的信仰，他們把自己的意見和想法說成是唯一永無錯誤的真理，並強加於世人，自古以來，這種人在世界上絕大多數地方所建立和所維持的只是虛假的宗教而已；強迫一個人捐錢，用以黨傳他所不相信並且厭惡的見解，是罪惡和專橫的行為；即便強迫一個人支援他所屬教派中的這位或那位牧師，也是在剝奪這個人的自由，使他不能心情舒暢地把錢捐給他所想捐的某一牧師，因為他認為這位牧師的道德可作為他的典範，而且他覺得這位牧師最有說服人從善的力量。同時這也剝奪了牧師們應從世間得到的報酬，而這些由於他們個人的行為受到尊敬而獲得的報酬，正足以鼓勵他們認真地和孜孜不倦地向世人傳教；我們的公民權並不取決於我們的宗教見解，正如它不取決於我們在物理學或幾何學上的見解一樣。因此，如果因一個人不聲明皈依或放棄這個或那個宗教見解，就硬說他沒能力擔任受到信任或享有薪俸的職務，且以此宣佈這個人不值得大眾信賴，那就是極不慎重地剝奪了他的特權和利益，而對於這些特權和利益，他和他的同胞一樣享有天賦的權利；給那些表面廣宣稱皈依某一宗教的人賄以獨佔世間榮譽和報酬的權利，同樣也是對那種宗教所宣揚的教義的腐蝕；這些無法抵制誘惑的入固然都是罪人，可是那些在這些人的道路上安置誘餌的入也不能算是清白無辜的；人的思想見解既不是文官政府可以指導的，也不屬其管轄範圍；如果我們容忍政府官員把權力伸張到思想見解的領域，任他們假定某些宗教的教義有壞傾向而限制人們皈依和傳播它們，那將是一個非常危險的錯誤做法，這會馬上斷送一切宗教自由，因為在判斷這些宗教的傾向時，當然是由這個官員作主，他會拿他個人的見解作為判斷的準繩，對於別人的見解，只看其是否和他自己的見解一致，或者是否能容忍他的見解，而予以讚許或斥責；當宗教教義突然轉化為公然反對和平和正常秩序的行為時，政府官員為了政府的正當目的，會有足夠時間進行干預的；最後，真理是偉大的。只要聽其自然，它一定會佔上風的，因為真理是謬誤的適當而有力的對手，在真理與謬誤的衝突中，真理是無所畏懼的，它只怕人類加以干涉，解除其天賦的武器——自由引證和自由辯論。一切謬誤，到了大家可以自由反駁

的時候，就不危險了。

二、我們維吉尼亞全州代表大會現頒佈以下法令，即任何人不得被強迫參加或支援任何宗教禮拜、宗教場所或傳道職位，任何人不得由於其宗教見解和信仰不同，而在肉體或財產上受到強制、約束、騷擾、負擔或其他損害；任何人都應該有自由宣佈他信仰某一宗教，並通過辯論來維護他在宗教問題上的見解，而且也絕不能因此而削弱、擴大或影響其公民權利。

三、雖然我們知道，這個代表大會，只是人民為了立法上的一般目的而選舉產生的，我們無權限制今後代表大會產生的法令，因為今後的代表大會具有和我們同樣的權力。因此，宣佈這項法令是不可推翻的，將不具有任何法律上的效力；但我們還是有自由聲明，而且必須聲明，我們在這裏所主張的權利，都是人類的天賦權利。如果今後通過的任何法令，要把目前這個法令取消或縮小其實施範圍，那麼這樣的法令將是對天賦權利的侵犯。

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Thomas Jefferson

#### A Bill for Establishing Religions Freedom in Virginia

SECTION 1. Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do, but to exalt it by its influence on reason alone; that the impious presumption of legislature and ruler, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and



modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time: that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; and therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust or emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injudiciously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminals who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on

supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square -with or suffer from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that the truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

SECTION II. We the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, or shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

SECTION III. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for their ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operations, such act

will be an infringement of natural right.

托馬斯.潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

常 識

**Common Sense**

(Library of Congress)

啊，你們這些熱愛人類的人！你們這些不但敢反對暴政而且敢反對暴君的人，請站到前面來！

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托馬斯.潘恩(1737－1809)生於英格蘭一個貧苦家庭，父親是教友派信徒，母親是英國教教徒。他十三歲輕學跟父親幹活，學做婦女緊身襪。他試幹過各種職業，但沒有一個成功的。在倫敦遇到班哲明.富蘭克林之後，他於 1774 年末移民到北美殖民地，並找到《賓夕法尼亞雜誌》的編輯工作。那時英國和殖民地之間的關係十分緊張，潘恩很快就捲進衝突。1775 年 4 月 19 日的列剋星敦和康柯德的戰鬥之後，潘恩得出結論，這次起義的目的不僅要反對不公正的稅制，而且要支援全面獨立。1776 年 1 月 10 日，他發表了一本五十頁的小冊子，書中對他的論點作了詳細解釋。這本小冊子立即引起轟動，三個月內售出十多萬冊。在一個人口僅二百五十萬的殖民地裏，可能總共售出了五十萬冊。潘恩的《常識》比任何一個出版物都更能說服當時的公眾輿論支持北美從不列顛獨立出來。

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關於英美之間的鬥爭這個題目，人們已經寫過好多卷書籍。各階層的人們出於不同的動機，抱著各種目的，參加了這場爭論；但一切都毫無效果，現在論戰已經結束了.....

我聽見有人硬是這樣說：既然北美在以前同大不列顛發生聯繫時曾經繁榮過，那麼為了它將來的幸福，同樣的聯繫是必要的，並且總會產生同樣的效果。沒有任何論證比這更錯誤的了。你還不如說，因為一個孩子是吃奶長大的，所以他永遠不該吃肉，或者說，我們一生的開頭二十年應該成為第二個二十年的先

例。可是即便這樣也是言過其實的說法，因為我可以直率地說，假如沒有歐洲列強注意她的話，北美照樣能夠繁榮，或許還更興旺。北美賴以致富的貿易，屬於生活必需的，只要歐洲人還有飲食的食慣，它總不會沒有市場。

可是有人說歐洲保護了我們。不錯，她是把我們壟斷了，而且她花我們的錢和她自己的錢來保衛北美大陸，這也是事實；不過，出於同樣的動機，也就是說為了貿易和統治權，她也會保衛土耳其的。

唉！我們長期以來受到歷史偏見的迷惑，為迷信作了很大了犧牲。我們曾自誇受大不列顛的保護，不去注意她的動機是利益而不是情誼；她並沒有為了我們而保護我們免遭我們的敵人的侵犯，她是為了保護她自己免受她的敵人的侵犯的，甚至為了其他緣故，要保護她自己免受那些與我們本無爭執的人的侵犯，但是由於同樣的原因，這些與我們本無爭執的人將會永遠成為我們的敵人。如果英國放棄對北美大陸的權利，或者北美大陸擺脫對英國的依賴，那麼，萬一法國與西班牙同英國發生戰爭，我們還可以與他們保持和平.....

可是有人說英國是祖國，是我們的父母。那麼她的所作所為就格外丟臉，豺狼尚不食其子，野蠻人也不同親屬作戰；因此，那種說法如果是正確的話，那正是對它的譴責；可是那種說法恰恰是不正確的，或者只是部分正確，而英王和他的一夥幫閒陰險地採用「父母之邦」或「母國」這種詞，含有卑鄙的天主教意圖，想利用我們輕信的弱點讓我們相信他那不公正的偏見。歐洲，而不是英國，才是北美的父母之邦。這個新世界曾經成為歐洲各地受迫害的酷愛公民自由與宗教自由的人士的避難所。他們逃到這裏來，並不是要逃出母親溫柔的懷抱，而是要躲避魔鬼暴虐；把第一批移民逐出鄉里的那種暴政，還在追逐著他們的後代，這話對英國來說至今還是千真萬確的.....

我要求那些最熱心鼓吹和解的人指出北美大陸由於同大不列顛保持聯繫而能得到的哪怕一點好處。我們的穀物將在歐洲任何市場上售出好價錢，而我們的進口貨物一定要在我們願意購買的地方成交。

但是，我們由於同英國保持聯繫而遭到的危害和損失是不勝枚舉的；我們對全人類以及對我們自己的責任指導我們拒絕這種聯盟：因為對大不列顛的任何屈從或依附，都會立刻招這個大陸捲入歐洲的各種戰爭和爭執，使我們同一些國家發生衝突，而那些國家本來是願意爭取我們的友誼的，我們對它們也是沒有

憤怒或不滿的理由的。既然歐洲是我們的貿易市場，我們就應當同歐洲任何部分保持不偏不倚的關係。北美的真正利益在於避開歐洲的各種紛爭，如果由於它依附英國而變成英國政治天平上的一個小小的砝碼。它就永遠不能置身於紛爭之外。歐洲王國林立，不可能長期保持和平狀態，一旦英國和任何外國之間爆發戰爭，北美由於她同不列顛的聯繫，在貿易上一定會遭到毀滅。下一次的戰爭也許結果不會像上一次一樣，而如果有所不同的話，現在鼓吹和解的人，那時就會希望分離了，因為在那種情況下，中立將是一支更安全的護航隊而不是一個小卒。凡是正確或自然的東西都會祈求分離，被殺死的人的鮮血及造化的啜泣聲在喊著：現在是分離的時候了。甚至上帝在英國和北美之間設置這麼遠的距離，也有力地而劇順理成章地證明，英國對北美行使權力這點決不是上蒼的意圖.....

許多人住的地點，離目前發生不幸事件的現場很遠，這是他們的運氣；禍害並沒有完全降臨到他們的門口，使他們感到北美的全部財產岌岌可危。可是讓我們想像力把我們帶到波士頓去一會兒吧；那充滿災難的地點會教我們學得聰明一些，而且會指引我們同我們不能加以信任的政權斷絕關係。那個不幸城市的居民，僅在幾個月前還過著安樂富裕的生活，可是他們現在除了呆在那裏挨餓或出外求乞外，沒有別的辦法。如果他們繼續留在城裏，就有遭朋友的炮火轟擊的危險，而如果他們離開，又會遭到軍隊的洗劫；在目前的情況下，他們是一些沒有超度希望的囚徒，在發起總攻來救助他們的時候，他們將暴露在雙方軍隊的猛烈炮火之下.....

可是，如果你們說，你們還能容忍那些侵犯，那麼我倒要請教，你們的房屋有沒有被燒掉.你們的財產是否在你們面前被破壞.你的妻兒是否還有床鋪睡覺，有麵包充飢.你們的父母兒女是否曾遭他們的毒手，而你們自己是不是在顛沛流離中死裏逃生的呢.如果你們沒有過這些遭遇，你們就不能體會那些有過這種遭遇的人的心情。但如果你遭了殃，你還能同兇手把手言歡，那麼你便不配稱為丈夫、父親、朋友和情人，並且不管你這一輩子的地位和頭銜如何，你都是個膽小鬼和馬屁精.....

所有爭取和平的溫和的方法都沒有奏效。我們的歷次懇求都被鄙夷地一口回絕；這使我們相信，沒有什麼比反覆請願更能取悅國王們的虛榮心並證實他們

的頑固了——而且只有那種做法最能助長歐洲國王們的專制。丹麥和瑞典就是很好的例子。因此，既然抵抗才有效力，那麼為了上帝，讓我們達到最後的分離，不要讓下一代人，在遭受侮辱的毫無意義的父子關係的名義下趨於滅亡。如果說他們不會想再那麼幹了，那是單憑想像而沒有根據的；我們對於印花稅法曾抱有這樣的想法，然而一兩年的工夫就打破了我們的迷夢；否則我們也可以認為那些已經被打敗的國家將永遠不會再尋釁了。

至於說到統治的問題，英國是無法以公平合理的態度來對待這個大陸的：它的事務不久就會十分紛繁，這不是一個離我們這麼遠，對我們這樣無知的國家用種種權宜之計所能經營的，因為，如果他們不能征服我們，他們便無法統治我們。為了一件事情或一項申請要經常奔波三四千英里，為了答覆要等待四五個月，而得到批覆以後，又需要五六個月來加以解釋，這種情況不出幾年功夫就會被看作是荒唐和幼稚的行徑。如果過去有一段時間它是適當的，那麼現在便是使它不再存在的適當時期了。

那些不能自衛的小島，是一些王國把它們置於保護之下的適當物件；但是，如果認為一個大陸可以永遠受一個島嶼的統治，那不免有些荒謬。在自然界，從來沒有使衛星大於它的主星的先例；既然英國和北美在彼此的關係上違反自然的一般規律，那麼顯然他們是屬於不同的體系。英國屬於歐洲，北美屬於它自己.....

有人說，那麼北美的國王在哪兒呢。朋友，我要告訴你，他在天上統治著，不像大不列顛皇家畜生那樣殘害人類。還是讓我們莊嚴地規定一天來宣佈憲章，希望我們哪怕在世俗的德行方面也不要缺點；讓我們發表的憲章以神法和聖經為依據；讓我們為憲章加冕、從而使世人知道，就贊成君主制而言，在北美法律就是國王。因為，正如在專制政府中，國王便是法律一樣，在自由國家中法律便應該成為國王，而且不應該有其它的作用。但為了預防以後發生濫用至高權威的流弊，那就不妨在典禮結束時，取消國王這一稱號，把它分散給有權享受這種稱號的人民。

組織我們自己的政府，乃是我們天賦的權利。當一個人如真考慮到世事的動盪時，他就會深深地相信，我們盡力以冷靜審慎的態度來組織我們自己的政權形武，要比把這樣一個重大問題交給時間和機會去支配，來得無限的聰明和安

全.....

你們這些勸我們重視融洽與和解的人，能不能把已經消逝的時間重新交還給我們呢？你們能不能把過去的純潔還給娼妓呢。你們要使英國與北美和解，也是辦不到的。現在最後一根紐帶已經斷了，英國人正在大放厥詞攻擊我們。所造成的損害是天理難容的。如果天理會寬恕的話，那就不成其為天理了。既然情人不會寬恕強姦他情婦的人，北美大陸也就不能寬恕英國的那些殺人兇手。上帝已賦予我們執著追求好的和明智的東西的不可泯滅的感情。這種感情保護了我們心中上帝的形象，而且使我們不同於普通的動物群體。假如我們麻木無情，社會契約就會解體，公道就會在世上絕跡，或者不過偶然存在。假如我們所感受的侮辱不能激怒我們起來要求伸張正義，強盜和殺人兇手將會常常追逐法外。

啊，你們這些熱愛人類的人！你們這些不但敢反對暴政而且敢反對暴君的人，請站到前面來！舊世界到處壓迫猖獗。自由到處遭到追逐。亞洲和非洲早已把她逐出。歐洲把她當作異己分子，而英國已經對她下了逐客令。啊，接待這個逃亡者，及時地為人類準備一個避難所吧！

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Thomas Paine

Common Sense

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. . . .

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thriven upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next

twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz., for the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain without considering that her motive was interest, not attachment; and that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, but who will always be our enemies on the same account. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. . . .

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore, the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase parent or mother country hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low, papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the



persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of a mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still. . . .

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instructs us to renounce the alliance: because any submission to, or dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels, and sets us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. 'Tis the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do while by her dependence on Britain she is made the make weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because neutrality in that case would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Everything that is right or natural pleads

for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other, was never the design of heaven. . . .

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us forever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would be exposed to the fury of both armies....

But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt. Hath your property been destroyed before your face. Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on. Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor. If you have not, then you are not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and can still shake hands with the murderers, then you are unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover; and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant. . . .

Every quiet method for peace hath been in effectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and have tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in kings more than repeated petitioning--and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the kings of Europe absolute. Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary; we thought so as the repeal of the stamp act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations which have been once defeated will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which, when obtained, requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness. There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England

to Europe: America to itself...

But where, say some, is the king of America. I'll tell you, friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the Word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW is KING. For as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to BE king, and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right; and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. . . .

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is passed. Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence. Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken; the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common

animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated from the earth, or have only a casual existence, were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

托馬斯.潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

北美的危機

**The American Crisis**

(Library of Congress)

這是考驗人的靈魂的時代。

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在美國獨立戰爭期間，潘恩寫了以《北美的危機》為題的系列文章，分為十六小冊，發表於 1776—1783 年之間。他給這些小冊子標題為《常識》。其中第一篇發表於 1776 年 12 月 23 日，以滿腔熱情號召人們為自由而戰。以下便是這篇文章的摘要。華盛頓將軍下令向他在福吉穀士氣低落的軍隊宣讀這篇振奮精神的檄文。

儘管潘恩的愛國著作賣出了千萬冊，潘恩卻依然身無分文，因為，為了使他的文章能夠被廣泛印發，讓人閱讀，他拒絕接受任何版稅。潘恩是世界上最偉大的政治宣傳家之一。1787 年，他回到歐洲，希望能爭取人們對他在費城附近建一座橫跨斯凱基爾河的大橋的計劃感興趣。然而，他很快就被法國革命迷住

了。1791年，他發表《人的權利》，捍衛法國革命，批判埃德蒙·伯克寫的《對法國革命的反思》。伯克作了回答。1792年，潘恩發表《人的權利》第二部，批判君主政體，鼓吹消滅貧困、文盲和失業的政策。英國政府禁止潘恩的激進建議，並企圖逮捕他，但潘恩從英國逃到法國。在那兒他被選進國民議會。儘管他保衛過法國革命，但他還是批評恐怖時期，並設法救國王的性命。由於他這樣做，法國人把他關在牢裏近一年。潘恩寫的《理性時代》(兩部分，1794和1795年)使他遭到各處正統宗教狂者的刻骨仇恨。

1802年，潘恩回到美國。1809年，在紐約市去世。

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這是考驗人的靈魂的時代。在當前的危機中，精壯的戰士和樂天的愛國者會在為國家服務的責任面前畏縮不前，但今天能堅持戰鬥的人應當得到全體男女的愛戴和感激。專制制度就像地獄一樣，是不容易被打破的，但是我們可以堪慰的是：鬥爭越是艱巨，勝利就越光榮。輕易獲得的東西，我們並不珍重；一切事物的價值在於它是來之不易的。上天知道怎樣給它的貨品定出適當的價碼。如果對自由這樣神聖的東西反而索價不高，那豈非咄咄怪事。憑軍隊來推行其專制制度的不列顛公開宣佈她有權利(不但課稅)而且「在一切情形下對我們進行全面約束」，如果那樣約束我們還不叫奴役的話，那世上就不存在奴役這回事了。其實他們這種說法本身也是褻瀆神明的，因為他們所說的那種無限權力只能屬於上帝……

我和任何人一樣，沒有什麼迷信。但我內心深處一向認為，而且現在還是這麼認為，一個曾殫思竭慮，想盡一切妥善的辦法，屢次真誠地尋求避免戰爭之災難的民族，萬能的上帝是不會聽任他們橫遭兵刃的洗劫的。我沒有那麼多異教徒的思想，還不至於認為上帝會放棄對世界的主宰，把我們交給魔鬼發落。既然我並無上述想法，我也就看不出「不列顛國王將能以何種理由仰對上天求助以加害於我們：一個聲名狼藉的兇手、攔路搶劫的匪徒和破門而入的強盜都會找到一個跟他一樣堂皇的藉口。」

然而有時驚惶失措竟會這麼快蔓延全國，看來真是令人吃驚。各個國家和各個時代都有過類似的例子：不列顛聽說法國平底船隊到達的消息時曾像打擺子一樣發抖。在十四世紀，英軍全體將士對法蘭西王國進行一番洗劫之後被趕回，

竟嚇得目瞪口呆，而這番英雄業績只是由一位叫貞德的婦女率領拼湊的散兵遊勇所幹的。但願上天也啟發新澤西的某個女子去鼓舞她的同胞奮起，拯救她受苦受難的同胞，使他們免遭蹂躪劫掠之苦.....

我不是對少數人，而是向全體呼籲；不是對這個州或那個州，而是向每一個州呼籲；呼籲你們迅速奮起，前來助戰，全力以赴，共襄大業，況且生死存亡，在此一舉，因而所聚兵力寧可太多，不可太少。讓我們昭告後世，在這只有希望和美德才能堅持下去的隆冬季節，我城鄉居民，為共同的危難而惶恐不安，紛紛挺身而出，聯合退敵。且莫道幾千人已經喪生，請拿出你的幾萬人來，不要把當前的負擔推給上帝，要「用實幹表現你的信心」，這樣上帝才會保佑你。地不分東西，人不分貴賤，是禍是福，總會降臨到你們每個人頭上的。不論是遠是近，是家鄉還是邊疆，是富人還是窮人，喜則同喜，憂則同憂。此時此刻無動於衷的心便是死的。他的孩子們將以血咒罵他的怯懦，因為他在只要付出一點便可拯救全體，使他們獲得幸福的緊要關頭退縮了。我愛能在危難中微笑的人；我愛能從痛苦中聚集力量的人；我愛能通過深思變得勇敢的人。臨陣逃脫是小人的行徑。而一位天性堅毅，行為不背良心的人，將會堅持原則。至死不渝。在我看來，我推理的思路像一線光一樣筆直透明。我相信即使把全世界的財富都給我，也無法誘使我去支援一場侵略戰爭，因為我認為這是屠殺。但是，假如一名盜賊破門闖入我的住宅，燒燬我的財物，殺死我或威脅要殺我，或屋子裏的其他人，並要我「在一切情況下受約束」於他的絕對意志，難道我要甘受其害嗎。不管幹這事的是國王還是平民，是我的同胞還是外國人，是單個暴徒還是一支軍隊，那對我有什麼差別。歸根到底一點差別都沒有，因為，對於這些罪行，我們在一種情況下要懲罰，而在另一種情況下又要赦免，那是不公正的。就讓他們把我叫作叛逆吧，非常歡迎，我毫不在乎。但是，我如果去向一個遲鈍的、頑固的、卑劣的、獸性的傢夥表示忠心，從而使我的靈魂淪為娼妓一樣骯髒，那就會使我遭受魔鬼一樣的痛苦。而當末日來臨時，這種人就會向荒山野嶺哀號，尋求托庇，驚恐萬狀地從北美的孤兒、寡婦、和被屠殺者面前逃走。要是我接受這種人的憐憫，我也同樣會感到可怕的。

有些情況無論用什麼言詞來描述都不會過份，這便是一個例子。有些人對威脅著他們的邪惡不能充份認識，他們希望敵人在勝利後會大發慈悲，且以此來安

慰自己。期望那些不顧正義的人大發慈悲，真是愚蠢至極。而且在以征服為目的的地方，即便慈悲也只不過是戰爭的一種詭計。狐狸的狡猾跟豺狼的暴皮同樣兇殘。我們對兩者都應當保持同樣的警惕.....

感謝上帝，我無所畏懼。我看不出有什麼真正值得畏懼的理由。我對目前的局勢一清二楚，對將來的出路瞭如指掌.....只要我們堅持不懈，不屈不撓，我們就有希望得到光榮的結果。膽小怕事，屈膝投降，其結果只好悲慘地接受各種災禍——國家慘遭蹂躪，城市人口銳減，人民居無安所，備受奴役而無希望，我們的家園將變成黑森僱傭軍的營房和妓院，以後還得養活一大堆弄不清誰是他們父親的孩子。面對這樣一副情景，能不痛哭流涕！如果時至今日竟還有哪個沒有頭腦的劣種不相信這話，那就讓他去受罪，別為他悲傷.....

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Thomas Paine

The American Crisis

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, "we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to TAX) but "to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER," and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there no such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. . . .



I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to Heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a housebreaker, has as good a pretence as he.

"Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them: Britain has trembled like an ague at the report of a French fleet of flat bottomed boats; and in the fourteenth century the whole English army, after ravaging the kingdom of France, was driven back like men petrified with fear; and this brave exploit was performed by a few broken forces collected and headed by a woman, Joan of Arc. Would that heaven might inspire some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow sufferers from ravage and ravishment! ...

. . . I call not upon a few, but upon all: not on this state or that state, but on every state; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. Say not that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burden of the day upon

Providence, but "show your faith by your works, " that God may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now, is dead: the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever, " to his absolute will, am I to suffer it. What signifies it to me, whether he who does it is a king or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman: whether it be done by an individual villain, or an army of them. If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow, and the slain of

America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil which threatens them, they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if they succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly, to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war; the cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf; and we ought to guard equally against both. . . .

I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. . . . By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils--a ravaged country--a depopulated city--habitations without safety, and slavery without hope--our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented. ...

托馬斯.潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

《自由之樹》

**Liberty Tree**

(Library of Congress)

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除了寫革命小冊子之外，托馬斯.潘恩還寫了《自由之樹》。這是一首愛國詩歌，1775年7月刊在《賓夕法尼亞雜誌》或《美國博物館月刊》上，署名為「阿特蘭提克斯」，這是潘恩常用的一個筆名。儘管《自由之樹》這首詩歌在現代已被遺忘，但它也曾流行了好幾年。

自由女神乘著光明的戰車，  
從陽光燦爛的仙域駕來；  
一萬名神仙引路，  
引導著高貴的女神走來，  
她就像一根美麗含苞的花枝，  
從那千百萬人和睦相處的天上花園降下，  
手中拿著一棵她稱作「自由之樹」的植物，  
作為她愛的象徵。這株天上來的植物深深地插到地裏，  
就像是土生的樹木，茁壯成長，開花結果；  
它的果實享譽四方，  
引得周圍各民族都來尋它的和平土地。  
他們並不在乎族姓不同或他們之間的差別  
因為自由人可以像兄弟一般和睦相處：  
他們有同一種天賦精神，追求同一種友誼，  
他們的殿堂同是「自由之樹」。他們就像古時的長老坐在這  
棵美麗的樹下  
滿意地吃著麵包；  
他們不想金，不想銀，  
也不在乎榮華與顯貴。  
他們供給老英格蘭木材和焦油，  
還支援她在海上的霸權；  
為了「自由之樹」的榮譽，  
他們分文未取為她戰鬥。可是，請你們這些年輕人聽一聽，  
(這是最污穢的故事)  
怎麼所有的專制權貴，  
國王，下院和上院都全力聯合一致，  
要砍下這株保護我們的「自由之樹」；  
從東到西，吹起號角，拿起武器，

Thomas  
Paine  
Liberty Tree

讓號聲響遍大地，  
讓遠近四方的人，——振臂團結一致，  
捍衛我們的「自由之樹」。

In a chariot of light from the regions of day,  
The Goddess of Liberty came;  
Ten thousand celestials directed the way,  
And thither conducted the dame,  
This fair budding branch, from the garden above,  
Where millions with millions agree;  
She bro't in her hand, as a pledge of her love,  
The plant she call'd Liberty Tree.  
This celestial exotic struck deep in the ground,  
Like a native it flourish'd and bore;  
The fame of its fruit, drew the nations around,  
To seek out its peaceable shore.  
Unmindful of names or distinction they came,  
For freemen like brothers agree:  
With one spirit endow'd, they one friendship pursued,  
And their temple was **Liberty Tree**.  
Beneath this fair branch, like the patriarchs of old,  
Their bread, in contentment they eat;  
Unwearied with trouble, of silver or gold,  
Or the cares of the grand and the great,  
With timber and tar, they old England supplied,  
Supported her power on the seas;  
Her battles they fought, without having a groat,  
For the honor of **Liberty Tree**.  
But hear, O ye swains, ( 'tis a tale most profane)  
How all the tyrannical powers,

King, Commons, and Lords, are uniting amain,  
To cut down this guardian of ours;  
From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arms,  
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,  
Let the far and the near, --all unite with a cheer,  
In defense of our **Liberty Tree**.

艾碧琪.亞當斯

(ABIGALE ADAMS)

與約翰的通信

**Correspondence with John**

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

不要讓丈夫們掌握如此無限制的權力。要記住，所有的男人只要可能都會成為暴君的。

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艾碧琪.亞當斯(1744－1818)生於麻塞諸塞，主要通過自學閱讀了大量歷史書籍。1764 年嫁給約翰.亞當斯，他當時還是一位年輕的波士頓律師。在亞當斯常年離家忙於公務的歲月裏，這對夫婦保持經常通信。在許多年裏——當約翰.亞當斯出席大陸議會，或到國外當外交官，或當副總統和總統時——艾碧琪.亞當斯常給家人和朋友寫信描述她自己的生活。她不僅捍衛婦女的權利，而且反對奴隸制。

1776 年 3 月 31 日，當大陸議會正在認真考慮獨立時，艾碧琪.亞當斯寫信給她丈夫。在描述了麻塞諸塞春天到來的情景後，她提醒她丈夫在制定新法典時要「記住女士們」。在亞當斯 1776 年 4 月 14 日給他妻子的回信中，他把她的「特別法典」視作他愛妻的一個小小玩笑。

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艾碧琪給約翰的信

.....我盼著聽到你們宣佈獨立的消息。順便說一下，我想你們將需要立個新法典，在這個新的法典裏，我們希望你們能記住女士們，而且要比你們的先輩們

對她們更寬大，更好。不要讓丈夫們掌握如此無限制的權力。要記住，所有的男人只要可能都會成為暴君的。如果對女士沒有給予特別的照顧和重視，我們就決心煽動大家造反，我們不會讓那些我們沒有發言權或代表參加制定的法律來約束我們。

你們男人天生霸道，這是確定無疑的事實，毋庸爭辯。但是，像你這樣希望得到幸福的人，是很願意放棄「主人」這個刺耳的稱號而換上「朋友」這個更溫柔親切的稱號。那麼，你們為什麼不使那些邪惡之徒和目無法紀的人無法以殘忍的手段和侮辱來對待我們時逍遙法外。任何時代，通情達理的人都憎惡那些只把我們當作你們男人的花瓶的習俗。請把我們當作是上帝置於你們保護之下的生靈，做法上帝，使用那種權力，僅僅是為了給我們造福。

約翰給艾碧琪的信

.....至於你的特別法典，我只能一笑置之。人家已經對我們說，我們的鬥爭已經使各地都放鬆了政府的管束。孩子和學徒都變得違拗不順，中小學和大學滋生騷亂，印地安人蔑視監護人，黑奴對主人粗暴無禮。但是，你的信第一次正式宣告又有一個族群滋生不滿，而且這群人比其他所有族群人數更多，力量更大。你這是給我提出了一個相當棘手的建議，但你既然這麼孟浪地提出來了，我是不會忘掉的。

可以肯定地說，除了廢除我們的男性制度外，我們知道做什麼更好。雖然這些男性制度現在正全面實施。但你知道它們只不過是理論而已。我們並不敢全面行使我們的權力。我們必須公正溫和，實際上你知道我們都是庶民。我們僅有主人之名，而且寧可放棄這個名分，這樣就使我們完全服從於婦女的專制。我希望華盛頓將軍以及我們所有勇敢的英雄都來戰鬥，我肯定每一個好的政治家都會終身謀劃反對專制、帝國、君權、貴族、寡頭政治或暴民政治。這的確是個動聽的故事。我開始認為內閣既深謀遠慮又邪惡。在煽起托利黨人、土地投機商、騎牆派、盲信者、加拿大人、印地安人、黑人、漢諾威人、赫斯州人、俄國人、愛爾蘭羅馬天主教徒、蘇格蘭叛教者之後，最後他們又激起女士們來要求新的特權，而且威脅要造反。

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ABIGAIL to JOHN

I long to hear that you have declared an Independency--and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more lender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in immitation of the Supreem Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

JOHN to ABIGAIL

. . . As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient--that schools and Colledges were grown turbulent--that Indians slighted Their Guardians and Negroes grew insolent to Their Masters. But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.--This is rather too coarse a Compliment but you are so saucy, I wont blot it out.

Depend upon it, We know better than to repeal our Masculine



systems. Altho they are in full Force, you know they are little more than Theory. We dare not exert our Power in its full Latitude. We are obliged to go fair, and softly, and in Practice you know We are the subjects. We have only the Name of Masters, and rather than give up this, which would compleatly subject Us to the Despotism of the Peticoat, I hope General Washington, and all our brave Heroes would fight. I am sure every good Politician would plot, as long as he would against Despotism, Empire, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, or Ochlocracy.--A fine Story indeed. I begin to think the Ministry as deep as they are wicked.

After stirring up Tories, Landjobbers, Trimmers, Bigots, Canadians, Indians, Negroes, Hanoverians, Hessians, Russians, Irish Roman Catholicks, Scotch Renegadoes, at last they have stimulated the [Ladies] to demand new Priviledges and threaten to rebell.

J.赫克托.聖約翰.克雷夫科爾

(J. HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR)

一個美國農民的信

### **Letters from an American Farmer**

在這裏，來自世界各國的人融合成一個新的民族，總有一天，他們所付出的勞動以及他們的後代將使世界發生巨大的變化。

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1782 年，一位法裔美國博物學家發表了十二篇文章，他自己把這些文章題為《一個美國農民的信》。這本書在歐洲出版後，作者一舉成名，並為這個新生的國家贏得許多朋友。J.赫克托.聖約翰.克雷夫科爾又名米歇爾.紀堯姆.瓊.克雷夫科爾 (1735— 1813) 生於法國，在傑蘇伊特的學校裏受過教育。1754 年，克雷夫科爾移民到新世界，在紐約殖民地的一個農場定居。在美國革命期間，他在雙方都有朋友和親戚，而且自己遭到英國人短期監禁。1780 年他乘船前往歐洲，安排在倫敦出版他寫美國生活的文章。他曾擔任法國駐紐約領事

幾年，1790 年回到法國安度餘生。在許多年裏，克雷夫科爾對新世界敏銳而富於同情的描述，使他成為擁有最廣大讀者的美洲評論員。也許他的《信》中最著名的部分就是編在這裏的這段文章，文中提出了美國作為許多國家人民的熔爐這個概念。

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但願我能熟悉那種必將鼓動人心的感情和思想，並且在一個開明的英國人首次踏上這片大陸時，將這種思想和感情原原本本地展現在他眼前。他一定會大為高興，在有生之年看到這片美麗的國土被人發現和定居。當他觀看裝點著這延綿不斷的海岸上的一連串殖民地時，他必定會感到一份民族自豪。這時他對自己說這是我的同胞們幹的，他們是在受派別騷擾，為各種不幸和貧困感到痛苦，並且煩躁不安時，來到這裏避難的。他們帶來了他們的民族精神，他們現在能享有這樣的自由並且擁有這樣的物質財富主要應歸功於這種精神。在這裏他看到祖國的工業以新的方式展現出來，從他們一點一滴的勞動成果裏可以看到在歐洲繁榮的所有藝術、科學和創造力的萌芽。在這裏他看到美麗的城市，富足的鄉村，廣闊的田野，一個到處是漂亮的房子、良好的道路、果園、草地和橋樑的大國家，而在一百年以前，這裏還是荒野、樹林和未開墾的土地！這美妙的景象定會引起人們愉快的聯想，這前景必將激起一個好公民最舒心的快感。難點在於怎樣來看這幅如此廣闊的景像。他是來到一個新大陸，來到一個現代社會，一個與他迄今所見過的社會不同的社會，這個社會本身就可供他思考。這不是像歐洲那樣是由擁有一切的貴族老爺和一無所有的群氓組成的社會。這裏沒有貴族家庭，沒有宮殿，沒有國王，沒有主教，沒有教會控制，沒有給少數人顯赫權力的那種無形的權力，沒有僱傭幾千人的製造商，沒有窮極奢侈。富人和窮人不像在歐洲那樣相差甚遠。除了幾個城鎮之外，從新斯科舍到西佛羅里達，我們都是耕地的。我們是一個耕者民族，散居在一片巨大的領土上，通過良好的道路和可通航的河流相互交流，由溫和政府的絲帶把我們聯在一起，大家都尊重法律而不畏懼其權力，因為法律是公平的。我們生氣勃勃，充滿實業精神，這種精神已破除去鐐拷，不受任何約束，因為我們每個人都是為自己工作的。如果他到我們的農村地區旅行，他看到的不是充滿敵意的城堡和高傲的豪華大廈與土築的茅屋及悲慘的小屋形成對照，不是牛和人相依取暖，

居住在鄙陋、煙霧和貧困之中的茅屋。我們所有的住所一律都顯示出相當的財力，連我們木屋中最差的一間也是乾燥舒適的。律師和商人是我們城鎮提供的最好聽的頭銜，而農民則是我們國家鄉村居民的唯一稱號。他必須經過一段時間才會適應我們的辭彙，在我們的詞典裏缺少有關名流權貴的詞以及高官顯爵的名稱。星期天，他可在那兒看到一群可敬的農民和他們的妻子，他們都穿著整齊的家紡衣服，騎著馬或乘著他們自己簡陋的四輪馬車。他們當中除了那個目不識丁的執事，沒有一個鄉紳。在那兒，他看到牧師跟他的教徒一樣樸實，牧師也是農民，並不靠別人的勞動來享受。我們沒有我們要為他們勞苦、受餓和流血的王爺，我們的社會是世界上現存的最完美的社會……

這位旅行者的下一個願望便是要知道這些人是從何處來的。他們是英格蘭人、蘇格蘭人、愛爾蘭人、法國人、荷蘭人、德國人和瑞典人的混雜。由這種混雜而繁衍產生了一個現叫作美國人的種族。東部省份的確是例外，他們是純英國人後裔。我也聽到許多人希望他們能有更多的混和。至於我自己，我是現實的，我認為現在這樣更好。在這幅偉大的雜色圖畫裏，他們展現出一幅最引人注目的圖像。在這十三個省展現出的令人喜悅的前景裏，有一大部分是他們的。我知道對他們說三道四是眼下的時髦，但我尊重他們所做的事，他們準確而明智地定居到他們的領地上，他們舉止端莊，從小就熱愛文學知識，他們辦的古老學院是這個半球的第一所學院，他們辦的工業對我這一介農夫來說就是一切事物的準繩。從來沒有一個民族處於他們這樣的情形，在這麼短的時間內，在這麼荒涼的土地上，取得比他們更大的成功。你是否認為在其他政府中佔優勢的君主成分已經使那些政府清除了所有的污點。他們的歷史證實恰恰相反。

在這個巨大的美洲避難所裏，歐洲的窮人總得以某種方式相會，由於各種各樣的原因，他們為什麼要互相問是哪國人呢。哎，他們中三分之二沒有國家。一個到處流浪的可憐人，一個終日辛勞卻還忍饑挨餓的人，一個總是生活在痛苦或赤貧如洗的境遇裏的人，會把英國或其他王國稱作自己的國家嗎。一個沒有麵包給他吃的國家，在這個國家裏他的土地沒有收成，他遇到的只是富人的白眼，嚴厲的法律，監獄和懲罰，在這廣闊的星球表面上他連一寸土地都沒有，他能將這個國家叫做自己的國家嗎。不！由於受各種各樣的動機所驅使，他們來到這裏。這裏的一切都促使他們獲得新生，新的法律，新的生活方式，新的

社會制度，在這裏他們才是人；而在歐洲，他們就像是許多無用的草木，缺乏生長的沃土和清新的雨水，他們枯萎了，由於貧困、飢餓和戰爭而被割除掉。但是，現在通過移植的力量，他們就像其他植物一樣，已經紮下根並且生長茂盛。以前他們除了被列入窮人的名單外，沒有被列入他們國家的公民名單，而在這裏，他被排在公民之列。是由什麼無形的力量來進行這種令人吃驚的蛻變。那是由於法律的力量和他們勤勞的力量。他們一到這裏，法律——寬容的法律就保護他們，給他們蓋上接納的標誌。他們付出的勞動能得到充足的報酬，這些報酬積累起來就使他們能獲得土地，這些土地又使他們獲得自由人的稱號，隨著這個稱號他們可得到人可能要求得到的一切利益，這就是我們的法律每天所進行的偉大工作……

一個貧苦的歐洲移民對一個他一無所有的國家會有什麼感情。語言知識以及對於幾個跟他自己一樣窮的親戚的愛是聯繫著他的唯一紐帶。而他的國家現在是那個給他土地、麵包、保護和重要地位的國家。「哪裡有麵包，哪裡就是國家。」是所有移民的座右銘。那麼美國人——這個新的人到底是什麼人。他們或是歐洲人，或是歐洲人的後裔，因此，他們是你在任何其它國家都找不到的混血人。我可以向你指出一個家庭，其祖父是英國人，其要是荷蘭人，其子娶一個法國女人，而他們現在的四個兒子娶了四個不同民族的妻子。他是一個美國人，他把一切古老的偏見和習俗都拋到身後，從他所接受的新的生活方式中，從他所服從的新政府裏，從他所處的新的地位上，獲得新的習俗。由於被接納進我們偉大養母寬大的懷抱裏，他成了一個美國人。在這裏，來自世界各國的人融合成一個新的民族，總有一天，他們所付出的勞動以及他們的後代將使世界發生巨大的變化。美國人是來自西方的定居者，他們帶來了大量的藝術、科學、活力和勤奮精神，這些在東方早已開始了，而美國人將完成這個偉大的循環。美國人曾散居於歐洲各地，在這裏他們結合組成迄今最好的人口群體，此後，由於他們居住的地帶氣候不同，這些群體之間也將產生差異。因此，美國人應當愛這個國家，勝過愛那個他自己或他的祖先出生的國家。在這裏，勤勞所得的報酬隨著他勞動的增長而增長，他的勞動是建立在自然、自覺的基礎上的；難道還需要比這更強的誘惑力嗎。以前，他的妻子兒女向他要一片麵包都得不到，現在他們吃得又胖又快活，很樂意幫助父親去清理那些田地，而從這些田裏將

長出充足的作物以供他們所有的人吃和穿，既沒有專制的君主，也沒有富有的修道院長和有權有勢的貴族來要求得到他們收成的任何部分。在這裏，教會僅對他們提出一點需求，他們只要自願奉獻一點給牧師作工資以及對上帝的感恩，他能拒絕這些嗎。美國人是新人，辦事有新原則，因此，他必須考慮新的思想，形成新的觀點。他經歷廠被迫失業、卑屈的依賴、赤貧和無用的勞動之後，現在正從事一個性質完全不同的勞動，這種勞動將得到充足的物質報酬。這就是一個美國人.....

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J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur

Letters from an American Farmer

I wish I could be acquainted with the feelings and thoughts which must agitate the heart and present themselves to the mind of an enlightened Englishman, when he first lands on this continent. He must greatly rejoice that he lived at a time to see this fair country discovered and settled; he must necessarily feel a share of national pride, when he views the chain of settlements which embellishes these extended shores. When he says to himself, this is the work of my countrymen, who, when convulsed by factions, afflicted by a variety of miseries and wants, restless and impatient, took refuge here. They brought along with them their national genius, to which they principally owe what liberty they enjoy, and what substance they possess. Here he sees the industry of his native country displayed in a new manner, and traces in their works the embryos of all the arts, sciences, and ingenuity which flourish in Europe. Here he beholds fair cities, substantial villages, extensive fields, an immense country filled with decent houses, good roads, orchards, meadows, and bridges, where an hundred years ago all was wild, woody, and uncultivated! What a train of pleasing ideas this fair spectacle must suggest; it is a prospect which must inspire a good

citizen with the most heartfelt pleasure. The difficulty consists in the manner of viewing so extensive a scene. He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families. no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one; no great manufacturers employing thousands, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers; united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. If he travels through our rural districts he views not the hostile castle, and the haughty mansion, contrasted with the clay-built hut and miserable cabin, where cattle and men help to keep each other warm, and dwell in meanness, smoke, and indigence. A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations. The meanest of our log-houses is a dry and comfortable habitation. Lawyer or merchant are the fairest titles our towns afford; that of a farmer is the only appellation of the rural inhabitants of our country. It must take some time ere he can reconcile himself to our dictionary, which is but short in words of dignity, and names of honour. There, on a Sunday, he sees a congregation of respectable

farmers and their wives, all clad in neat homespun, well mounted, or riding in their own humble waggons. There is not among them an esquire, saving the unlettered magistrate. There he sees a parson as simple as his flock, a farmer who does not riot on the labour of others. We have no princes, for whom we toil, starve, and bleed: we are the most perfect society now existing in the world. . . .

The next wish of this traveller will be to know whence came all these people. they are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. The eastern provinces must indeed be excepted, as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen. I have heard many wish that they had been more intermixed also: for my part, I am no wisher, and think it much better as it has happened. They exhibit a most conspicuous figure in this great and variegated picture; they too enter for a great share in the pleasing perspective displayed in these thirteen provinces. I know it is fashionable to reflect on them, but I respect them for what they have done; for the accuracy and wisdom with which they have settled their territory; for the decency of their manners; for their early love of letters; their ancient college, the first in this hemisphere; for their industry; which to me who am but a farmer, is the criterion of everything. There never was a people, situated as they are, who with so ungrateful a soil have done more in so short a time. Do you think that the monarchical ingredients which are more prevalent in other governments, have purged them from all foul stains. Their histories assert the contrary.

In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose would they ask one another what countrymen they are.

Alas, two thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch who wanders about, who works and starves, whose life is a continual scene of sore affliction or pinching penury; can that man call England or any other kingdom his country. A country that had no bread for him, whose fields procured him no harvest, who met with nothing but the frowns of the rich, the severity of the laws, with jails and punishments; who owned not a single foot of the extensive surface of this planet. No! urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Every thing has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men: in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war: but now by the power of transplantation, like all other plants they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. By what invisible power has this surprising metamorphosis been performed. By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption; they receive ample rewards for their labours; these accumulated rewards procure them lands: those lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can possibly require. This is the great operation daily performed by our laws. . . .

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing. The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him: his country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence. **Ubi pants ibi patria**, is the motto of all emigrants.



What then is the American, this new man. He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them the great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow-- with equal steps the progress of his labour; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurements. Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him; a small voluntary salary to

the minister, and gratitude to God; can he refuse these. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.--This is an American....

喬治.華盛頓

(GEORGE WASHINGTON)

告別演說

**Farewell Address**

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我們處理外國事務的最重要原則，就是在與它們發展商務關係時，儘量避免與它們發生政治聯繫。

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喬治.華盛頓(1732—1799)在領導革命軍取得勝利並主持了成功的制憲會議之後，毫無異議地被選為新國家的第一任總統。他勉強接受第二任四年的任期，但他拒絕連任第三任。在一個還是由國王、世襲酋長和小暴君們統治的世界裏，華盛頓作出放棄權力，讓給民選繼承人的決定表明美國的民主實驗有了一個良好的開端。

在 1796 年 9 月 17 日向他的內閣所發表的告別演說中，華盛頓提出以下忠告：一、反對地方主義的危險；二、反對政治派系之爭；三、保持宗教和道德作為「人類幸福之重要支柱」，並促進建立「普及知識的機構」；四、與其他國家保持中立關係。他對於捲入國外爭端的警告後來被稱為是「華盛頓的偉大法規」。直至第一次世界大戰為止，這條「偉大法規」一直是美國外交政策的主旨。

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我們重新選舉一位公民來主持美國政府的行政工作已為期不遠了，實際上，現在已經到了必須運用你們的思想來考慮將此重任付託給誰的時候了。因此，我覺得我應當向大家表明，尤其是因為這樣做可能使得公眾意見表達得更明確，

那就是我已下定決心，謝絕把我列為候選人.....

政府的統一使大家結成一個民族，現在也為你們所珍視。各位理應如此，因為它是支撐你們真正獨立的主要支柱，也是保證你們國內安定、國外和平、安全、繁榮以及你們所珍惜的自由的基石。然而，不難預見，會有某些力量試圖削弱你們心裏對這個真理的信念，這些力量起因不一，來源各異，但均煞費苦心，千方百計地產生作用。其所以如此，是因為統一是你們政治堡壘中的一個攻擊重點，內外敵人的炮火，會不斷加緊(雖然常是隱蔽地和陰險地)攻擊。因此，當前最重要的是你們應當正確估量民族團結對於你們集體和個人幸福的巨大價值。對於它你們應當懷有誠摯的、一貫的和堅定不移的忠誠；你們在思想上和言談中應習慣於把它當作政治安定和繁榮的保護神，你們要小心翼翼地維護它。如果有人提到這種信念在某種情況下可以拋棄，即使那只是猜想，也不應當表示支援，如果有人企圖使我國的一部分脫離其餘部分，或想削弱現在聯繫各部份的神聖紐帶，只要他們一提出來，你們就應當予以怒斥。

你們有對此給予同情和關懷的一切理由。既然你們因出生或歸化而成為同一國家的公民，這個國家就有權集中你們的情感。美國人這個稱號是屬於你們這些有國民身份的人，這個稱號一定會提高你們愛國的光榮感，遠勝過任何地方性的稱號。你們之間除了極細微的差別之外，還有相同的宗教、禮儀、習俗和政治原則。你們曾為了一個共同的目標而奮鬥，並共同獲得勝利。你們所擁有的獨立和自由，乃是你們群策群力，同甘苦、共患難的成果.....

在研究那些可能擾亂我們聯邦的種種原因時，使人想到一件令人嚴重關切的事，即以種種理由使黨派具有地理差別的特徵——北方的和南方的，東部的和西部的——企圖這樣做的人可能力圖要借此造成一種信念，使人以為地方之間真的存在著利益和觀點的差異。一個黨派想在某些地區獲得影響而採取的功利手段之一，就是歪曲其他地區的觀點和目標。這種歪曲引起的妒忌和不滿，是防不勝防的，使那些本應親如兄弟的人變得互不相容.....

為了使你們的聯邦有效力，能持久，一個代表全體的政府是不可少的。各地區結成的聯盟，不論怎樣嚴密，都不能充分代表這樣的政府。這些聯盟必定會經歷古往今來所有聯盟都曾經歷過的背約和中斷盟約的遭遇。由於明白了這個重要的真理，所以你們在最初嘗試的基礎上進行改善，通過了一部勝過從前的政

府憲法，以期密切聯合併更有效地管理大家的共同事務。這個政府是我們自己選擇的，不曾受人影響，不曾受人威脅，是經過全盤研究和深思熟慮而建立的，它的原則和它的權力分配是完全自由的，它把安全和活力結合在一起，而且本身就含有修正其自身的規定。這樣一個政府有充分的理由要求得到你們的信任和支援。尊重它的權威，服從它的法律，遵守它的規則，這些都是真正自由的基本準則所責成的義務。我們政治制度的基礎是人民有權制定和變更其政府的憲法。可是憲法在經全民採取明確和正式的行動加以修改之前，任何人都對之負有神聖的履行義務。人民有權力和權利來建立政府，可這一觀念是以每人有義務服從所建立的政府為前提的.....

要保存你們的政府，要永久維持你們現在的幸福，你們不僅應當不斷地反對那些不時發生的反對公認的政府的行為，而且對那種要更新政府原則的風氣，即使其藉口看似有理，也應謹慎地予以抵制。他們進攻的方法之一，可能是採取改變憲法的形式，以損害這種體制的活力，從而把不能直接推翻的東西，暗中加以破壞。在你們可能被邀參與的所有變革中，應當記住，要確定政府的真正性質就像確定其他人類機構的性質一樣，至少需要時間和習慣；應當記住，要檢驗一國現存政體的真正趨勢，經驗是最可靠的標準；應當記住，僅憑假設和意見便輕易變更，將會因假設和意見之無窮變化而招致無窮的變更；還要特別記住，在我們這樣遼闊的國度裏，要想有效地管理大家的共同利益，一個充滿活力並能充分保障自由的政府是必不可少的.....

我已經告訴你們在這個國家裏存在著派系之爭的危險，並特別提到以地區差別來分黨立派的危險。現在讓我以更全面的角度，以最鄭重的態度告誡你們全面警惕派性的惡劣影響。不幸的是，這種派性與我們的本性是不可分割的，並紮根於人類思想裏最強烈的慾望之中。它以各種不同的形式存在於所有政府機構裏，儘管多少受到抑制、控制或約束；但那些常見的派性形式，往往是最令人厭惡的，而且確實是政府最危險的敵人...

它總是干擾公眾會議並削弱公眾的行政管理能力。它在社區裏煽起毫無根據的猜忌和莫須有的驚恐；挑撥一派與另一派對立；有時還鼓起騷亂和暴動。它還為外國影響和腐蝕打開方便之門，使之可輕易地通過派性的渠道深入到政府中來。這樣，一個國家的政策和意志就得受制於另一國家的政策和意志.....

在導致政治昌盛的各種意向和習慣中，宗教和道德是必不可少的支柱。那種想竭力破壞人類幸福的偉大支柱——人類與公民職責的最堅強支柱——的人，卻妄想別人讚他愛國，必然是枉費心機。純粹的政治家應當同虔誠的人一樣，尊重並珍惜宗教和道德。它們與個人的和公眾的幸福之間的關係，即便寫一本書也說不完。我們只須簡單地問一句，如果宗教責任感不存在於法院藉以調查事件的誓言中，那麼那裡談得上財產、名譽和生命的安全呢。我們還應當告誡自己不要耽於幻想，以為道德可以不靠宗教維持。儘管高尚的教育對於特殊結構的心靈可能有所影響，但根據理智和經驗，不容許我們期望在排除宗教原則的情況下，國民道德仍能普遍存在。

說道德是一個民意所歸的政府所必需的原動力，這話實質上一點不錯。這條準則可或多或少地適用於每一種類型的自由政府。凡是自由政府的忠實朋友，對於足以動搖它組織基礎的企圖，誰能熟視無睹呢。因此，大家應當把促進發展普及知識的機構作為一個重要的目標。政府組織給輿論以力量，輿論也應相應地表現得更有見地，這是很重要的。

我們應當珍惜政府的財力，因為這是力量和安全的重要源泉。保存財力的辦法之一是儘量少動用它，並維護和平以避免意外開支；但也要記住，為了防患於未然而及時撥款，往往可以避免支付更大的款項來消災弭禍。我們同樣也要避免債台高築，為此，不僅要減少開支，而且在和平時期要儘量去償還不可避免的戰爭所帶來的債務，不可吝嗇摳搜，把我們自己應承受的負擔留給後代……一個自由民族應當經常警覺，提防外國勢力的陰謀詭計(同胞們，我懇求你們相信我)，因為歷史和經驗證明，外國勢力乃是共和政府最致命的敵人之一。不過這種提防，要想做到有效，就必須不偏不倚，否則它會成為我們所要擺脫的勢力的工具，而不是抵禦那種勢力的工事。過度偏好某一國和過度偏惡另一國，都會使受到這種影響的國家只看到一方面的危險，而掩蓋甚至縱容另一方面所施的詭計。當我們所偏好的那個國家的爪牙和受他們蒙蔽的人，利用人民的讚賞和信任，而把人民的利益拱手出讓時，那些會抵制該國詭計的愛國志士，反而極易成為懷疑和憎惡的對象。

我們處理外國事務的最重要原則，就是在與它們發展商務關係時，儘量避免與它們發生政治聯繫。我們已訂的條約，必須忠實履行，但以此為限，不再增加。

歐洲有一套基本利益，這些利益對於我們毫無或極少關係。歐洲經常發生爭執，其原因基本上與我們毫不相干。因此，如果我們捲進歐洲事務，與他們的政治興衰人為地聯繫在一起，或與他們友好而結成同盟，或與他們敵對而發生衝突，都是不明智的。

我國獨處一方，遠離它國，這種地理位置允許並促使我們奉行一條不同的路線。如果我們在一個稱職的政府領導下，保持團結一致，那麼，在不久的將來，我們就可以不怕外來干擾所造成的物質破壞；我們就可以來取一種姿態，使我們在任何時候決心保持中立時，都可得到它國的嚴正尊重；好戰國家不能從我們這裏獲得好處時，也不敢輕易冒險向我們挑釁；我們可以在正義的指引下，依照自己的利益，在和平和戰爭問題上作出自己的抉擇。

我們為什麼要摒棄這種特殊環境帶來的優越條件呢？我們為什麼要放棄自己的立場而站到外國的立場上去呢？為什麼要把我們的命運同歐洲任何一部分的命運交織在一起，致使我們的和平與繁榮陷入歐洲的野心、競爭、利益關係、古怪念頭，或反覆無常的羅網之中呢？

雖然在檢討本人任期內所做的各事時，我未發覺有故意的錯誤，但我很明白我的缺點，並不以為我沒有犯過錯誤。不管這些錯誤是什麼，我懇切地祈求上帝免除或減輕這些錯誤所可能產生的惡果。我也將懷著一種希望，願我的國家永遠寬恕這些錯誤，我秉持正直的熱忱，獻身效勞國家已經四十五載，我希望因為能力薄弱而犯的過失，會隨著我不久以後長眠地下而湮沒無聞。

對於這件事也和其他事一樣，均須仰賴祖國的仁慈。由於受到強烈的愛國之情的激勵，——這種感情對於一個視祖國為自己及歷代祖先的故土的人來說，是很自然的。——我懷著歡欣的期待心情，指望在我切盼實現的退休之後，能與我的同胞們愉快地分享自由政府治下完善法律的溫暖——這是我一直衷心嚮往的目標，並且我相信，這也是我們相互關懷、共同努力和赴場蹈火的理想報酬。

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The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in

designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. . . .

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains "will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a

right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. . . .

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations--**Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western**--whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. . . .

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own



choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government. ...

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that for the efficient

management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. . . .

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy. . . .

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with illfounded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. . . .

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness--these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation,

for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice. And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon prosperity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear....

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom that actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves to artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as

our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation. Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground. Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice. ...

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government--the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

約瑟夫.霍普金森

(JOSEPH HOPKINSON)

嗨!哥倫比亞

**Hail, Columbia**

1798 年 4 月 25 日在費城一家劇院首次演唱《嗨！哥倫比亞》時，聽眾報以熱烈的掌聲和歡呼。其曲調是套用為華盛頓總統第一次就職典禮而作的《總統進行曲》的曲調。原來的題目為《愛的新聯邦之歌——改編為總統進行曲》，但在一年之內，又重新題名為《嗨！哥倫比亞》。歌的第四節開頭就直接向新當選的約翰·亞當斯總統表示致敬。歌紙上印著亞當斯的頭像，環繞頭像的是這樣一句話：「瞧，這是現在統帥我們的領袖。」反聯邦主義的報紙嘲笑這首歌是吹捧一個主張君主制的政黨，但它很快風靡全國，國人以極大的愛國熱情歡迎它。在 1931 年胡佛總統宣佈《星條旗》為國歌前約一百年裏，《嗨！哥倫比亞》與《星條旗》一直競爭當國歌。

嗨！哥倫比亞，幸福之地，  
嗨！天生的英雄們，  
為自由事業，流血奮戰，  
為自由事業，流血奮戰，  
當戰爭的風暴消失，  
享受勇士們贏得的和平，  
讓我們為獨立自豪，  
永不忘巨大的犧牲，  
為勝利，永遠感激勇士們，  
讓英雄的祭壇高聳雲天。(合唱)  
讓我們堅定地團結，  
團結在自由的周圍，  
組成兄弟般的隊伍，  
就能得到和平安全。不朽的愛國者  
再次奮起，  
保衛你的權利，保衛你的國家，  
決不讓粗暴敵人的魔爪，  
決不讓粗暴敵人的魔爪，

Hail! Columbia happy land  
Hail! Ye Heroes heav'n born band  
Who fought and bled in freedom's  
cause  
Who fought and bled in freedom's  
cause  
And when the storm of war was  
gone  
Enjoy'd the peace your valor won  
Let Independence be our boast  
Ever mindful what it cost  
Ever grateful for the prize  
Let its Altar reach the Skies.  
CHORUS:  
Firm united let us be  
Rallying round our Liberty  
As a band of Brothers join'd  
Peace and safety we shall find.

侵犯我聖者的神殿，  
侵佔我鮮血和汗水換來的勝利果實，  
當我們提出和平、誠摯和公正時，  
我們堅信天道公理，  
真理和正義終將盛行於世，  
奴役人的詭計決不會得逞。吹響讚美的喇叭，  
讓華盛頓的英名，  
響遍世界，贏得歡呼，  
響遍世界，贏得歡呼，  
使每個自由之鄉，  
都能愉快地聽到——  
無論是殘酷的戰爭年代，  
或是在愉快的和平時光，  
他都以神似的力量，同樣的技巧，  
來治理我們的國家。瞧，這是統帥  
我們的領袖，  
為了國家他再次站了出來，  
堅強如風暴衝擊的磐石，  
堅強如風暴衝擊的磐石，  
但他以美德來武裝，堅定而真誠，  
他寄希望於上帝和你們——  
當人們悲觀失望的時候，  
當愁雲籠罩著哥倫比亞，  
他意志堅定，毫不動搖，  
決心不獲自由寧可死亡。

Immortal Patriots rise once more  
Defend your rights--defend your shore  
Let no rude foe with impious hand  
Let no rude foe with impious hand  
Invade the shrine where sacred lies  
Of toil and blood the well earned prize  
While offering peace, sincere and just  
In heav'n we place a manly trust  
That truth and justice may prevail  
And ev'ry scheme of bondage fail.  
Sound sound the trump of fame  
Let Washington's great name  
Ring thro the world with loud applause  
Ring thro the world with loud applause.  
Let ev'ry clime to Freedom dear  
Listen with a joyful ear--  
With equal skill with godlike pow'r  
He governs in the fearful hour

Of horrid war or guides with ease  
The happier times of honest  
peace.  
Behold the Chief who now  
commands  
Once more to serve his Country  
stands  
The rock on which the storm will  
beat  
The rock on which the storm will  
beat  
But arm'd in virtue firm and true  
His hopes are fixed on Heav'n and  
you--  
When hope was sinking in dismay  
When glooms obscur'd  
Columbia's day  
His steady mind from changes  
free  
Resolv'd on Death or Liberty.

托馬斯.傑斐遜

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

第一任就職演說

**First Inaugural Address**

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

如果我們當中有人想解散這一聯邦，或者想改變它的共和體制，那麼就讓他們  
去吧，不用干擾他們，這樣做就為安全樹立了標誌，表明在一個理智能夠自由  
地與之鬥爭的地方，錯誤的意見是可以容忍的。



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托馬斯·傑斐遜(1743－1826)和班哲明·富蘭克林一樣是個多才多藝的人。他是一位天才的作家、政治家、音樂家、建築師、哲學家、發明家和法學家。他曾在 維吉尼亞州議會和大陸議會任職。在大陸議會任職時，他起草了《獨立宣言》。他後來曾任維吉尼亞州長、駐歐洲的外交官和喬治·華盛頓的國務卿。1801 年，在激烈的競選中，傑斐遜當選為總統。在美國，這是第一次把政府權力由一個政黨(聯邦主義者)轉移給另一個政黨(共和黨人或民主－共和黨人)。在選舉院裏，傑斐遜和阿倫·伯爾所得的選舉人票數相等，後由眾議院選擇傑斐遜當總統。

傑斐遜的就職演說是第一篇由一位總統在首都華盛頓發表的演說。當時新政府剛從費城搬到首都華盛頓。在經歷了一番競選苦戰之後，傑斐遜以這篇演說來統一國家，並明確表明他的施政綱領。

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在我們所經歷的一段爭論中，大家熱烈討論，競相奔走，初見的人，由於不習慣於自由思考，不習慣於把所想的說出來或寫出來，看見那種情形，可能相顧失色；但現在已由全國的民意作出決定，並根據憲法的規定予以公佈，大家當然會遵照法律，妥為安排，並且為了共同的利益，團結一致，同心協力。大家也會記住這樣一條原則，即多數人的意願，雖然在任何情況下都應採納，但那種意願也必須合理才能站得住腳；而且少數人也有同等的權利，必須受平等的法律的保護，如果予以侵犯，便是壓制。那麼，同胞們，讓我們團結一致，同心同德吧，讓我們恢復和睦相處，彼此友愛吧，因為沒有它們，自由，甚至生活本身，都將成為無聊的事物。我們還應思量，現在我們已經把那種使人類長期流血和受害的宗教偏執性從我們國土上摒棄了，如果我們又支援政治上的偏執性，而其專橫、邪惡，以及所造成的酷烈和血腥的迫害，都與宗教偏執性所導致的後果一樣，那麼我們的所得便很有限了。當舊世界經歷痛苦和激變時，當盛怒的人們經受痛苦的痙攣，想通過流血和屠殺尋找他們喪失已久的自由時，那巨濤般的震撼甚至會傳到遙遠而和平的此岸；各人對這種震撼的感覺和恐懼的程度不盡相同，對於採取安全措施也有意見分歧，這些都不足為奇。但是，意見分歧並不都是原則分歧。我們遵守同一原則的兄弟們，曾被加以各種

不同的稱號。我們都是共和黨人，我們都是聯邦同盟會員。如果我們當中有人想解散這一聯邦，或者想改變它的共和體制，那麼就讓他們去吧，不用干擾他們，這樣做就為安全樹立了標誌，表明在一個理智能夠自由地與之鬥爭的地方，錯誤的意見是可以容忍的。我的確知道有些誠實的人擔心共和政府不能強大有力，擔心這個政府不夠強有力；但是，一個誠實的愛國者，會在試驗最成功的時候，僅因理論上的和虛幻的疑懼，以為這個世界寄予最美好希望的政府可能不足以自存，就放棄這個一直使我們享有自由和安定的政府嗎。我相信不會。相反，我相信這個政府是世界上最強的政府，我相信在這個政府之下，無論何人，一經法律召喚，就會飛奔而來回應法律所要求做的事，而且會像處理自己的私事一樣去對付侵犯公共秩序的行為。有時，人們說，一個人自己管自己是不可靠的。那麼，讓別人去管他們就會可靠嗎。或者我們是否覺得以國王身份出現的天使來管理人們才可靠呢。這個問題讓歷史來回答吧。

因此，讓我們秉著勇氣和信心，繼續奉行我們自己的聯邦同盟和共和黨的原則，擁護聯邦和代議制政府。我們由於自然環境和大洋的阻隔，倖免於全球四分之一地區那種毀滅性的浩劫；我們品格高尚，不能容忍別人的墮落；我們蒙天賜良土，足以容納於秋萬代的子孫；我們有一種觀念，認為在發揮自己的才能上，在取得自己的勤勞之所得上，在贏得我們同胞的尊敬與信賴上，（這種信賴和尊敬不是出自門第，而是來自我們的行為和他們的體會。）都享有同等的權利；我們都受到善良宗教的啟迪，雖然派別不同，可是所有教派都誨人以正直、信實、節制、感恩和仁愛；我們承認和崇拜主宰一切的上帝，上帝所行之道證明其樂見人類現世的幸福和死後更大的幸福——有了這些神恩，我們還需要什麼才能使我們成為一個幸福和欣欣向榮的民族呢。各位同胞，我們還需要一樣東西，那就是一個明智和節儉的政府，它防止人們相殘，讓人們自由地從事他們自己的事業並不斷進步，而且不能奪取人們勤勞之所得。這就是一個良好政府的要旨，也是我們獲得圓滿幸福所必需的。

各位同胞，我就要開始履行職責了，由於這種職責包容了你們所珍惜的一切，我覺得你們應當瞭解什麼是我所認為的我們政府的基本原則，以及那些指導我施政的原則。我打算盡量簡略地加以陳述，只講一般原則，而不講其全部範疇：不管人們的地位、宗教信仰或政治主張有何不同，人人都應得到平等和絕對公

正的待遇；與所有國家和平相處，互相通商，並保持誠摯的友誼，但不與任何國家結盟，以免糾纏不清；維護各州政府的一切權利，使它們成為處理我們內政最合適的機構，以及抵制反共和趨勢的最有力的屏障；維護全國的政府，使之能充分行使憲法賦予的權力，從而成為對內和平和對外安全的最後堡壘；要十分注意維護人民的選舉權，因為革命留下的弊端，一時沒有和平的補救辦法，而人民選舉權乃是對那些弊端的一種溫和而安全的矯正手段；要絕對服從多數的決定，這是共和政體的主要原則，離開這個原則，便只好訴諸武力，而這就是專制的主要原則和直接起源；要維持一支紀律嚴明的民團，以作為和平時期和戰爭初期的最好依仗，直至正規軍來接替；實行文權高於軍校的政制；節省政府開支，減輕勞動人民的負擔；如實償還我們的債務，把維護政府的信用看作神聖的義務；促進農業發展，並鼓勵以商輔農；傳播知識並以公眾理智為依據譴責一切弊端；保障宗教自由及出版自由，並以人身保護令以及由公平選出的陪審團進行審判來保障人身自由。在革命和改革的時代，這些原則成了在我們前面照耀，指引我們前進的星座。我們聖哲的智慧，我們英雄的鮮血，都曾奉獻出來實現這些原則。它們應當是我們政治信念的綱領，公民教育的課本，檢驗我們所信託者的工作的試金石；如果因一時的錯誤或驚惶而背棄了這些原則，我們應當趕快回頭，重新走上這條通往和平、自由和安全的唯一大道.....

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During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us,

then, fellow citizens, unite -with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself. I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law. and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.

Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others. Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him. Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter--with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people. Still one thing more, fellow-citizens--a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you

should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people--a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of

our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety....

弗朗西斯.斯科特.克伊

(FRANCIS SCOTT KEY)

星條旗

**The Star-Spangled Banner**

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1814 年 9 月，英國軍隊侵佔首都華盛頓，放火燒燬國會大廈、總統宅第、財政部大樓和其他政府大樓。英軍從華盛頓撤退時，俘虜了一位年長的內科醫生威廉.比尼斯。比尼斯醫生是馬里蘭州律師弗朗西斯.斯科特.克伊的私人朋友。克伊(1779—1843)被派去協助與英國海軍交涉釋放他的朋友。克伊和負責戰俘交換的政府官員約翰.S.斯金納一起坐掛著休戰旗的船到英國艦隊去提出他們的要求。1814 年 9 月 7 日，他們的要求獲准。但是，恰巧這時英軍正準備進攻巴爾的摩，他們不肯放走這些來訪的美國人。克伊和斯金納只好跟著英國艦隊航行，無可奈何地看著英軍在 9 月 13—14 日晚，先是侵佔巴爾的摩附近，接著又炮擊麥克亨利堡，透過硝煙和薄霧，他們依稀看到堡壘上頭飄揚著一面巨大的美國國旗。當炮擊結束，黎明到來時，他們焦慮地探望前方，看看麥克亨利堡上飄的是哪一方的旗幟。使他們感到欣慰的是那兒飄的還是星條旗。在他們等待釋放時，克伊就開始起草一首詩。9 月 16 日晚，克伊在巴爾的摩一家旅館裏把這首詩創作出來，詩中重現了戰鬥的經過。

第二天，這首詩在巴爾的摩印成傳單，題名為《保衛麥克亨利堡》。一個月後，這首詩又被重新題名為《星條旗》，並配上《致天上的酒神》的曲調，這支曲克伊非常熟悉，(歷史學家認為，他在寫這首詩時，可能就想到了這支曲。)1814 年 10 月 19 日，這支歌在巴爾的摩劇院演唱。

在好多年的時間裏，這支歌曾是許多流行的愛國歌曲之一，而且與《嗨！哥倫比亞》及《亞美利加》競爭作為國歌。在美國內戰中，這支歌受到聯邦軍的青睞，並在那以後的幾十年裏變得越來越流行。1895 年，陸軍規定在降旗時必須奏《星條旗》。1904 年，海軍部長下令早晚對軍艦旗敬禮時都得奏《星條旗》。儘管一直有人批評這支歌(有些人認為曲調太難唱，或者歌詞太晦澀，或者認為這支歌太尚武)，但是，國會還是在 1931 年採納《星條旗》作為國歌。

哦，你可看見，透過  
一線曙光，  
我們在暮色將盡還自  
豪為之歡呼的旗幟，  
是它的闊條明星經過  
艱險的戰鬥，  
依然迎風飄揚在我軍  
碉堡上？  
炸彈在空中轟鳴，火  
箭閃著紅光，  
一整夜都成為我們國  
旗依然存在的見證，  
哦，那星條旗是否還  
飄揚在  
自由的國土，勇士的  
家鄉！  
透過海上的薄霧，海  
岸依稀可見，  
岸上死一般寂靜，傲  
慢的敵酋睡意正酣？  
當一陣陣微風吹過高

Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's  
early light  
What so proudly we hail at the  
twilight's last gleaming,  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars  
through the perilous fight,  
O'er the ramparts we watched were  
so gallantly streaming.  
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs  
bursting in air  
Gave proof thro' the night that our  
flag was still there.  
Oh, say, does that star-spangled  
banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free, and the  
home of the brave!  
On the shore, dimly seen thro' the  
mists of the deep,  
Where the foe's haughty host in  
dread silence reposes,  
What is that which the breeze o'er the



高的峭壁陡崖，  
是什麼在風中半隱半現？  
現在它披上了第一線曙光，  
映照得燦爛輝煌，  
這是星條旗，哦，願  
它永遠飄揚，  
飄揚在自由的國土，  
勇士的家鄉！  
那夥曾狂妄地詛咒戰  
亂的洗劫  
將使我們國破家亡的  
人  
都到那裡去了？  
他們的血已洗去他們  
骯髒的腳印，  
奴才和走狗將無處藏  
身，  
他們逃脫不了死亡的  
命運，  
而星條旗卻在勝利飄  
揚，  
飄揚在自由的國土，  
勇士的家鄉！  
哦，當自由的人站在  
可愛的家鄉，  
面對戰爭的創傷，

towering steep,  
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half  
discloses.  
Now it catches the gleam of the  
morning's first beam,  
In full glory reflected, now shines on  
the stream.  
"Tis the star-spangled banner; oh,  
long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free, and the  
home of the brave!  
And where is that band who so  
vauntingly swore  
That the havoc of war and the battle's  
confusion  
A home and a country should leave us  
no more.  
Their blood has washed out their foul  
footsteps' pollution.  
No refuge could save the hireling and  
slave  
From the terror of flight, or the gloom  
of the grave:  
And the star-spangled banner in  
triumph doth wave  
O'er the land of the free, and the  
home of the brave!  
Oh, thus be it ever when freemen

願星條旗也像這樣長  
久飄揚，  
願上帝拯救這片土  
地，  
賜予和平和勝利，  
讚美那創建和保存我  
們國家的  
我們的事業是正義  
的，  
我們一定能戰勝。  
我們座右銘是：「信奉  
上帝！」  
星條旗在勝利飄揚，  
飄揚在自由的國土，  
勇士的家鄉！

shall stand  
Between their loved homes and the  
war's desolation;  
Blest with victory and peace, may the  
heaven-rescued land  
Praise the power that hath made and  
preserved us a nation!  
Then conquer we must, when our  
cause it is just,  
And this be our motto: "In God is our  
trust!"  
And the star-spangled banner in  
triumph doth wave,  
O'er the land of the free, and the  
home of the brave!

塞繆爾·伍德沃思

(SAMUEL WOODWORTH) 舊橡木桶

The Old Oaken Bucket 塞繆爾·伍德沃思(1784—1842)出生在馬薩諸塞。作為一個詩人、劇作家和編輯，他只寫過一首在他身後還流傳的詩——《舊橡木桶》(1818)。詩中很好地表達了對鄉村生活和鄉下人美德的懷念，而隨著工業的擴大和城市的發展，這些正在漸漸消失。這首詩常被重印在教科書中，並為人們所背誦，配上曲子後，即成為 1826 年最流行的歌，而且在十九世紀的許多年裏一直很流行。

當甜蜜的回憶在眼前展現兒時的景象，  
我心中感到那種親情蕩漾！

How dear to my heart are the  
scenes of my childhood,  
When fond recollection presents

那果園，草地，參差交錯的野生林，  
還有我兒時喜愛的每一地方，  
那寬闊的池塘和池邊的磨坊，  
在瀑布落下的地方，那橋，那石，  
我父親的小屋，附近的擠奶房，  
甚至那粗製木桶垂在井旁。那佈滿青  
苔的木桶，我那麼珍惜，  
中午我從田裏歸來，  
它常常給我帶來快樂無比，  
帶來大自然生就的最純最甜的東西。  
我用火辣辣的手熱烈地抓住它，  
迅速將它放到白鵝卵石鋪的井底，  
木桶很快就溢滿了水——真實的象  
徵，  
它一邊從井裏升起一邊還流下清涼  
的水滴。我從綠色佈滿青苔的井沿將  
它接住，  
把它立在井邊傾向我雙唇，啊，真甜！  
就是裝滿紅酒的高腳杯也無法誘我  
離開，  
哪怕是朱庇特飲的瓊漿將杯子裝滿。  
現在我遠離可愛的故鄉，  
當幻想又回到我父親的莊園，  
為那吊在井裏的木桶歎息時，  
我的眼裏禁不住湧出惋惜的淚水。

them to view!

The orchard, the meadow, the  
deep tangled wildwood,  
And every loved spot which my  
infancy knew,  
The wide-spreading pond and  
the mill that stood by it,  
The bridge and the rock where  
the cataract fell;  
The cot of my father, the dairy  
house nigh it,  
And e'en the rude bucket that  
hung in the well.

That moss-covered bucket I  
hailed as a treasure,  
For often at noon, when  
returned from the field,  
I found it the source of an  
exquisite pleasure,  
The purest and sweetest that  
nature can yield.

How ardent I seized it, with  
hands that were glowing,  
And quick to the white-pebbled  
bottom it fell.

Then soon, with the emblem of  
truth overflowing,  
And dripping with coolness, it  
rose from the well.

How sweet from the green,  
mossy brim to receive it,  
As, poised on the curb, it  
inclined to my lips!  
Not a full, blushing goblet could  
tempt me to leave it,  
Tho' filled with the nectar that  
Jupiter sips,  
And now, far removed from the  
loved habitation,  
The tear of regret will  
intrusively swell,  
As fancy reverts to my father's  
plantation,  
And sighs for the bucket that  
hung in the well.

約翰.霍華德.佩思

(JOHN Howard PAYNE)家，甜蜜的家

Home, Sweet Home 約翰.霍華德.佩恩(1791—1852)是個演員和作家。他的職業生涯不同尋常。他寫第一個劇本時，年僅十五歲，後到協和學院學習一年，十八歲第一次登臺演出。他在歐洲演出十分成功，但他作為一個劇作家的名聲更大。他寫過六十多部劇本，其中有兩部是與華盛頓.歐文合作的。他的劇本《布魯圖斯》於 1818 年在倫敦首演後一直到十九世紀末在大西洋兩岸都很流行。他的劇本《米蘭姑娘克拉裏》中有一首著名的歌曲叫《家，甜蜜的家》。雖然他的劇本很流行，可佩恩卻很少收到版權稅，常常身無分文，而且有時還被關進債務人監獄。最後，佩思的名字被公眾遺忘了，但《家，甜蜜的家》卻沒有被人遺忘，而且被繡在千百萬的布片上作為裝飾。詩中最著名的一句「天下沒有比家更好的地方」，曾作為《奧茲的巫師》這部影片中多蘿西的護身符。也許美國人對於家如此多愁善感是由於他們是移民、拓荒者、邊疆開發者和一

個歷史比較短的民族傳統造成的。

雖然我們可以漫遊在樂園和宮殿之中，  
可是天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
即便它是這樣簡陋普通；  
天意似乎要我們成為那一方神聖，  
你找遍天涯也決不會遇到那種地方。  
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
哦，天下沒有比家更好的地方！即便是離鄉背井，  
那豪華壯麗的景象也不會使我眼花繚亂，  
哦，還我低矮的茅屋！  
喚來鳥兒的歡鳴，  
比什麼都寶貴的是恢復心境的安寧！  
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
哦，天下沒有比家更好的地方！凝望天上的明月，  
踏著沈寂的荒野，

'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may  
roam,  
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like  
home;  
A charm from the sky seems to hallow us  
there,  
Which, seek through the world, is ne'er  
met with elsewhere.  
Home, home, sweet home!  
There's no place like home, oh, there's no  
place like home!An exile from home,  
splendor dazzles in vain;  
Oh, give me my lowly thatched cottage  
again!  
The birds singing gayly, that came at my  
call--  
Give me them--and the peace of mind,  
dearer than all!  
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!  
There's no place like home, oh, there's no  
place like home!! gaze on the moon as I  
tread the drear wild,  
And feel that my mother now thinks of her  
child,  
As she looks on that moon from our own  
cottage door

我感到我母親此刻正思念她的孩子，  
她正站在我們的小屋門前，  
透過葡萄籐仰望那輪明月，  
而葡萄的香氣卻不會使我歡樂。  
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
哦，天下沒有比家更好的地方！多麼甜蜜啊，坐下來看著慈父的笑臉，  
讓母親的撫摸給我安慰消遣，  
就讓別人以漫遊在新樂園裏為樂吧，  
但是給我，哦，給我家的歡樂。  
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
哦，天下沒有比家更好的地方！我已操勞過度，我要回到你身邊；  
你的微笑給我最親切的安撫；  
我再也不離開那小屋到

Thro' the woodbine, whose fragrance shall  
cheer me no more.

Home, home, sweet, sweet home!

There's no place like home, oh, there's no  
place like home! How sweet 'tis to sit 'neath  
a fond father's smile,

And the caress of a mother to soothe and  
beguile!

Let others delight 'mid new pleasure to  
roam,

But give me, oh, give me, the pleasures of  
home,

Home, home, sweet, sweet home!

There's no place like home, oh, there's no  
place like home! To thee I'll return,  
overburdened with care;

The heart's dearest solace will smile on me  
there;

No more from that cottage again will I  
roam;

Be it ever so humble, there's no place like  
home.

Home, home, sweet, sweet home!

There's no place like home, oh, there's no  
place like home!

處漫遊；  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
即便它是這樣普通簡陋。  
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！  
天下沒有比家更好的地方，  
哦，天下沒有比家更好的地方！

克萊門特.克拉克.穆爾

(CLEMENT CLARKE MOORE) 聖尼古拉來訪

A Visit from St. Nicholas 克萊門特.克拉克.穆爾(1779—1863)是聖經學教授，1823 年 12 月 23 日，在《特洛伊守衛報》上匿名發表《聖尼古拉來訪》。這首詩被廣為傳抄，最終被印在 1844 年出版的穆爾的詩集裏。這一首在他身後流傳確保其獲得名聲的詩是以「在耶誕節前夜」這句為人所知並為人所愛的。

在耶誕節前夜，  
整間屋裏沒有一人在吵，  
就連老鼠也不鬧；  
長襪已被小心地掛到煙囪上，  
我希望聖尼古拉很快就來到；  
孩子們都被舒適地安頓到他們的床上，  
雖然他們腦子裏還跳動著小糖球的幻影；

‘T was the night before Christmas,  
when all through the house  
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;  
The stockings were hung by the chimney with care,  
In hopes that St. Nicholas soon would be there;  
The children were nestled all snug in their beds,  
While visions of sugar-plums danced in

媽媽裹起頭巾，我戴上帽，  
我們剛定下神來要睡個冬  
天的長覺，——

這時外面的草地上有了得  
得的聲響，

我從床上跳起來去看個究  
竟，

像一道閃光，我撲向窗戶，  
快得像一道閃光

扯開百頁窗拉起窗框。

只見月光灑在新雪的胸膛  
上，

給月下的萬物披上晌午的  
光芒；

這時竟出現了使我目瞪口呆  
的景象，

那是一輛小雪橇和八隻小  
小的馴鹿，

上面坐著一個小小的老車  
伕，

他是這樣生氣勃勃，動作  
敏捷，

我馬上知道這一定是聖尼  
古拉。

他的駿鹿跑得比鷹還快，  
他吹哨，吆喝，還能叫它  
們的名字：

「嘿，達捨！嘿，丹瑟！  
嘿，普蘭捨和維剋星！'

their heads;  
 And mamma in her kerchief, and I in my  
 cap,  
 Had just settled our brains for a long  
 winter's nap,--  
 When out on the lawn there arose such  
 a clatter,  
 I sprang from my bed to see what was  
 the matter.  
 Away to the window I flew like a flash,  
 Tore open the shutters and threw up the  
 sash.  
 The moon on the breast of the new-fallen  
 snow  
 Gave a lustre of midday to objects  
 below;  
 When what to my -wondering eyes  
 should appear,  
 But a miniature sleigh and eight tiny  
 reindeer,  
 With a little old driver, so lively and quick  
 I knew in a moment it must be St. Nick.  
 More rapid than eagles his coursers they  
 came,  
 And he whistled and shouted, and called  
 them  
 "Now, Dasher! now, Dancer! now,  
 Prancer and Vixen!  
 On, Comet! on, Cupid! on, Donner and



前進，科米特！前進，朱庇特！

前進，唐德和布利琛！

嘿，衝呀，衝呀，一起給我衝，

衝到門廊頂，衝向圍牆的頂！」

它們決得就像枯葉隨著瘋狂的颶風，

遇到障礙就升向天空，

拉著裝滿玩具的雪橇，還有聖尼古拉，

馴鹿飛到了屋頂，

轉眼之間我就聽到屋頂

有小蹄子騰躍踢踏的響聲，

當我縮進頭來轉過身，

就看見聖尼古拉從煙囪上一跳而下，

他全身上下都穿皮裘，

他的衣服因蓋滿煙灰而失去光華，

他背上背著一包玩具，

他看起來就像是小販正在開包，

他的眼睛閃閃發光！他的酒渦充滿歡樂！

他的兩頰紅得像玫瑰，他的鼻子像是櫻桃；

Blitzen!

To the top of the porch, to the top of the wall!

Now dash away, dash away, dash away all!"

As dry leaves that before the wild hurricane fly,

When they meet with an obstacle, mount to the sky,

So up to the house-top the coursers they flew,

With the sleigh full of toys,--and St. Nicholas too.

And then in a twinkling I heard on the roof

The prancing and pawing of each little hoof.

As I drew in my head, and was turning around,

Down the chimney St. Nicholas came with a bound.

He was dressed all in fur from his head to his foot,

And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot;

A bundle of toys he had flung on his back,

And he looked like a pedlar just opening his pack.

他那滑稽的小嘴就像畫的  
一把弓，  
他下頷的鬍子像雪一樣  
白，  
他的牙齒緊咬著一個煙  
斗。  
白煙就像花圈繞著他的  
頭，  
他有一副寬寬的臉和小小  
的圓肚，  
當他笑的時候，  
那小肚震得就像一個碗裝  
滿果凍。  
他的個子圓圓胖胖，  
真假是一個快活的老頑  
童；  
我看到他時情不自禁地笑  
了，  
他轉過頭向我眨了眨眼  
睛，  
讓我知道什麼也不用怕，  
他一句話沒說就去幹活，  
他把每一隻長襪都裝滿後  
就急忙轉身，  
他把手指放在鼻子邊上，  
點點頭又跳上煙囪，  
他躍上雪橇，向他的鹿隊  
吹聲哨，  
他們就像薊花的冠毛一樣

His eyes, how they twinkle! his dimples,  
how merry!  
His cheeks were like roses, his nose like  
a cherry;  
His droll little mouth was drawn up like a  
bow  
And the beard on his chin was as white as  
the snow.  
The stump of a pipe he held tight in his  
teeth,  
And the smoke it encircled his head like  
a wreath.  
He had a broad face and a little round  
belly  
That shook, when he laughed, like a bowl  
full of jelly.  
He was chubby, and plump, --a right jolly  
old elf;  
And I laughed, when I saw him, in spite  
of myself.  
A wink of his eye and a twist of his head  
Soon gave me to know I had nothing to  
dread.  
He spoke not a word, but went straight to  
his work,  
And filled all the stockings: then turned  
with a jerk,  
And laying his finger aside of his nose,  
And giving a nod, up the chimney he

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>又飛走</p> <p>在他駛開之前，我聽到他<br/>大喊，</p> <p>「大家聖誕快樂，諸位晚<br/>安！</p> | <p>rose.</p> <p>He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave<br/>a whistle.</p> <p>And away they all flew like the down of<br/>a thistle;</p> <p>But I heard him exclaim, ere he drove<br/>out of sight,</p> <p>"Happy Christmas to all, and to all a<br/>goodnight!"</p> |
|---|--|

弗朗西絲.賴特

(FRANCES WRIGHT)

美國愛國主義的意義

The Meaning of Patriotism in America

讓我們作為成人，而不是作為小孩，作為人類，而不是作為美國人，作為通情達理的人，而不是作為孤陋寡聞的人來歡慶這個日子。

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自美國革命以後的許多年裏，在 7 月 4 日發表演說習慣上一直是一種榮譽，而且通常是請德高望重的人來道出社區的意見。1828 年 7 月 4 日，弗朗西絲(範妮).賴特發表這篇可能是第一次由一位婦女作的獨立日演說。賴特(1795—1852)是一位孜孜不倦的社會改革家，她在宗教、婚姻、計劃生育、奴隸制和婦女權利的問題上都持有進步觀點。她生於蘇格蘭，1818 年第一次到美國訪問，還寫了一本有關她廣泛旅行的書。1824 年，她與參加美國革命的法國英雄拉斐德侯爵一起回到美國，並決定在美國定居。

1825 年，她在田納西州購置土地，然後買些奴隸，給他們自由，並為這些前奴隸創建了一個公社。在她的公社失敗之後，她就搬到印地安納州的哈莫尼，加入羅伯特.戴爾.歐文的實驗社會主義公社。1829 年，賴特和歐文到紐約市定居，在那裏共同建立激進的《自由問詢報》。她後來成為著名的演說家和作家。

.....當我們正確地把 1776 年 7 月 4 日以來的人類歷史確定為新時代時，如果我們能在每一週年檢查一下我們人類在公正的知識和公正的實踐方面所取得的進步，那就是很好的，也就是說，是很有益的。這樣，每一個 7 月 4 日就會成為時間洪流的潮標，根據這個潮標就可確定人類智力的進步，根據它就可記下每一次接連發生的錯誤的起落，每一個重要真理的發現，以及公共機構，社會安排，尤其是我們道德感情和精神觀念的逐步改善.....

近年來，在歐洲大陸，像愛國主義和愛國者這種詞已經被用在更廣的意義上，比在這裏通常所賦予這些詞的意義或比在大不列顛所賦予它們的意義要廣。自從法國、義大利、西班牙和希臘相繼出現政治鬥爭以來，整個歐洲大陸都在使用愛國主義這個詞來表達對公益事業的熱愛，表達對多數人利益的興趣勝於對少數人利益的興趣，表達人類要從宗教和政府的專制奴役下得到解放的渴望，總之，愛國主義這個詞與其說是用來表達某一國家，或者某一具體國家的居民所感興趣的東西，倒不如說是用來表達全人類所感興趣的東西。同樣地，愛國者這個詞是用來表示熱愛人類自由和人類改善的人，而不是表示一個僅熱愛他生活的國家，或者他所屬的那個族群的人。用在這個意義上，愛國主義就是一種美德，愛國者就是一個道德高尚的人。以此理解，一個愛國者就是社會裏一個有用的成員，他能夠開闊他所遇到的所有人的思路，改善他所接觸到的所有人的心情。一個愛國者應該是人類大家庭裏的一個有用的成員，他能夠確立基本的原則，而且能把他自己的利益、他同伴的利益和他的國家利益融合在人類的利益之中。桂冠和雕像是虛無的東西，而且由於它們很幼稚，所以是有害的。但是，我們能否假定它們是有用的，人們會不會以某種理由將它們單單授予這樣的一個愛國者.....

如果我們最後考慮的這種愛國主義有可能在某一國家裏獲得，那麼當然是在這個國家裏，在這個萬國之鄉的國家裏，在這個國家公民的血管裏，地球上所有民族的血都在他們的血管裏流著。就其獨自的意思而言，愛國主義這個詞肯定不是為美國造的。如果它在各處都有害，那麼在這裏就是既有害又荒唐。人之初是反對它的。各種制度的原則對它是不利的。我們正在慶祝的這個日子是反對它的。特別是美國人應孕育出一種更高尚的情操，一種與他們的起源更一致，

更有助於他們未來改善的情操。特別是美國人應當知道他們為什麼熱愛自己的國家，應當感到他們熱愛自己的國家，不是因為這是他們的國家，而是因為這是人類自由的保障，是人類改善的好景象。尤其是美國人，應當檢查一下他們的制度，應當感到他們為這些制度而自豪是因為它們是以公正的原則為基礎的。尤其是美國人，應當檢查一下他們的制度，因為他們有改善它們的手段，應當檢查一下他們的法律，因為他們能隨意改變它們。他們應當撇開奢華，他們的財富在於勤奮；他們應當撇開無益的炫耀，他們的力量在於知識；他們應當撇開野心勃勃出人頭地的想法，他們的原則應當是平等。他們不應當休息，不應當滿足於言語，他們應當幹點實事，他們應當記住平等指的不是僅僅政治權利的平等，不管它有多寶貴，而是指教育的平等和道德的平等，要記住自由指的不是僅在選舉時投票，而是自由無畏地運用智力，是那種從經過推理的意見和始終如一的實踐中進發出來的鎮靜自若。他們應當以原則為榮而不是以人為榮，紀念事件而不是紀念日子，在他們高興的時候，應當知道為什麼高興，應當僅僅為過去和現在為人類帶來和平和幸福的事而高興。我們今天所紀念的事件已經在相當程度上取得這兩者，而且在人類改善的進程中將取得比我們現在能想像到的更多。為此——為我們人類已經獲得的和即將獲得的好處，讓我們歡欣鼓舞吧！但是，讓我們作為成人，而不是作為小孩，作為人類，而不是作為美國人，作為通情達理的人，而不是作為孤陋寡聞的人來歡慶這個日子。那麼，我們是否應當為美好的目的和美好的感情而高興，我們是否應當改善曾經在今天所取得的勝利，直至全人類都能和我們共同歡慶獨立為止。

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### The Meaning of Patriotism in America

. . . . Dating, as we justly may, a new era in the history of man from the Fourth of July, 1776, it would be well--that is, it would be useful--if on each anniversary we examined the progress made by our species in just knowledge and just practice. Each Fourth of July would then stand as a tidemark in the flood of time by which to ascertain the advance of the human intellect, by which to note the rise and fall of each successive error, the discovery of each

important truth, the gradual melioration in our public institutions, social arrangements, and, above all, in our moral feelings and mental views. . . .

In continental Europe, of late years, the words patriotism and patriot have been used in a more enlarged sense than it is usual here to attribute to them, or than is attached to them in Great Britain. Since the political struggles of France, Italy, Spain, and Greece, the word patriotism has been employed, throughout continental Europe, to express a love of the public good; a preference for the interests of the many to those of the few, a desire for the emancipation of the human race from the thrall of despotism, religious and civil: in short, patriotism there is used rather to express the interest felt in the human race in general than that felt for any country, or inhabitants of a country, in particular. And patriot, in like manner, is employed to signify a lover of human liberty and human improvement rather than a mere lover of the country in which he lives, or the tribe to which he belongs. Used in this sense, patriotism is a virtue, and a patriot a virtuous man. With such an interpretation, a patriot is a useful member of society, capable of enlarging all minds and bettering all hearts with which he comes in contact; a useful member of the human family, capable of establishing fundamental principles and of merging his own interests, those of his associates, and those of his nation in the interests of the human race. Laurels and statues are vain things, and mischievous as they are childish; but could we imagine them of use, on such a patriot alone could they be with any reason bestowed....

If such a patriotism as we have last considered should seem likely to obtain in any country, it should be certainly in this. In this which is

truly the home of all nations and in the veins of whose citizens flows the blood of every people on the globe. Patriotism, in the exclusive meaning, is surely not made for America. Mischievous everywhere, it were here both mischievous and absurd. The very origin of the people is opposed to it. The institutions, in their principle, militate against it. The day we are celebrating protests against it. It is for Americans, more especially, to nourish a nobler sentiment; one more consistent with their origin, and more conducive to their future improvement. It is for them more especially to know why they love their country; and to feel that they love it, not because it is their country, but because it is the palladium of human liberty--the favored scene of human improvement. It is for them, more especially, to examine their institutions; and to feel that they honor them because they are based on just principles. It is for them, more especially, to examine their institutions, because they have the means of improving them; to examine their laws, because at will they can alter them. It is for them to lay aside luxury whose wealth is in industry; idle parade whose strength is in knowledge; ambitious distinctions whose principle is equality. It is for them not to rest, satisfied with words, who can seize upon things; and to remember that equality means, not the mere equality of political rights, however valuable, but equality of instruction and equality in virtue; and that liberty means, not the mere voting at elections, but the free and fearless exercise of the mental faculties and that self-possession which springs out of well-reasoned opinions and consistent practice. It is for them to honor principles rather than men--to commemorate events rather than days; when they rejoice, to know for what they rejoice, and to rejoice only for what has brought and what brings

peace and happiness to men. The event we commemorate this day has procured much of both, and shall procure in the onward course of human improvement more than we can now conceive of. For this--for the good obtained and yet in store for our race--let us rejoice! But let us rejoice as men, not as children--as human beings rather than as Americans--as reasoning beings, not as ignorants. So shall we rejoice to good purpose and in good feeling; so shall we improve the victory once on this day achieved, until all mankind hold with us the Jubilee of Independence.

丹尼爾.韋伯斯特

(DANIEL WEBSTER)

反對州廢除聯邦法令的做法

### **Against Nullification**

自由和聯邦是永存的，是不可分裂的整體。

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丹尼爾。韋伯斯特(1782－1852)是作為他那個時代第一流的演說家而聞名的。作為代表麻塞諸塞州的參議員，他於 1803 年與南卡羅來納的參議員羅伯特.Y.海恩辯論關稅問題。海恩代表反對關稅法案的南方各州說話，他引用副總統約翰.C.卡爾洪關於州對聯邦的法令拒絕執行的理論，根據這個理論一個州可以「廢除」它認為不符合憲法的聯邦法律，如果必要，寧可退出聯邦也不接受就該州利益來說無法忍受的條件。韋伯斯特在他的反駁詞中捍衛了聯邦政府的權威，批評了州權利的觀念。以下摘錄的(摘自一百多頁的即席演說)是韋伯斯特回答海恩的演說的最後部分。

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.....如果人們在國家憲法中，不論是根據原來的條款或是後來的解釋，有什為不應當寫入的條款，人民知道如何把它廢除掉。如果確立了某種使他們無法接受的解釋，以致實際上成為憲法的一部分，他們是會獨立自主地來修正它的。但是，當人民決定保持它的現狀時，當人民對它感到滿意，並拒絕改變它時，



誰曾給予，或者誰能給予州議會通過干預、解釋或其它辦法來改變它的權利？先生們似乎不記得人民有為他們自己做任何事情的權力。他們以為除了在州議會的密切保護下就再沒有安全可言了。先生，在總的憲法方面，人民並沒有把他們的安全委託給這些州議會。他們已要求了其他的保障，接受了其他的保證人。他們決定首先應該信賴憲法上明明白白的詞語，他們信賴這樣的解釋，即政府本身在有疑問的情況下，應當發揮其本身的權力，根據他們就職時所發的誓，服從他們宣過誓要負的責任，就像一個州的人民賦予他們州的政府同樣的權力一樣。其次，他們信賴經常選舉的效力，只要他們有理由，就可以用他們自己的力量將他們自己的僕人和代理人撤掉。第三，他們信賴司法的權力，為了使之值得信賴，他們已經使司法權成為既可實行又受人尊重、公正無私、獨立自主的權力。第四，任何時候，當經驗指出憲法中的缺點和不完善之處時，在必要情況下，或利害攸關時，他們會依靠他們所知道的並認為是有效的權力和平而平靜地去改變或修正憲法，如果他們認為這樣做是合適的話。最後，美國人民從來沒有在任何時候，以任何方式，直接或間接地授權州議會來分析或解釋他們政府的最重要文件，更沒有授權他們用他們自己的權力去干預和妨礙憲法的正常實施。

先生，如果人民在這些方面採取了其他的做法，而不是像他們已經做的這樣，那麼，他們的憲法既不可能得到保存，也不會是值得保存的。如果現在不顧憲法中明文規定的條款，而添進這些新的主張，那麼憲法就會變成其早期的或更近代的敵人所可能期望的那樣軟弱無能的東西。它只能作為一個依賴各州許可的可憐蟲在各州存在。它必須借人家許可而存在，並且存在的時間不會長於各州憑他們高興或由他們隨意決定是否適合恩准並延長其苟延殘喘的時間。

但是，先生，儘管存在著憂患，可也存在著希望，人民已經將這個憲法，這個他們自己選擇的憲法保存了四十年，他們已經看到他們的幸福、繁榮和名聲隨著它的發展而增長，隨著它的加強而加強。總的來說，他們現在都強烈地依附於憲法。如果我們和那些將要在這裏接我們班的人，作為人民的代理人和代表，能自覺地、警惕地完成公眾委託給我們的兩個偉大任務、即忠實地保護憲法，明智地執行憲法，那麼，用直接進攻就無法推翻它，要迴避它、破壞它、廢除它，也將是不可能的……

先生，我還沒允許我自己朝聯邦以外去看，看看在後面的黑暗深處可能隱藏著什麼。我還沒有冷靜地估量過在把我們聯合在一起的那些契約被撕碎之後，保護自由的機會有多少。我還不習慣於掛在分裂的懸崖，去看看是否可以用我短淺的目光量出底下的深淵有多深，我也不可能把那種思想裏考慮的主要不是聯邦應該如何得到最好的保護，而是在聯邦被分裂和摧毀時，人民可能容忍到什麼程度的人當作政府事務的可靠顧問。只要聯邦繼續存在，我們就能在我們自己和孩子們面前展現出美好高尚、激動人心、令人滿意的前景。除了這種前景，我不想刺破這層薄紗去看看別的什麼。上帝恩准至少在我有生之年不要讓那塊簾升起！上帝恩准那隱藏在背後的東西永遠不要讓我看見！當我的眼睛轉過來最後看一眼天上的太陽時，但願我不要看到它照耀在曾是一個光榮聯邦的破裂而且可恥的碎片上，照耀在彼此傷害、矛盾不和、互相交戰的各州的土地上，照耀在一片為人們的仇恨所撕碎的土地上，或是一片浸染著兄弟同胞之血的土地上！讓他們最後微弱而依戀的目光看到共和國光輝的旗幟，這面旗現在聞名全球，受人尊重，它仍然高高昇起，它的每一條條紋和每一顆星仍然以原來的光彩飄揚著，沒有一根條紋被抹去或污染，沒有一顆星失去光澤，為了它的信條，它無法容忍像「這到底有何價值」這樣可恥的疑問句，也不能容忍像「先自由，後聯邦」這樣欺世和愚蠢的話。當星星和條紋飄過大海，越過大陸時，當它們在整個天底下每一陣風裏飄揚的時候，那些充滿生命光輝的星星，在寬闊的褶皺裏閃爍著，把另一種情感傳遍世界的每一個地方，這就是每一個真正的美國人都十分珍惜的情感——自由相聯邦是永存的，是不可分裂的整體！

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### Against Nullification

.....If anything be found in the national constitution, either by original provision or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established unacceptable to them, so as to become practically a part of the constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it as it is, while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or

who can give, to the state legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise. Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves. They imagine there is no safety for them, any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the state legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, and under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the people of a state trust their own state government with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which, in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power to alter or amend the constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the people of the United States have at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any state legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of government; much less, to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the people in these respects had done otherwise than they have done, their constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And if its plain provisions

shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every state but as a poor dependent on state permission. It must borrow leave to be; and will be, no longer than state pleasure, or state discretion, sees fit to grant the indulgence, and prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, NULLIFIED, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust, faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it. . . .

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that

I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth." nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards;" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart--Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

喬治.珀金斯.莫裏斯

(GEORGE PERKINS MORRIS)

樵夫，別砍那棵樹

### **Woodman, Spare That Tree**

《樵夫，別砍那棵樹》這首詩自 1830 年第一次發表以來一直很流行。喬治.珀金斯.莫裏斯(1802—1864)是個記者、詩人和戲劇家。十九世紀二十年代，他當過《紐約鏡報》的編輯，但是他最著名的還是他多愁善感的詩，其中最主要的一首就是《樵夫，別砍那棵樹》。由於工業和城市的擴展取代了鄉村的景象，人們便十分珍愛這首詩，它既喚起人們對過去的懷念，又是對「進步」的一種有禮貌的抗議。甚至那些從未讀過這首詩的人也知道它的題目，並在環境保護主義成為政治運動之前，把它作為表示環境保護主義態度的簡便方法。

樵夫，別砍那棵樹！  
一根樹枝也別碰！  
我年輕時它遮蔽過我，  
現在我得保護它。  
這樹是我先祖親手  
種在他的小屋邊，  
樵夫，讓它立在那兒，  
你的斧頭別傷了它！那棵熟悉的老樹，  
它的光榮和名聲  
已傳遍各處，  
你還要將它砍下？  
樵夫，別砍了！  
它的根已在土裏紮固；  
哦，別砍那棵老橡樹，  
它現在已是參天的大樹！當我還是個無所  
事事的小孩，  
我就常到它涼爽的樹蔭裏；  
我的姐妹也來到這裏，  
盡情歡樂，盡情嬉戲；  
我媽媽在這裏吻過我，  
我爸爸在這裏將我的手撫摸，  
原諒我愚蠢的淚水，  
讓那棵老橡樹留著！老朋友，我的心弦緊  
繞著你，  
就像你的樹皮一樣與你連在一起  
野鳥在這兒歌唱時，  
你還會把樹枝彎下，  
老樹啊！你還能頂住狂風暴雨！

Woodman, spare that tree!  
Touch not a single bough!  
In youth it sheltered me,  
And I'll protect it now.  
    'Twas my forefather's  
hand  
That placed it near his cot;  
There, woodman, let it  
stand,  
Thy axe shall harm it not!  
That old familiar tree,  
Whose glory and renown  
Are spread o'er land and  
sea,  
And wouldst thou hew it  
down.  
Woodman, forbear thy  
stroke!  
Cut not its earth-bound  
ties;  
O, spare that aged oak,  
Now towering to the skies!  
When but an idle boy  
I sought its grateful shade;  
In all their gushing joy  
Here too my sisters played.  
My mother kissed me here;  
My father pressed my hand-

樵夫，離開那地方；  
當我還能伸手拯救它時，  
你的斧子別傷著它。

Forgive this foolish tear,  
But let that old oak stand!  
My heart-strings round thee  
cling,  
Close as thy bark, old  
friend!  
Here shall the wild-bird  
sing,  
And still thy branches bend.  
Old tree! the storm still  
brave!  
And, woodman, leave the  
spot;  
While I've a hand to save,  
Thy axe shall hurt it not.

奧利弗.溫德爾.霍好斯

(OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES)

《荒謬之極》和《老鐵壁》

### **The Height of the Ridiculous and Old Ironsides**

奧利弗.溫德爾.霍姆斯(1809－1894)是個奇才。他是個著名的詩人、幽默作家、散文家、醫生和醫學研究員。他曾在哈佛大學攻讀法律，後改學醫，並於1836年獲得學位。開業行醫十年後當解剖學教授，先是在達特默思，後到哈佛，他在哈佛醫學院當了好幾年院長，不過，他的最大名聲還是來自他的寫作。年僅二十一歲時，他發表了《老鐵壁》，使他贏得全國一片讚美聲。霍姆斯在報上看到海軍部計劃銷毀戰艦「憲章號」的消息，因為它太舊，已不適於在海上用了。他急忙在一張碎紙片上寫了一首詩投到一家波士頓報紙，引起全國群情激情。海軍部長驚愕不已，撤回了銷毀舊艦的命令，霍姆斯則成一位嶄露頭角的詩人。《荒謬之極》和《老鐵壁》都是發表在1830年。

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荒謬之極 有一次我心情極佳  
寫了幾行詩，  
以為人們照常會說  
它們好極了。這幾行詩太古怪了，非常古怪，  
我自己都笑得要死；  
雖然總的來說，  
我還是個頭腦清醒的人。我叫來我的僕人，  
他真是太好了，  
一個四肢強壯的人，  
卻來照顧我這樣的瘦高個！  
我喊道，「把這幾行詩選去排版」。  
而且以我幽默的口氣  
補充說(隨便開個玩笑)，  
「會有魔鬼向你付錢。」他拿走稿紙，  
我觀察著，  
看見他往裏偷看，  
看到第一行，  
他的臉就笑開了。  
他看到第二行就笑得裂開嘴，  
而且裂得很大很大。  
他看到第三行，  
我開始聽到他咯咯地笑。看到第四行，  
他的笑聲大如吼，  
看到第五行，他笑裂了束腰帶。  
看到第六行，他笑掉五顆鈕扣，  
而且突然摔倒在地，十天十夜我沒合眼，

The Height of the Ridiculous  
I wrote some lines once on a time  
In wondrous merry mood,  
And thought, as usual, men  
would say  
They were exceeding good.  
They were so queer, so very  
queer,  
I laughed as I would die;  
Albeit, in the general way,  
A sober man am I.  
I called my servant, and he  
came;  
How kind it was of him  
To mind a slender man like  
me,  
He of the mighty limb!  
"These to the printer," I  
exclaimed,  
And, in my humorous way,  
I added (as a trifling jest),  
"There'll be the devil to pay."  
He took the paper, and I  
watched,  
And saw him peep within;  
At the first line he read, his  
face  
Was all upon the grin.



看護著那個可憐人，  
從此我再也不敢盡情寫  
這麼古怪有趣的詩。

老鐵壁

啊，撕下她破爛的國旗！  
它已高高飄揚了很久，  
許多人都看到  
那面旗在天空飄揚，  
旗下曾響過戰鬥的呼喊，  
進發過大炮的怒吼，——  
海洋上空的流星  
將不再掃過雲層。  
她的甲板曾為英雄的鮮血染紅，  
被征服的敵人曾在那兒跪下，  
當風匆匆吹過波濤，  
底下翻起白色浪花，  
再也感覺不到勝利者的腳步，  
再也無法知道被征服者跪下的消息：  
——

岸邊的魚鷹將向  
海上的雄鷹發動攻擊！  
哦，她破爛的廢船  
最好沈到海底；  
她雷鳴的巨響震撼了巨大的深淵，  
她的墳墓應該在那裏；  
將她那面聖旗釘到桅桿上，  
將每一面破舊的帆都升起，  
把她交給風暴之神，  
交給閃電和驟雨！

He read the next; the grin  
grew broad,  
And shot from ear to ear;  
He read the third; a chuckling  
noise  
I now began to hear.  
The fourth: he broke into a  
roar;  
The fifth; his waistband split;  
The sixth; he burst five  
buttons off,  
And tumbled in a fit.  
Ten days and nights, with  
sleepless eye  
I watched that wretched man,  
And since, I never dare to  
write  
As funny as I can.  
Old Ironsides  
Ay, tear her tattered ensign  
down!  
Long has it waved on high,  
And many an eye has danced  
to see  
That banner in the sky;  
Beneath it rung the battle  
shout,  
And burst the cannon's roar; --  
The meteor of the ocean air

Shall sweep the clouds no  
more.

Her deck, once red with  
heroes' blood,

Where knelt the vanquished  
foe,

When winds were hurrying  
o'er the flood,

And weaves were white  
below,

No more shall feel the victor's  
tread,

Or know the conquered  
knee; --

The harpies of the shore shall  
pluck

The eagle of the sea!

Oh, better that her shattered  
hulk

Should sink beneath the  
wave;

Her thunders shook the  
mighty deep,

And there should be her  
grave;

Nail to the mast her holy flag,

Set every threadbare sail,

And give her to the god of  
storms,

塞繆爾.F.史密斯

(SAMUEL F. SMITH)

亞美利加

**America**

《亞美利加》(或《你是我的祖國》)的歌詞是塞繆爾.F.史密斯神父(1808—1895)所作，其曲調來自英國國歌(《天祐吾王》)。史密斯是在 1832 年 2 月於麻塞諸塞州的阿默斯特寫下這首歌詞的，第一次唱這支歌是 1832 年 7 月 4 日在波士頓公園街教堂的一次愛國慶典上。他後來寫道，那是在「一個陰鬱的冬日下午」，他一口氣給這支著名的曲調填上了新詞。史密斯神父經常應邀為這支歌的歌本簽名。1889 年，在追憶他寫這首歌時，他寫道：「我並沒想把它寫成一首國歌，但也不想它會獲得這種醜名。」

美利堅人很熟悉《天祐吾王》這支曲調，因為在 1776 年以前，它一直是他們的國歌。這支曲調常被用來充當諸如《天祐亞美利加》、《天祐喬治.華盛頓》，《天祐十三州》等愛國歌曲的曲調。甚至美國最早的一位女權主義者也曾用過這支曲調。1795 年 10 月 17 日，她在《費城密涅瓦》上發表的一首題為《女權》的詩就是採用《天祐吾王》的曲調。詩的開頭是這樣寫的：

上帝保佑一切女權，  
對著她那迷惘的眼睛，說  
婦女是自由的。

你是我的祖國，  
美好自由之邦，  
我要為你歌唱。  
父輩葬身之處，  
移民誇耀之土，  
讓我自由之聲，  
響徹每個山岡。是我出生的地方，

My country 'tis of thee  
Sweet land of liberty;  
Of thee I sing.  
Land where my fathers died  
Land of the pilgrims' pride  
From every mountainside  
Let freedom ring.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>崇高自由之鄉，<br/>我愛你的名字；<br/>我愛你的山水，<br/>還有森林、廟宇，<br/>我滿懷著歡喜，<br/>心中激動不已。讓音樂鼓起微風，<br/>從所有的樹上彈出，<br/>美好的自由之歌，<br/>讓男女和老少，<br/>都放聲來歌唱，<br/>讓頑石打破沈默，<br/>回聲經久不息。你是父輩的上帝，<br/>自由的締造者，<br/>我們為你歌唱，<br/>願自由的聖光，<br/>永照我的祖國，<br/>上帝吾王，偉大萬能<br/>願你保佑我們。</p> | <p>My native country--thee<br/>Land of the noble free<br/>Thy name I love;<br/>I love thy rocks and rills<br/>Thy woods and tempted hills<br/>My heart with rapture thrills<br/>Like that above.<br/>Let music swell the breeze<br/>And ring from all the trees<br/>Sweet freedom's song<br/>Let all that breathe partake<br/>Let mortal tongues awake<br/>Let rocks their silence break<br/>The sound prolong.<br/>Our fathers' God to thee<br/>Author of liberty<br/>To thee we sing<br/>Long may our land be bright<br/>With freedom's holy light<br/>Protect us by thy might<br/>Great God, our King.</p> |
| <p>拉爾夫.沃爾多.愛默生<br/>(RALPH WALDO EMERSON)</p> <p>自 助<br/><b>Self-Reliance</b></p> <p>愚蠢地堅持隨眾隨俗乃是心胸狹小的幽靈的表現。</p> <hr/> <p>隨著學園運動的發展，愛默生成了一位受人歡迎的演說家。學園運動始於十九世紀二十年代，是有組織的成人教育的一種早期形式。它將各種涉及社會問題</p>  |   |

和學術問題的演說、辯論和討論帶入美國東北和中西部各州的社區。該運動以亞裏士多德給學生講學的雅典學校命名，為諸如愛默生、亨利·大衛·梭羅、蘇珊·比·安東尼、弗雷德里克·道格拉斯和納撒尼爾·霍桑等演說家提供了一個講壇和收入來源。

愛默生的自然主義哲學吸引了廣泛的注意和廣大的聽眾。他呼籲以內心自我、以直覺、以大自然作為生活和現實的指南，向那些秉承傳統、權威和教條的人提出了挑戰。對於個人主義者和不墨守陳規的人，對於厭惡古訓尋求內心真實的人來說，愛默生的言辭具有深邃的吸引力。美國每一代年輕人都重新發掘愛默生的思想。這篇雜文是愛默生的最佳代表作，具有警句式的文字和熱情洋溢的個人主義。該文最初發表在 1841 年愛默生的第一部散文集中。

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前些日子我讀了一位著名畫家的詩作。這是些獨特而且不落俗套的作品。在這種詩句中，不論其主題是什麼，心靈總能聽到某種告誡。詩句中所注入的感情比它們所包含的思想內容更可貴。相信你自己的思想，相信凡是對你心靈來說是真實的，對所有其他人也是真實的——這就是天才。披露蛰伏在你內心的信念，它便具有普遍的意義；因為最內在的終將成為最外在的——我們最初的想法終將在上帝最後審判日的喇叭聲中得到回應。儘管心靈的聲音對每一個人來說都是熟悉的，但是我們認為，摩西、柏拉圖和彌爾頓最了不起的功績是他們蔑視書本和傳統，他們論及的不是人們想到的，而是他們自己的思想。人應當學會的是捕捉、觀察發自內心的閃光，而不是詩人和偉人們的聖光。但是，人們卻不加思索地拋棄自己的思想，就因為那是自己的思想。在每一部天才的作品中，我們都可以找到我們自己拋棄了的那些思想：它們帶著某種陌生的尊嚴回到我們這兒來。偉大的藝術作品給我們最深刻的教誨就是，要以最平和而又最執著的態度遵從內心自然而然產生的念頭，即使與其相應的看法正甚囂塵上。否則，明天某個人便將儼然以一位權威的口吻高談那些同我們曾經想到、感受到的一模一樣的想法，而我們卻只好慚愧地從他人手中接受我們自己的想法。

每個人在受教育過程中，總有一天會認識到：妒忌是無知，模仿是自殺。不論好歹，每個人都必須接受屬於他的那一份，廣闊的世界裏雖然充滿了珍饈美味，

但是只有從給予他去耕耘的那一片土地裏，通過辛勤勞動收穫的穀物才富有營養。富於他體內的力量，實質上是新生的力量。只有他自己才知道他能幹什麼，而且他也只有在嘗試之後才能知曉。一張面孔、一個人物、一樁事情在他心中留下了印象，而其他的則不然。這並不是無緣無故的。這記憶中的塑像並非全無先驗的和諧。眼睛被置於某束光線將射到的地方，這樣它才可能感知到那束光線。大膽讓他直拋自己的全部信念吧。我們對自己總是遮遮掩掩，對我們每個人所代表的神聖意念感到羞愧。我們完全可以視這意念為與我們相稱、而又有益的意念，所以，應當忠實地宣揚它。不過，上帝是不會向懦夫揭示他的傑作的，只有神聖的人，才能展示神聖的事物。當一個人將身心傾注到工作中，並且竭盡了全力的時候，他就得到了解脫和歡樂。否則，他將為自己的言行忐忑不安，得到的是沒有解脫的解脫。在其間，他為自己的天賦所拋棄，沒有靈感與他為友，沒有發明，也沒有希望。

相信你自己吧：每顆心都隨著那弦跳動，接受上蒼為你找到的位置——同代人組成的社會和世網。偉大的人物總是像孩子似地將自己託付給時代的精神，披露他們所感知到的上帝正在他們內心引起騷動，正假他們之手在運作，並駕馭著他們整個身心。我們是人，必須在我們最高尚的心靈中接受同樣先驗的命運。我們不能畏縮在牆角裏，不能像懦夫一樣在革命關頭逃脫；我們必須是贖罪者和捐助者，是虔誠的有志者，是全能上帝所造之物，讓我們向著混沌亂世，向著黑暗衝鋒吧...

這些話語當我們獨處時可以聽到，可是當我們邁進這世界時，話音就減弱了、聽不到了。社會到處都是防患各社會成員成熟起來的陰謀。社會是一個股份公司。在這公司裏，成員們為了讓各個股東更好地保住自己的那份麵包，同意放棄吃麵包者的自由和文化。它最需要的美德是隨眾隨俗，它厭惡的是自力更生，它鍾愛的不是現實和創造者，而是名份和習俗。

任何名副其實的真正的人，都必須是不落俗套的人。任何採集聖地棕櫚葉的人，都不應當拘泥於名義上的善，而應當發掘善之本身。除了我們心靈的真誠之外，其他的一切歸根結蒂都不是神聖的。解脫自己，皈依自我，也就必然得到世人的認可。記得，當我還很小的時候，有位頗受人尊重的師長。他習慣不厭其煩地向我灌輸宗教的古老教條。有一回，我禁不住回了他一句。聽到我說，如果

我完全靠內心的指點來生活，那麼我拿那些神聖的傳統幹嘛呢；我的這位朋友提出說：「可是，內心的衝動可能是低下的，而不是高尚的。」我回答說：「在我看來，卻不是如此。不過，倘若我是魔鬼的孩子，那麼我就要照魔鬼的指點來生活。」除了天性的法則之外，在我看來，沒有任何法則是神聖的。好與壞，只不過是個名聲而已，不費吹灰之力，便可以將它從這人身上移到那人身上。唯一正確的，是順從自身結構的事物；唯一錯誤的，是逆自身結構的事物。一個人面對反對意見，其舉措應當像除了他自己之外，其他的一切都是有名無實的過眼煙雲。使我慚愧的是，我們如此易於成為招牌、名份的俘虜，成為龐大的社團和毫無生氣的習俗的俘虜。任何一個正派、談吐優雅之士都比一位無懈可擊的人更能影響我、左右我。我應當正直坦誠、生氣勃勃，以各種方式直抒未加粉飾的真理……

我必須做的是一切與我有關的事，而不是別人想要我做的事。這條法則，在現實生活和精神生活中都是同樣艱巨困難的，它是偉大與低賤的整個區別。它將變得更加艱巨，如果你總是碰到一些自以為比你更懂得什麼是你的責任的人。按照世人的觀念在這世界上生活是件容易的事；按照你自己的觀念，離群索居也不難；但若置身在世人之間，卻能盡善盡美地保持著個人獨立性，卻只有偉人才能辦得到。

抵制在你看來已是毫無生氣的習俗，是因為這些習俗耗盡你的精力。它消耗你的時光，隱翳你的性格。如果你上毫無生氣的教堂，為毫無生氣的聖經會捐款，投大黨的票擁護或反對政府，擺餐桌同粗俗的管家沒什麼兩樣——那麼在所有這些屏障下，我就很難準確看出你究竟是什麼樣的人。當然，這樣做也將從你生活本身中耗去相應的精力。然而，如果你所做的是你所要做的事，那麼我就能看出你到底是什麼樣的人。做你自己的事，你也就從中增強了自身。一個人必須要想到，隨眾隨俗無異於蒙住你的眼睛。假如我知道你屬於哪個教派，我就能預見到你會使用的論據。我曾經聽一位傳教士宣稱，他的講稿和主題都取材自他的教會的某一規定。難道我不是早就知道他根本不可能即興說一句話嗎……算了，大部分人都用這樣或那樣的手帕蒙住自己的眼睛，使自己依附於某個社團觀點。保持這種一致性，迫使他們不僅僅在一些細節上弄虛作假，說一些假話，而是在所有的細節上都弄虛作假。他們所有的真理都不太真。他們

的二並不是真正的二，他們的四也不是真正的四：他們說的每一個字都使我們失望，而我們又不知道該從哪兒下手去糾正它。同時，自然卻俐落地在我們身上套上我們所效忠的政黨的囚犯號衣。我們都板著同樣的面孔，擺著同樣的架式，逐漸習得最有紳士風度而又愚蠢得像驢一樣的表達方式。尤其值得一提的是，一種丟人的、並且也在歷史上留下了自己印記的經歷。我指的是「傻乎乎的恭維」——我們渾身不自在地同一些人相處時，臉上便堆起這種假笑；我們就毫無興趣的話題搭腔時，臉上便堆起這種微笑。其面部肌肉不是自然地運作，而是為一種低下的、處心積慮的抽搐所牽引，肌肉在面龐週邊繃得緊緊的，給人一種最不愉快的感覺：一種受責備和警告的感覺。這種感覺，任何勇敢的年輕人都絕不會願意體驗第二次。

世人用不快來鞭撻不落俗套的人……對於一位堅強的探諳世事的人來說，容忍有教養的紳士們的憤怒不是件難事。他們的憤怒是正派得體，謹慎穩重的。因為他們本身就非常容易招來責難，所以他們膽小怕事。但是，若引起他們那女性特有的憤怒，其憤慨便有所升級；倘若無知和貧窮的人們被唆使，倘若處於社會底層的非理性的野蠻力量被慫恿狂吼發難，那就需要養成寬宏大量和宗教的習慣，像神一樣把它當作無關緊要的瑣事。

另一個使我們不敢自信的恐懼是我們想要隨眾隨俗。這是我們對自己過去的所作所為的敬畏之情，因為在別人眼裏能夠藉以評判我們行為軌跡的依據，除了我們的所作所為之外別無他物，而我們又不願意使他們失望。

但是，你為什麼要往回看呢。為什麼你老要抱著回憶的殭屍，唯恐說出與你曾經在這個或那個公開場合說的話有點兒矛盾的話來呢。倘若你說了些自相矛盾的話，那又怎麼樣呢。

愚蠢地堅持隨眾隨俗是心胸狹小的幽靈的表現，是低級的政客，哲學家和神學家們崇拜的物件。偉大的人物根本就不會隨眾隨俗。他也許倒更關心自己落在牆上的影子。嘿！把好你的那張嘴！用包裝線把雙唇縫起來！否則，你若要做一個真正的人的話，今天你想說什麼就說什麼，像放連珠炮一樣；明天你想說什麼，照樣斬釘截鐵地說什麼，哪怕跟你今天說的一切都是相互矛盾的。哈哈！老婦人，你就嚷嚷去吧！你肯定會被人誤解的！誤解，恰恰是個傻瓜的字眼。被人誤解就那麼不好嗎。畢達哥拉斯被人誤解，蘇格拉底、耶穌、路德、哥白



尼、伽利略和牛頓，每一位純粹而又聰明、曾經生活過的人都曾被人誤解過。要做個偉人，就一定會被人誤解.....

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I read the other day some verses written by an eminent painter which were original and not conventional. Always the soul hears an admonition in such lines, let the subject be what it may. The sentiment they instil is of more value than any thought they may contain. To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men,--that is genius. Speak your latent conviction, and it shall be universal sense; for always the inmost becomes the outmost--and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Familiar as the voice of the mind is to each, the highest merit we ascribe to Moses, Plato and Milton is that they set at naught books and traditions, and spoke not what men, but what they thought, A man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages. Yet he dismisses without notice his thought, because it is his. In every work of genius we recognize our own rejected thoughts; they come back to us with a certain alienated majesty. Great works of art have no more affecting lesson for us than this. They teach us to abide by our spontaneous impression with good-humored inflexibility then most when the whole cry of voices is on the other side. Else to-morrow a stranger will say with masterly good sense precisely what we have thought and felt all the time, and we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another.

There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better for worse as his portion; that though

the wide universe is full of good, no kernel of nourishing corn can come to him but through his toil bestowed on that plot of ground which is given to him to till. The power which resides in him is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do, nor does he know until he has tried. Not for nothing one face, one character, one fact, makes much impression on him, and another none. It is not without preestablished harmony, this sculpture in the memory. The eye was placed where one ray should fall, that it might testify of that particular ray. Bravely let him speak the utmost syllable of his confession. We but half express ourselves, and are ashamed of that divine idea which each of us represents. It may be safely trusted as proportionate and of good issues, so it be faithfully imparted, but God will not have his work made manifest by cowards. It needs a divine man to exhibit anything divine. A man is relieved and gay when he has put his heart into his work and done his best; but what he has said or done otherwise shall give him no peace. It is a deliverance which does not deliver. In the attempt his genius deserts him; no muse befriends; no invention, no hope.

Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the divine providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connexion of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the Eternal was stirring at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; and not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay under the Almighty effort let us advance on Chaos and the Dark...

These are the voices which we hear in solitude, but they grow faint and inaudible as we enter into the world. Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members. Society is a joint-stock company, in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators, but names and customs.

Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world. I remember an answer which when quite young I was prompted to make to a valued adviser who was wont to importune me with the dear old doctrines of the church. On my saying, What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within. My friend suggested,--"But these impulses may be from below, not from above." I replied. "They do not seem to me to be such; but if I am the devil's child, I will live then from the devil." No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature. Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is that is after my constitution; the only wrong what is against it. A man is to carry himself in the presence of all opposition as if every thing were titular and ephemeral but he. I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well-spoken individual affects and sways me more than is right. I ought to go upright and vital, and speak the rude truth in all ways. . . .

What I must do is all that concerns me, not what the people think. This rule, equally arduous in actual and in intellectual life, may serve for the whole distinction between greatness and meanness. It is the harder because you will always find those who think they know what is your duty better than you know it. It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

The objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is that it scatters your force. It loses your time and blurs the impression of your character. If you maintain a dead church, contribute to a dead Bible Society, vote with a great party either for the Government or against it, spread your table like base housekeepers,--under all these screens I have difficulty to detect the precise man you are. And of course so much force is withdrawn from your proper life. But do your thing, and I shall know you. Do your work, and you shall reinforce yourself. A man must consider what a blind man's-buff is this game of conformity. If I know your sect I anticipate your argument. I hear a preacher announce for his text and topic the expediency of one of the institutions of his church. Do I not know beforehand that not possibly can he say a new and spontaneous word.

. . . Well, most men have bound their eyes with one or another handkerchief, and attached themselves to some one of these communities of opinion. This conformity makes them not false in a few particulars, authors of a few lies, but false in all particulars. Their every truth is not quite true. Their two is not the real two, their four not the real four: so that every word they say chagrins us and we know not where to begin to set them right. Meantime nature is

not slow to equip us in the prison-uniform of the party to which we adhere. We come to wear one cut of face and figure, and acquire by degrees the gentlest asinine expression. There is a mortifying experience in particular, which does not fail to wreak itself also in the general history; I mean "the foolish face of praise," the forced smile which we put on in company where we do not feel at ease, in answer to conversation which does not interest us. The muscles, not spontaneously moved but moved by a low usurping wilfulness, grow tight about the outline of the face, and make the most disagreeable sensation; a sensation of rebuke and warning which no brave young man will suffer twice.

For nonconformity the world whips you with its displeasure. . . . It is easy enough for a firm man who knows the world to brook the rage of the cultivated classes. Their rage is decorous and prudent, for they are timid, as being very vulnerable themselves. But when to their feminine rage the indignation of the people is added, when the ignorant and the poor are aroused, when the unintelligent brute force that lies at the bottom of society is made to growl and mow, it needs the habit of magnanimity and religion to treat it godlike as a trifle of no concernment.

The other terror that scares us from self-trust is our consistency; a reverence for our past act or word because the eyes of others have no other data for computing our orbit than our past acts, and we are loath to disappoint them.

But why should you keep your head over your shoulder. Why drag about this monstrous corpse of your memory, lest you contradict somewhat you have stated in this or that public place. Suppose you should contradict yourself; what then. . . .

A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little

statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall. Out upon your guarded lips! Sew them up with packthread, do. Else if you would be a man speak what you think to-day in words as hard as cannon balls, and to-morrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you said to-day. Ah, then, exclaim the aged ladies, you shall be sure to be misunderstood! Misunderstood! It is a right fool's word. Is it so bad then to be misunderstood. Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood. . . .

### 在老斯莫基山頂上

#### **On Top of Old Smoky**

《在老斯莫基山頂上》是一首民歌。它最早於十九世紀四十年代流行在具有英格蘭、蘇格蘭和愛爾蘭傳統的移民中間，他們居住在阿巴拉契亞山脈南麓。老斯莫基山 是藍嶺山脈中的一座山峰，離北卡羅來納州的阿什維爾不遠。當西遷愈演愈烈的時候，那些先驅者們唱的就是這首歌。這首歌成了邊疆最流行的歌曲之一，其著名之 程度遠遠超過了藍嶺山脈。多年來，它一直是美國最受人喜愛的民歌之一。

在老斯莫基山頂上，  
覆蓋著一片白雪，  
我失去了我的愛人，

On top of Old Smoky,  
All covered with snow,  
I lost my true lover  
For courtin' too slow.

|            |                                 |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 都怪我求愛不夠迅捷。 | Now courtin's a pleasure        |
|            | But partin' is grief,           |
| 求愛倒是一件快事，  | A false-hearted lover           |
|            | Is worse than a thief.          |
| 分手卻叫人難過，   |                                 |
| 假心腸的愛人     | A thief will just rob you       |
|            | And take what you have.         |
| 比竊賊更可惡。    | But a false-hearted lover       |
|            | Will send you to the grave      |
| 竊賊僅僅打劫你，   |                                 |
| 掠奪你的財物，    | They'll hug you and kiss you    |
|            | And tell you more lies          |
| 可假心腸的愛人    | Than cross-ties on the railroad |
| 卻把你活活送進墳墓。 | Or stars in the skies.          |
| 她們摟你、吻你    | On top of Old Smoky,            |
|            | All covered with snow,          |
| 說著一個又一個謊言， | I lost my true lover            |
| 多得超過鐵路的枕木， | For courtin' too slow.          |
| 多得超過天上的繁星。 |                                 |
| 在老斯莫斯山頂上，  |                                 |
| 覆蓋著一片白雪，   |                                 |
| 我失去了我的愛人，  |                                 |
| 都怪我求愛不夠迅捷。 |                                 |

## Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean

這首愛國歌曲最早在 1843 年以《哥倫比亞，勇士之鄉》為名發表。後來又以現在這個歌名重新發表。歌曲的作者未有定論。在第一版時，作者是大衛．T．肖。肖是一位演員兼歌手。1843 年，他首先在費城的切斯納特街劇院演唱了這首歌曲。不過，演出的組織者托馬斯·貝克特也聲稱是這首抒情歌曲的作者。肖與貝克特都是英國人後裔，在英國，同樣這首歌曲卻叫作《不列顛，大海的驕傲》。誰也無法確切知道，這首歌是從哪一國傳到另一國的。也許，肖與貝克特在大西洋兩岸演唱這首歌時，更改了歌詞來迎合觀眾。

啊，哥倫比亞！大海的明珠，  
你是勇士和自由民的故鄉，  
你是每個愛國者獻身的聖壇  
世人全都崇敬你！  
爲了自由之政體，  
你的呼喚，召集起英雄千千万；  
你的旗幟令暴君顫慄，  
把紅、白、藍的旗幟擎起！  
把紅、白、藍的旗幟擎起！  
把紅、白、藍的旗幟擎起！  
  
你的旗幟令暴君顫慄，  
把紅、白、藍的旗幟擎起！  
當戰爭張開大毀滅的翅膀，  
發出要摧殘這片土地的咆哮，

O Columbia! the gem of the ocean,  
The home of the brave and the free,  
The shrine of each patriot's devotion,  
A world offers homage to thee!  
Thy mandates make heroes assemble,  
When Liberty's form stands in view;  
Thy banners make tyranny tremble,  
When borne by the red, white, and blue!  
When borne by the red, white, and blue,  
When borne by the red, white, and blue,  
Thy banners make tyranny tremble,  
When borne by the red, white, and blue!  
  
When war wing'd its wide desolation,  
And threaten'd the land to deform,  
The ark then of freedom's foundation,  
Columbia rode safe thro' the storm;  
With her garlands of vict'ry around her,  
When so proudly she bore her brave crew,



|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>這艘奠定自由的方舟，</p> <p>載著哥倫比亞平安闖過風暴：</p> <p>戴著勝利的桂冠，</p> <p>驕傲地載著勇猛的水手，</p> <p>她的旗幟在船前自豪地飄揚，</p> <p>這是紅、白、藍的驕傲！</p> <p>這是紅、白、藍的驕傲，</p> <p>這是紅、白、藍的驕傲，</p> <p>她的旗幟在船前自豪地飄揚，</p> <p>這是紅、白、藍的驕傲！</p> <p>星條旗將他們領到了這裏，</p> <p>願它飄揚在哥倫比亞真正子孫的上空；</p> <p>願他們贏得的桂冠永不凋零，</p> <p>願旗幟的星光永在勇士頭頂閃耀，</p> <p>願你聯合起的隊伍永遠齊整，</p> <p>永遠保持他們本色純正；</p> <p>萬歲！陸軍！萬歲！海軍！</p> <p>為紅、白、藍歡呼、歡呼、再歡呼！</p> <p>為紅、白、藍歡呼、歡呼、再歡呼！</p> <p>為紅、白、藍歡呼、歡呼、再歡呼！</p> | <p>With her flag proudly floating before her,</p> <p>The boast of the red, white, and blue!</p> <p>The boast of the red, white, and blue,</p> <p>The boast of the red, white, and blue,</p> <p>With her flag proudly floating before her,</p> <p>The boast of the red, white, and blue!</p> <p>The Star-Spangled Banner bring hither,</p> <p>O'er Columbia's true sons let it wave;</p> <p>May the wreathes they have won never wither,</p> <p>Nor its stars cease to shine on the brave.</p> <p>May thy service united ne'er sever,</p> <p>But hold to their colors so true;</p> <p>The Army and Navy forever!</p> <p>Three cheers for the red, white, and blue!</p> <p>Three cheers for the red, white, and blue,</p> <p>Three cheers for the red, white, and blue,</p> <p>The Army and Navy forever,</p> <p>Three cheers for the red, white, and blue!</p> |
|--|---|

萬歲！陸軍！萬歲！海軍！  
爲紅、白、藍歡呼、歡呼、再歡呼！

亨利.沃茲沃思.朗費羅  
(HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW)

《生活的讚美詩》、《鄉村鐵匠》  
和《保羅.裏維爾騎馬來》

### **A Psalm of Life, The Village Blacksmith, Paul and Revere's Ride**

亨利.沃茲沃思.朗費羅(1807-1820)生在緬因州，畢業於鮑登學院，在馬薩諸塞州的康橋度過他成年的大部份時間。作為一位詩人，他在一個二十世紀詩人所不知道的範圍內極受歡迎。他的詩常常被印到學校的課本裏。幾代人以來，許多學童都能背誦《金星號沈沒》、《保羅.裏維爾騎馬來》《伊萬傑琳》、《哈瓦沙之歌》及其它朗費羅的詩歌的大部分詩句。任何一個學童聽說一個朋友作了一首韻詩馬上就會說：「你是一個詩人，你自己還不知道呢，可你的大腳表明你是詩人：它們都是朗費羅！」《生活的讚美詩》和《鄉村鐵匠》發表於 1839 年；《保羅.裏維爾騎馬來》第一次發表於 1863 年，作為《路邊客棧的故事》的一部份。這三首詩都被廣泛地重印到教科書和詩集中。

生活的讚美詩  
青年的心對讚美詩的作者說  
不要以悲哀的韻律告訴我，  
「生活只是一場空虛的夢！」  
因為沈睡的靈魂是死的，  
萬物看似如此實非相同。生活

A Psalm of Life  
WHAT THE HEART OF THE YOUNG  
MAN SAID TO THE PSALMIST  
Tell me not, in mournful numbers,  
"Life is but an empty dream!"  
For the soul is dead that slumbers,

是真實的！生活是認真的！  
生活的目標不是墳墓；  
靈魂不是這樣說，  
「人本塵土，終歸塵土」。享  
樂和憂患，  
不是我們預定的目標或道路；  
只有行動使我們  
一天比一天進步。藝術是漫長  
的，時間在飛度，  
儘管我們的心強健勇敢，  
然而就像聲音低沈的鼓，  
正敲打著哀樂走向墳墓。在世  
界廣闊的戰場，  
在生活的軍營，  
不要做被人驅趕的蠢牛，  
做一個鬥爭的英雄！不管未來  
多美好，不要信賴它！  
讓死的過去埋葬死亡！  
行動——在活生生的現在行  
動！  
心在內，主在上！  
偉人們的一生提醒我們，  
我們可使自己一生崇高，  
我們離開時，在時間沙灘上，  
留下我們的腳印。  
腳印，也許是另一個，  
駛過生活莊嚴的大海，  
一位翻了船的孤零兄弟，  
見了腳印，就會再振作起來。

And things are not what they seem  
Life is real! Life is earnest!  
And the grave is not its goal;  
"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"  
Was not spoken of the soul.  
Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,  
Is our destined end or way;  
But to act, that each to-morrow  
Finds us farther than to-day  
Art is long, and Time is fleeting,  
And our hearts, though stout and  
brave,  
Still, like muffled drums, are beating  
Funeral marches to the grave.  
In the world's broad field of battle,  
In the bivouac of Life,  
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!  
Be a hero in the strife!  
Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant!  
Let the dead Past bury its dead!  
Act,--act in the living Present!  
Heart within, and God o'erhead!  
Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time;  
Footprints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,

那麼讓我們幹起來吧，  
做好迎接各種命運的準備；  
我們仍在成功，仍在追求，  
學會勞動，學會等待。

Seeing, shall take heart again.  
Let us, then, be up and doing,  
With a heart for any fate;  
Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labour and to wait

鄉村鐵匠在一株繁茂的栗樹  
下，  
有家鄉村鐵匠鋪。  
鐵匠是個強壯的漢子，  
一雙大手真強壯；  
在他雄健的胳膊上，  
肌肉就像鐵一樣。他的頭髮是  
捲曲的，又黑又長，  
還有個黧色的臉龐；  
他的眉毛浸透誠實的汗水  
他掙他能掙的錢，  
他敢面對整個世界，  
因為他對誰也不欠賬。一週又  
一週，從早到晚，  
你都能聽見他的風箱在響，  
你能聽見他在揮動沉重的大  
錘，  
緩慢而又節奏地敲打著，  
就像在夕陽西下的時候，  
鄉村教堂的打錘人在敲鐘一  
樣。孩子們放學回家，  
從敞開的門往裏張望，  
他們愛看冒著火焰的熔爐，  
他們愛聽吼著的風箱，

The Village Blacksmith  
Under a spreading chestnut tree  
The village smithy stands;  
The smith, a mighty man is he,  
With large and sinewy hands;  
And the muscles of his brawny arms  
Are strong as iron bands.  
His hair is crisp, and black, and long,  
His face is like the tan;  
His brow is wet with honest sweat,  
He earns whate'er he can,  
And looks the whole world in the face,  
For he owes not any man.  
Week in, week out, from morn till  
night,  
You can hear his bellows blow;  
You can hear him swing his heavy  
sledge,  
With measured beat and slow.  
Like a sexton ringing the village bell,  
When the evening sun is low.  
And children coming home from  
school  
Look in at the open door;

他們愛捉燃燒的火花，  
那火花就像打穀場上穀殼帶  
飛揚。星期天他到教堂去，  
坐在他兒子們中央；  
傾聽牧師的祈禱和傳道，  
傾聽他的女兒，  
在鄉村唱詩班裏唱歌的聲音，  
這使他心情舒暢。他覺得他女  
兒的歌聲，  
就像是她母親在天堂裏歌唱。  
他一定又想起她了，  
不知她在墳墓休息得怎樣，  
於是他用粗硬的手，  
抹去眼裏的淚光。

勞累——歡樂——悲傷  
一生中他努力向上，  
每天早晨他看著工作開始，  
每天晚上又看著它結束；  
有的工作計劃，有的工作完成  
了，  
然後他得到了一夜的安詳。  
多謝，多謝你，我珍貴的朋友，  
謝謝你給我上了一課！  
帶這樣冒著火焰的人生熔爐  
裏，  
一定可以煉出我們的財富；  
這樣鏗鏘作響的鐵砧上，  
便可造就出每個火紅的事業  
和思想！

They love to see the flaming forge.  
And hear the bellows roar,  
And catch the burning sparks that fly  
Like chaff from a threshing floor.  
He goes on Sunday to the church,  
And sits among his boys;  
He hears the parson pray and preach,  
He hears his daughter's voice,  
Singing in the village choir,  
And it makes his heart rejoice.  
It sounds to him like her mother's  
voice,  
Singing in Paradise!  
He needs must think of her once more,  
How in the grave she lies;  
And with his hard, rough hand he  
wipes  
A tear out of his eyes.  
Toiling.--rejoicing,--sorrowing  
Onward through life he goes:  
Each morning sees some task begin,  
Each evening sees it close;  
Something attempted, something  
done,  
Has earned a night's repose.  
Thanks. thanks to thee, my worthy  
friend,  
For the lesson thou hast taught!  
Thus at the flaming forge of life

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | <p>Our fortunes must be wrought;<br/>Thus on its sounding anvil shaped<br/>Each burning deed and thought!</p>  |
| <p>保羅·裏維爾騎馬來聽，孩子們，你們會聽到，<br/>保羅·裏維爾夜半騎馬來，<br/>七五年四月十八日：<br/>現在活著的人幾乎沒有一個<br/>能記住這個著名的日子和年代。他對朋友說，「如果今夜英國人<br/>從城裏由海上或陸路向我們進攻，<br/>就在北教堂樓頂的鐘塔拱門上，<br/>掛起燈籠作為信號燈——<br/>如果由陸路來，掛一盞，<br/>如果由海上來，掛兩盞，<br/>我在對岸會作好準備，<br/>騎馬傳播警報聲，<br/>傳到米德爾塞克斯的每一個村莊和農場，<br/>讓同胞們起來並配上武器。」<br/>然後他說，「晚安！」<br/>拿起布包的槳悄悄劃到查爾斯敦岸邊，<br/>就在這時月亮從海灣升起，<br/>在海灣的停泊處激烈起浮的是英國薩默塞特號軍艦，</p> | <p>Paul Revere's Ride</p> <p>Listen, my children, and you shall hear<br/>Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,<br/>On the eighteenth of April, in<br/>Seventy-five;<br/>Hardly a man is now alive<br/>Who remembers that famous day and year.<br/>He said to his friend, "If the British march<br/>By land or sea from the town tonight,<br/>Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch<br/>Of the North Church tower as a signal light,--<br/>One, if by land, and two, if by sea;<br/>And I on the opposite shore will be,<br/>Ready to ride and spread the alarm<br/>Through every Middlesex village and farm,<br/>For the country folk to be up and to arm."<br/>Then he said, "Good night!" and with muffled oar<br/>Silently rowed to<br/>the Charlestown shore,<br/>Just as the moon rose over the bay,</p> |

這是一艘鬼船，每根桅桿和檣  
就像是監獄的橫桿攔住月亮，  
她是一個巨大的黑塊，  
隨她自己在海潮裏的倒影而  
膨脹。與此同時，他的朋友穿  
過大街小巷，  
四處走動，豎起耳朵急切地監  
視著，  
直至在周圍萬籟俱寂中，他聽  
到  
士兵在兵營門口集中的聲響。  
武器聲，腳步聲，士兵們踏著  
整齊的腳步，  
挺進到岸邊船隊的近旁。然後  
他爬到老北教堂的塔樓上邊，  
順著木樓梯，躡手躡腳地  
走到上面的鐘塔裏  
棲息在暗色橡木上的鴿子  
被驚飛了，在他周圍亂成一  
片，  
只見影子在飛動，  
順著搖搖晃晃，又高又陡的樓  
梯，  
他爬到牆上最高的窗戶，  
在那裏他停下傾聽並朝下看，  
看一會全城的屋頂，  
看著月光將全城灑遍。底下，  
教堂墓地裏躺著死人，  
還有山崗上他們的軍營，

Where swinging wide at her moorings  
lay  
The Somerset, British man-of-war;  
A phantom ship, with each mast and  
spar  
Across the moon like a prison bar,  
And a huge black hulk, that was  
magnified  
By its own reflection in the tide.  
Meanwhile, his friend, through alley  
and street,  
Wanders and watches with eager ears,  
Till in the silence around him he hears  
The muster of men at the barrack  
door,  
The sound of arms, and the tramp of  
feet,  
And the measured tread of the  
grenadiers,  
Marching down to their boats on the  
shore.  
Then he climbed the tower of the Old  
North Church,  
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy  
tread,  
To the belfry-chamber overhead,  
And startled the pigeons from their  
perch  
On the somber rafters, that round him

四周萬籟俱寂，靜止不動，  
使他可以聽到警覺的夜風  
像是踏著哨兵的腳步，  
偷偷地從一個帳篷走到另一個帳篷，  
似乎在悄悄地說，「平安無事！」  
那一刻只有他感覺到時間和地點的魔力，  
感覺到孤獨的塔樓和死人暗藏的恐懼，  
因為突然間他的思想全部集中到遠方的一個影子上，  
那是在河道變寬與海灣相接的地方，  
在上漲的潮水裏，一條黑線在飄浮，  
就像是一座船搭的橋樑。這時在對岸的保羅·裏維爾，  
急忙上馬，穿著馬靴套著馬刺，  
踏著沈重的步伐走著，  
時而他拍拍馬側，  
時而盯著遠近的山水，  
然後猛地在地面一踩，  
轉身收緊馬的腹帶，  
但他主要還是急切地監視著老北教堂的鐘樓，

made  
Masses and moving shapes of shade, --  
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,  
To the highest window in the wall,  
Where he paused to listen and look down  
A moment on the roofs of the town,  
And the moonlight flowing over all.  
Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,  
In their night-encampment on the hill,  
Wrapped in silence so deep and still  
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,  
The watchful night-wind, as it went  
Creeping along from tent to tent,  
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"  
A moment only he feels the spell  
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread  
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;  
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent  
On a shadowy- something far away,  
Where the river widens to meet the bay, -  
A line of black that bends and floats  
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.  
Meanwhile, impatient to mount and



鐘樓高聳在山崗的墓地上頭  
孤獨，靜止，昏暗，就像是幽  
靈。

瞧！他看到塔樓頂上  
一絲光線，接著是一線光！  
他躍到鞍上轉過馬勒，  
但他只是徘徊注視著，  
直至完全看到塔樓裏燃起第  
二盞燈。

在鄉村的街道上馬蹄匆匆  
月光下一個身影，黑暗中一團  
東西，  
底下一匹駿馬無畏而輕快地  
飛馳而去  
在鵝卵石上將火星燃起，  
沒辦法了！可是，那天晚上國  
家的命運  
卻騎著馬穿過黑暗見到光明，  
那飛馳的駿馬踢出的火星，  
其熱量足以使火焰燃遍這片  
土地。

他離開了村子，登上陡坡，  
在他下面，梅斯蒂克河與海潮  
匯合，  
幽深的水面，寂靜，寬闊，  
在那些環繞河邊的赤楊樹下，  
可聽到他的坐騎馬蹄的的，  
時而輕輕踏在沙灘上，  
時而在礁石上作響。

ride,  
Booted and spurred, with a heavy  
stride  
On the opposite shore walked Paul  
Revere.  
Now he patted his horse's side,  
Now gazed at the landscape far and  
near,  
Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,  
And turned and tightened his  
saddle-girth;  
But mostly he watched with eager  
search  
The belfry-tower of the Old North  
Church,  
As it rose above the graves on the hill,  
Lonely and spectral and somber and  
still.  
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's  
height  
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!  
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he  
turns,  
But lingers and gazes, till full on his  
sight  
A second lamp in the belfry burns!  
A hurry of hoofs in a village street,  
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the  
dark,

村裏的鐘已敲十二點，  
這時他過橋進入麥得福德城  
圍，  
他聽到鐘在叮噠，  
他聽到農夫的狗在吠，  
太陽下山之後，  
他可感覺到河上薄霧的濕氣，  
村裏的鐘敲到了一點，  
這時他飛馳進入列剋星敦地  
區。  
當他經過時，看到鍍金的風信  
雞  
在月光裏轉來轉去，  
會議室的窗戶，空空蕩蕩，  
緊盯著他射出幽靈般的光芒，  
面對即在擔負的血腥的工作  
它們似乎已經嚇得發呆。  
村裏的鐘敲到兩響，  
這時他來到康科德城的橋上，  
他聽到羊群的叫聲  
和樹間的鳥鳴，  
晨風吹過枯黃的草地，  
他感到了風的氣息，  
他本可安睡在自己的床上，  
可他現在可能在橋邊第一個  
倒下，  
他可能被英國人的火槍子彈  
穿透，  
就在那天躺下死去。

And beneath, from the pebbles, in  
passing, a spark  
Struck out by a steed flying fearless  
and fleet;  
That was all! And yet, through the  
gloom and the light  
The fate of a nation was riding that  
night;  
And the spark struck out by that steed  
in his flight,  
Kindled the land into flame with its  
heat.  
He has left the village and mounted  
the steep,  
And beneath him, tranquil and broad  
and deep,  
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;  
And under the alders, that skirt its  
edge,  
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the  
ledge,  
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he  
rides.  
It was twelve by the village clock  
When he crossed the bridge into  
Medford town.  
He heard the crowing of the cock,  
And the barking of the farmer's dog,  
And felt the damp of the river fog,

你們知道後來發生的事。  
在你們讀過的書裏，  
你知道英國正規軍是如何開  
火和逃命的，  
農夫們從每一堵籬笆後，  
從每一個農院的牆後，  
以子彈將他們的子彈還擊  
他們把英軍士兵趕進小巷，  
接著又越過田野重新出現，  
在路邊拐彎處的樹下，  
他們停火和裝彈藥。  
保羅·裏維爾一整夜都這樣騎  
著馬跑，  
一整夜都能聽到他的喊叫，  
喊遍每個米德爾塞克斯的村  
莊和農場，  
那是蔑視的喊聲，不是害怕的  
呼號，  
那是黑暗中的聲音，是敲門的  
聲音，  
那是一個將永遠產生共鳴的  
詞！  
因為過去的夜風載著這個詞，  
經歷過我們的全部歷史直至  
最後時辰，  
在黑暗中，在危險時，在需要  
時，  
人們就醒來傾聽那駿馬匆匆  
的馬蹄聲

That rises after the sun goes down.  
It was one by the village clock,  
When he galloped into Lexington.  
He saw the gilded weathercock  
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,  
And the meeting-house windows,  
blank and bare,  
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,  
As if they already stood aghast  
At the bloody work they would look  
upon.  
It was two by the village clock,  
When he came to the bridge in  
Concord town  
He heard the bleating of the flock,  
And the twitter of birds among the  
trees,  
And felt the breath of the morning  
breeze  
Blowing over the meadows brown.  
And one was safe and asleep in his bed  
Who at the bridge -would be first to  
fall,  
Who that day would be lying dead,  
Pierced by a British musket-ball.  
You know the rest. In the books you  
have read,  
How the British Regulars fired and  
fled,--

和保羅.裏維爾夜半的報信。

How the farmers gave them ball for ball,  
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,  
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,  
Then crossing the fields to emerge again  
Under the trees at the turn of the road.  
And only pausing to fire and load.  
So through the night rode Paul Revere;  
And so through the night went his cry of alarm  
To every Middlesex village and farm,--  
A cry of defiance, and not of fear,  
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,  
And a word that shall echo forevermore!  
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,  
Through all our history, to the last,  
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,  
The people will waken and listen to hear  
The hurrying hoofbeats of that steed,  
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

亨利.大衛.梭羅

(HENRY DAVID THOREAU)

## 論公民的不服從

### Civil Disobedience

在一個監禁正義之士的政府統治之下，正義之士的真正棲身之地也就是監獄。

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亨利.大衛.梭羅(1817－1862)是位雜文家、詩人、自然主義者、改革家和哲學家。他出生在馬薩諸塞州的康科德，畢業於哈佛大學。在擔任了數年小學校長之後，梭羅決定以作詩和論述自然作為他終生的事業。他是拉爾夫.沃爾多.愛默生的信徒，是先驗主義運動的一位領袖。與浪漫主義和改革結合在一起的先驗主義推崇感覺和直覺勝過理智，宣揚個人主義和內在的心聲——完整和自然的聲音。

梭羅零打碎敲的以文謀生的努力幾乎從未給他帶來什麼稿酬。他發表的作品銷路不佳，便不時在家中的小鉛筆廠裏工作。1845年，時年二十八歲的他，下決心撇開金錢的羈絆，在徵得愛默生的同意後，在愛默生擁有的離康科德二英里的沃頓塘上建了一座小屋。

1846年7月，梭羅居住在沃頓塘時，當地的警官找他，叫他支付投票稅，儘管他已經數年未行使這個權利了。梭羅拒絕支付稅款。當夜，警官把他關在康科德的監獄裏。第二天，一位未透露身份的人士——可能是梭羅的姨母支付了稅款，他便獲釋了。不過，他表明了他的觀點：他不能向一個容許奴隸制並且對墨西哥發動帝國主義戰爭的政府交稅。他準備了一份解釋自己行動的演說稿，並於1849年發表了這篇演說稿。當時，這篇文章沒有引起什麼反響。但是到了十九世紀末，這篇文章卻成了經典之作，在國際上出現了一批追隨者。列夫.托爾斯泰在1900年讀到這篇文章，對它崇拜不已。聖雄.甘地在南非當律師時，宣讀這篇文章為觸犯了種族歧視法規的印度人辯護。甘地深受梭羅的影響，成了一位終生非暴力反抗和消極抵制非正義權勢的典範。通過甘地，梭羅的主張變成了政治活動的工具。後來在二十世紀，年輕的小馬丁.路德.金也深受甘地的影響，梭羅的主張便在美國民權運動的思想基礎中得到了新生。

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我由衷地同意這個警句——「最好的政府是管得最少的政府」。我希望看到這個警句迅速而且系統地得到實施。我相信，實施後，其最終結果將是——「最好的政府是根本不進行治理的政府」。當人們做好準備之後，這樣的政府就是他們願意接受的政府，政府充其量不過是一種權宜之計，而大部分政府，有時所有的政府卻都是不得計的。對設置常備軍的反對意見很多、很強烈，而且理應佔主導地位，它們最終可能轉變成反對常設政府。常備軍隊不過是常設政府的一支胳膊。政府本身也只不過是人民選擇來行使他們意志的形式，在人民還來不及通過它來運作之前，它同樣也很容易被濫用或誤用，看看當前的墨西哥戰爭，它是少數幾個人將常設政府當作工具的結果，因為，從一開始，人民本來就不同意採取這種作法。

目前這個美國政府——它不過是一種傳統，儘管其歷史還不久，但卻竭力使自己原封不動地屈屈相傳，可是每屆卻都喪失掉一些自身的誠實和正直。它的活力和氣力還頂不上一個活人，因為一個人就能隨心所欲地擺佈它。對於人民來說，政府是支木頭槍。倘若人們真要使用它互相廝殺，它就注定要開裂。不過，儘管如此，它卻仍然是必不可少的，因為人們需要某種複雜機器之類的玩意兒，需要聽它發出的噪音，藉此滿足他們對於政府之理念的要求。於是，政府的存在表明了，為了人民的利益，可以如何成功地利用、欺騙人民，甚至可以使人民利用、欺騙自己。我們大家都必須承認，這真了不起。不過，這種政府從未主動地促進過任何事業，它只是欣然地超脫其外。它未捍衛國家的自由。它未解決西部問題。它未從事教育。迄今，所有的成就全都是由美國人民的傳統性格完成的，而且，假如政府不曾從中作梗的話，本來還會取得更大的成就。因為政府是一種權宜之計，通過它人們可以欣然彼此不來往；而且，如上所述，最便利的政府也就是最不搭理被治理的人民的政府，商業貿易假如不是用印度橡膠製成的話，絕無可能躍過議員們沒完沒了地設置下的路障；倘若完全以議員們行動的效果，而不是以他們行動的意圖來評價的話，那麼他們就理所當然地應當被視作如同在鐵路上設路障搗蛋的人，並受到相應的懲罰。

但是，現實地以一個公民的身份來說，我不像那些自稱是無政府主義的人，我要求的不是立即取消政府，而是立即要有個好一些政府。讓每一個人都表明能贏得他尊敬的是什麼樣的政府，這樣，也就為贏得這種政府邁出了一步。到

頭來，當權力掌握在人民手中的時候，多數派將有權統治，而且繼續長期統治，其實際原因不是因為他們極可能是正義的，也不是因為這在少數派看來是最公正的，而是因為他們在物質上是最強大的。但是，一個由多數派作出所有決定的政府，是不可能建立在正義之上的，即使在人們對其所瞭解的意義上都辦不到。在一個政府中，如果對公正與謬誤真正作出決定的不是多數派而是良知，如果多數派僅僅針對那些可以運用便利法則解決的問題做出決定，難道是不可能的嗎。公民必須，哪怕是暫時地或最低限度地把自己的良知託付給議員嗎？那麼，為什麼每個人還都有良知呢。我認為，我們首先必須做人，其後才是臣民。培養人們像尊重正義一樣尊重法律是不可取的。我有權承擔的唯一義務是不論何時都從事我認為是正義的事。.....

那麼一個人應當怎樣對待當今的美國政府呢。我的回答是，與其交往有辱人格。我絕對不能承認作為奴隸制政府的一個政治機構是我的政府。

人人都承認革命的權利，即當政府是暴政或政府過於無能令人無法忍受的時候，有權拒絕為其效忠，並抵制它的權利。但是，幾乎所有人都說，現在的情況並非如此。他們認為，1775 年的情況才是如此。如果有人對我說，這個政府很糟糕，它對運抵口岸的某些外國貨課稅。我極有可能會無動於衷，因為沒有這些外國貨，我照樣能過日子。所有的機器都免不了產生摩擦，但是這也許卻具有抵消弊端的好處。不管怎麼說，為此興師動眾是大錯特錯的。可是，如果摩擦控制了整個機器，並進行有組織的欺壓與掠奪，那麼，就讓我們扔掉這部機器吧。換句話說，如果在一個被認為是自由的庇護所的國家裏，人口的六分之一是奴隸，如果整個國家任由一個外國軍隊蹂躪、征服，並被置於軍管之下，那麼，我認為，誠實的人都應立刻奮起反抗、革命。使這個責任變得更加迫切的是，這個被如此蹂躪的國家不是我國，恰恰相反，我們的軍隊卻正是入侵的軍隊.....

事實上，反對麻塞諸塞州改革的人不是南方的萬把政客，而是這兒的千千萬萬商人和農場主，他們更感興趣的是他們的商業和農業，而不是他們屬於人類這個事實。不論花費什麼代價，他們都不打算公平對待奴隸和墨西哥。我要與之爭論的敵人，不是遠在天涯，而是那些就在我們周圍的敵人。他們與遠方的敵人合作，按照他們的旨意辦事。要不是這些人的話，遠方的敵人不會為害。我

們習慣於說，群眾還未做好準備。可是情況的改善是緩慢的，因為這些少數人實質上並不比多數人高明多少或好多少。在某處樹立某種絕對的善，比起讓許多人都像你這麼好更重要。因為絕對的善將像酵母一樣影響整體。在成千上萬人具有反對奴隸制、反對戰爭的觀點，但實際上卻未做任何事情來結束奴隸制和戰爭。他們自以為是華盛頓和佛蘭克林的子孫，卻是兩手插在褲兜裏，坐在那兒，藉口不知道該做些什麼，而無所事事，他們甚至優先考慮自由貿易問題，而不是事關自由的問題。飯後，他們安然地同時閱讀時價表和來自墨西哥的消息，也許，讀者讀著便睡著了.....

美國人已經蛻變成奇怪的傢伙——以愛交際的器官發達而著稱，同時又顯示出智力低下的沾沾自喜。在世界上，他最關心的是確保救濟院情況良好；他還未披上合法的外衣，便四下募捐以扶助孤寡，儘管這些孤寡眼下還不是孤寡。總之，他冒險光靠互助保險公司的資助過日子，而該公司已經答應為他體面地安葬.....

不公正的法律仍然存在：我們必須心甘情願地服從這些法律，還是努力去修正它們、服從它們直至我們取得成功，或是立刻粉碎它們呢？在當前這種政府統治下，人們普遍認為應等待，直到說服大多數人去改變它們。人們認為，如果他們抵制的話，這樣修正的結果將比原來的謬誤更糟。不過，如果修正的結果真比原來的謬誤更糟的話；那是政府的過錯，是政府使其變得更糟的。為什麼政府不善於預見改革並為其提供機會呢？為什麼政府不珍惜少數派的智慧呢。為什麼政府不見棺材不落淚呢。為什麼政府不鼓勵老百姓提高警惕，為政府指出錯誤而避免犯錯誤呢。為什麼政府總是把基督釘在十字架上，把哥白尼和路德逐出教會，並指責華盛頓和富蘭克林是叛亂分子呢。」...

如果不公正是政府機器必然產生的磨擦的一部分，那麼就讓它去吧，讓它去吧：也許它會磨合好的。——不過，毫無疑義，機器終將被徹底磨損掉的。如果不公正的那部分有其獨自的彈簧滑輪、繩索，或者曲柄，那麼你可能會考慮修正的結果會不會比原來的謬誤更糟；但是，如果不公正的那部分的本質要求你以其人之道還治其人時，那我說就別管這法規了。以你的生命作為反磨擦的機制來制止這部機器吧。我不得不做的是，無論如何都要確保我不為我所唾棄的謬誤效勞。



至於採納州政府業已提出的修正謬誤的方法，我聽都沒聽過。那些方法太費時日，不等它們奏效，已經命赴黃泉了。我還有別的事要幹。我到這世上來主要不是為了把這世界變成個過日子的好地方。而是到這世上來過日子，不管它是好日子還是壞日子。一個人辦不了每一件事，但是可以做些事。正因為他不必樣樣事情都要做，所以他也不一定非做出什麼錯事來。州長和議員們用不著向我請願，我也犯不著向他們請願。如果他們不聽從我的請願，那麼我該怎麼辦呢？如果事到如此，州政府也就自絕其路了：其憲法本身也就是謬誤的了。這似乎顯得粗暴、頑固和毫無調和之意。但是，最溫和、最體貼的作法，只適用於能夠欣賞它，並能夠配得上它的人；一切能使情況好轉的變遷都是如此，正如振撼整個人體的生與死一樣。

我毫無反顧地認為，凡是自稱廢奴主義者的人都必須立刻撤回對麻塞諸塞州政府的人力和財力的支援，不必等到廢奴主義者在政府中形成多數，不必等到他們讓正義通過他們佔了上風才動手。我認為，如果有上帝站在他們一邊的話，就足夠了，不必再等另一個了。況且，任何人只要比周圍的人更正義一些，也就構成了一人的多數.....

在一個監禁正義之士的政府統治之下，正義之士的真正棲身之地也就是監獄。當今麻塞諸塞州為自由和奮發圖強之士提供的唯一妥當的處所，是監獄。在獄中，他們為州政府的行徑而煩惱，被禁錮在政治生活之外，因為他們的原則已經給他們帶來麻煩了。逃亡的奴隸，被假釋的墨西哥囚犯和申訴白人犯下的罪孽的印第安人可以在監獄裏找到他們，在那個與世隔絕，但卻更自由、更尊嚴的地方找到他們。那是州政府安置不順其道的叛逆者的地方，是蓄奴制州裏一個自由人唯一能夠驕傲地居住的地方。如果有人以為他們的影響會消失在監獄裏，他們的呼聲不再能傳到政府的耳朵裏，他們無法在囹圄四壁之內與政府為敵，那麼他們就弄錯了。真理比謬誤強大得多，一位對非正義有了一點親身體驗的人在與非正義鬥爭時會雄辯有力得多。投下你的一票，那不僅僅是一張紙條，而是你的全部影響。當少數與多數保持一致時，少數是無足輕重的，它甚至算不上是少數；但是當少數以自身的重量凝聚在一起時，便不可抗拒。要麼把所有正直的人都投入監獄，要麼放棄戰爭與奴隸制，如果要在這二者之間做出選擇的話，州政府會毫不猶豫地做出選擇。如果今年有一千人不交稅，那不

是暴烈、血腥的舉動，但是若交稅則不然。那是使政府得以施展暴行，讓無辜的人流血。事實上，這正是和平革命的定義，如果和平革命是可能的話。如果稅務官或其他政府官員問我，正如有位官員問我的那樣，「那麼，我怎麼辦呢。」我的回答是，「如果你真希望做什麼的話，那你就辭職。」如果臣民拒絕效忠，官員辭職，那麼革命就成功了。即使假定這會導致流血的話，難道當良心受傷害的時候就不流血嗎，從良心的創傷裏流出的是人的氣概和永生，將使他永世沈淪於死亡之中。此時此刻，我就看到這種流血.....

我已經六年未交投票稅了。我還一度為此進過監獄，關了一夜。當我站在牢房裏，打量著牢固的石壁，那石壁足有二、三尺厚，鐵木結構的門有一尺厚，還有那濾光的鐵柵欄。我不由地對當局的愚昧頗有感獨。他們對待我，就好像我不過是可以禁錮起來的血肉之軀。我想，當局最終應當得出這麼個結論：監禁是它處置我的最好辦法，而且我還從未想到我還能對它有什麼用處。我知道，如果說我與鄉親之間擋著堵石牆的話，那麼他們若想要獲得我這種自由的話，他們還得爬過或打破一堵比這石牆更難對付的牆才行。我一刻也不覺得自己是被囚禁著。這牆看來是浪費了太多的石頭和灰泥了。我覺得，似乎所有公民中，只有我付清了稅款。他們顯然不知道該怎樣對付我，他們的舉止就像些沒教養的人。他們的威脅恭維，樣樣都顯得荒唐可笑。他們以為我惦記的是挪到這堵牆的另一邊。我不禁覺得好笑，我在沈思時，他們卻煞有介事地鎖起牢門，全然不知我的思緒就跟在他們身後出了牢房，絲毫不受任何阻礙，而他們自己才真正是危險的。他們既然奈何不了我，便打定主意懲罰我的身軀，就像群頑童，無法懲罰他們憎恨的人，就衝他的狗撒野。我看，州政府是個傻子，如同一位揣著銀匙的孤女，怯生生的，連自己的朋友和敵人都分不出來。我已經對它失去了所有的敬意，我可憐它。

州政府從未打算正視一個人的智慧或道德觀念，而僅僅著眼於他的軀體和感官。它不是以優越的智慧或坦誠，而是以優越的體力來武裝自己。我不是生來讓人支使的。我要按照我自己的方式來生活。讓我們來看看誰是最強者。什麼力量能產生效果。他們只能強迫卻無法使我順從。因為我只聽命於優越於我的法則。他們要迫使我成為像他們那樣的人。我還不曾聽說過，有人被眾人逼迫著這樣生活或那樣生活。那會是什麼樣的生活呢。當我遇到的政府對我說：「把

你的錢給我，不然就要你的命！我為什麼要忙著給它錢呢。那政府可能處境窘迫不堪，而且不知所措。我不能幫它的忙。它必須像我一樣，自己想辦法。不值得為這樣的政府哭哭啼啼。我的職責不是讓社會機器運轉良好。我不是工程師的兒子。我認為，當橡果和栗子並排從樹上掉下來時，它們不是毫無生氣地彼此謙讓，而是彼此遵循各自的法則，發芽、生長，盡可能長得茂盛。也許直到有一天，其中的一棵超過另一棵，並且毀了它。如果植物不能按自己的本性生長，那麼它就將死亡，人也一樣.....

我不想同任何人或國家爭吵。我不想鑽牛角尖或自我標榜比旁人強。我倒傾向於認為，我尋求的是遵守我國的法則的理由。我是太容易遵守這些法則了。我完全有理由懷疑我有這毛病。每年，當稅務官造訪時，我總是忙著回顧國家與州政府的法令和主張，回顧人民的態度，以便找到個違命的理由。我相信州政府很快就能免除我的這類操勞，那麼我簡直就同其他國民一樣愛國了。從較低層次的角度看，憲法儘管有缺點，但還是非常好的。法律和法庭是非常令人尊敬的，甚至這個州政府和這個美國政府在許多方面也是非常令人敬佩、非常難得可貴、令人感激的，對此人們已經大加描述過了。但是，如果從稍高層次的角度看，它們就不過是我所描繪的那個樣子。如果從更高或最高層次的角度看，那麼有誰會說它們是什麼玩意兒，或者會認為它們還配讓人瞧上一眼，或者值得讓人考慮考慮呢。

不過，政府同我沒多大關係，我盡可能不考慮它。我不常生活在政府之下，我甚至不常生活在這個世界上。如果一個人思想自由，幻想自由，想像自由，那麼不自由的東西在他看來就絕不會長期存在。愚蠢的統治或改良者們不可能徹底妨礙他 ....

政府的權威，即使是我願意服從的權威——因為我樂於服從那些比我淵博、比我能幹的人，並且在許多事情上，我甚至樂於服從那些不是那麼淵博，也不是那麼能幹的人——這種權威也還是不純正的權威：從嚴格、正義的意義上講，權威必須獲得被治理者的認可或贊成才行。除非我同意，否則它無權對我的身心和財產行使權力。從極權君主制到限權君主制，從限權君主制到民主制的進步是朝著真正尊重個人的方向的進步。民主，如同我們所知道的民主，就是政府進步的盡頭了嗎。不可能進一步承認和組織人的權利了嗎。除非國家承認個

人是更高的、獨立的權力，而且國家的權力和權威是來自於個人的權力，並且在對待個人方面採取相應的措施；否則就絕對不會有真正自由開明的國家。我樂於想像國家的最終形武，它將公正地對待所有的人，尊重個人就像尊重鄰居一樣。如果有人履行了鄰居和同胞的職責，但卻退避三舍，冷眼旁觀，不為其所容納的話，它就寢食不安。如果，一個國家能夠結出這樣的果實，並且聽其儘快果熟蒂落的話，那麼它就為建成更加完美、更加輝煌的國家鋪平了道路。那是我想像到，卻在任何地方都不曾看到的國家。

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### Civil Disobedience

I heartily accept the motto--"That government is best which governs least;" and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,--"That government is best which governs not at all;" and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government,--what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity. It has not the vitality

and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves; and, if ever they should use it in earnest as a real one against each other, it will surely split. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow; yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of India rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions, and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the

hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience.--in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable. Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator. Why has every man a conscience, then. I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume, is to do at any time what I think right....

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day. I answer that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as my government which is the **slave's** government also.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to and to resist the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75. If one were to tell me that this was a bad government because it taxed certain foreign commodities brought to its ports, it is most probable that I should not make an ado about it, for I can do without them; all machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil. At any

rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subject to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact, that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army. . . .

Practically speaking, the opponents to a reform in Massachusetts are not a hundred thousand politicians at the South, but a hundred thousand merchants and farmers here, who are more interested in commerce and agriculture than they are in humanity, and are not prepared to do justice to the slave and to Mexico, cost what it may. I quarrel not with far-off foes, but with those who, near at home, co-operate with, and do the bidding of those far away, and without whom the latter would be harmless. We are accustomed to say, that the mass of men are unprepared; but improvement is slow, because the few are not materially wiser or better than the many. It is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere; for that will leaven the whole lump. There are thousands who are in opinion opposed to slavery and to the war, who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them; who, esteeming themselves children of Washington and Franklin, sit down with their hands in their pockets, and say that they know not what to do, and do nothing; who even postpone the question of freedom to the question of free-trade, and quietly read the prices current along with the latest

advices from Mexico, after dinner, and, it may be, fall asleep over them both. . . .

The American has dwindled into an Odd Fellow,--one who may be known by the development of his organ of gregariousness, and a manifest lack of intellect and cheerful self-reliance; whose first and chief concern, on coming into the world, is to see that the alms-houses are in good repair; and, before yet he has lawfully donned the virile garb, to collect a fund for the support of the widows and orphans that may be; who, in short, ventures to live only by the aid of the mutual insurance company, which has promised to bury him decently. . . .

Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once. Men generally, under such a government as this, think that they ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They think that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But it is the fault of the government itself that the remedy is worse than the evil. It makes it worse. Why is it not more apt to anticipate and provide for reform. Why does it not cherish its wise minority. Why does it cry and resist before it is hurt. Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults, and do better than it would have them. Why does it always crucify Christ, and excommunicate Copernicus and Luther, and pronounce Washington and Franklin rebels. ...

If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth,--certainly the machine will wear out. If the injustice has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope, or a crank, exclusively for itself, then



perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be worse than the evil; but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn.

As for adopting the ways which the State has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways. They take too much time, and a man's life will be gone. I have other affairs to attend to. I came into this world, not chiefly to make this a good place to live, but to live in it, be it good or bad. A man has not everything to do, but something; and because he cannot do every thing, it is not necessary that he should do something wrong. It is not my business to be petitioning the governor or the legislature any more than it is theirs to petition me; and if they should not hear my petition, what should I do then. But in this case the State has provided no way: its very Constitution is the evil. This may seem to be harsh and stubborn and unconciliatory; but it is to treat with the utmost kindness and consideration the only spirit that can appreciate or deserves it. So is all change for the better, like birth and death which convulse the body.

I do not hesitate to say, that those who call themselves abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts, and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail through them, I think that it is enough if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one. Moreover, any man more right than his neighbors constitutes a majority of one already...

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate, but more free and honorable ground, where the State places those who are not with her, but against her,--the only house in a slave-state in which a free man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person. Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up -war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax-gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do." my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign our office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the

revolution is accomplished. But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded. Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now. . . .

I have paid no poll-tax for six years. I was put into a jail once on this account, for one night: and, as I stood considering the walls of solid stone, two or three feet thick, the door of wood and iron, a foot thick, and the iron grating which strained the light, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones, to be locked up. I wondered that it should have concluded at length that this was the best use it could put me to, and had never thought to avail itself of my services in some way. I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through, before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder; for they thought that my chief desire was to stand the other side of that stone wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hinderance, and they were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did

not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it.

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses, It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest. What force has a multitude. They only can force me who obey a higher law than I. They force me to become like themselves. I do not hear of men being forced to live this way or that by masses of men. What sort of life were that to live. When I meet a government which says to me, "Your money or your life," why should I be in haste to give it my money. It may be in a great strait, and not know what to do: I cannot help that. It must help itself; do as I do. It is not worth the while to snivel about it. I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an acorn and a chestnut fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the other, but both obey their own laws, and spring and grow and flourish as best they can, till one, perchance, overshadows and destroys the other. If a plant cannot live according to its nature, it dies; and so a man. . . .

I do not wish to quarrel with any man or nation. I do not wish to split hairs, to make fine distinctions, or set myself up as better than my neighbors. I seek rather, I may say, even an excuse for conforming to the laws of the land. I am but too ready to conform to them. Indeed I have reason to suspect myself on this head; and each year, as the tax-gatherer comes round, I find myself disposed to review the acts and position of the general and state governments, and the spirit of the people, to discover a pretext for conformity. I believe

that the State will soon be able to take all my work of this sort out of my hands, and then I shall be no better a patriot than my fellow-countrymen. Seen from a lower point of view, the Constitution, with all its faults, is very good; the law and the courts are very respectable; even this State and this American government are, in many respects, very admirable and rare things, to be thankful for, such as a great many have described them; but seen from a point of view a little higher, they are what I have described them; seen from a higher still, and the highest, who shall say what they are, or that they are worth looking at or thinking of at all.

However, the government does not concern me much, and I shall bestow the fewest possible thoughts on it. It is not many moments that I live under a government, even in this world. If a man is thought-free, fancy-free, imagination-free, that which is not never for a long time appearing to be to him, unwise rulers or reformers cannot fatally interrupt him. . . .

The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to,--for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well,--is still an impure one: to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government. Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man. There will never be a really free and enlightened State, until the State comes to recognize

the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor, which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose, if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellowmen. A State which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen.

亨利.大衛.梭羅

(HENRY DAVID THOREAU)

湖濱散記

**Walden**

我到樹林中去，因為我希望從容不迫地生活，僅僅面對生活中最基本的事實，看看我是否能掌握生活的教誨，不至於在臨終時才發現自己不曾生活過。

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梭羅在沃爾登塘生活了兩年。在那兒，他從日常事務和社會壓力之中解脫了出來，有時間思考生活中究竟什麼是重要的，有時間進行寫作。同普遍的傳統作法不一樣，在這期間，梭羅不是一位隱士，而是一位生活在社會邊緣的人。他離社會的距離不太遠，這樣他還能夠有客人造訪；但又不太近，這樣他才能夠剔除生活的繁文褥節，將其縮減到最基本的部分。

在十九世紀五十年代，梭羅深深捲入了廢除奴隸制的鬥爭之中。他拋棄了思索和孤僻的生活，選擇了積極的政治生活。他發表演說，寫文章反對奴隸制，通過地下鐵道幫助奴隸逃亡到北方。他身體不好，死於 1862 年，時年不到 45 歲。

以下摘選的《湖濱散記》在 1854 年最初發表時，並未獲得商業上的成功；五

年中僅銷出了 2000 本。不過，從那以後，它成了美國文學中的經典作品。因為它是出色的新聞體作品，是一個人試圖在樸素的生活尋找真理與意義的寫照，謳歌了與大自然和良知保持和諧的生活。

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.....許許多人過著平靜而又絕望的生活。所謂的聽天由命，便是根深蒂固的絕望。從絕望的城市到絕望的國家，你得靠水貂與麝鼠般的勇氣來安慰自己。甚至在人類所謂的運動與娛樂之下，也隱藏著一成不變的、無意識的失望。其實，那不是娛樂，因為它是勞作的結果。它只是一種明智的、不鋌而走險的特徵。

用問答教學法的話來說，當我們考慮人生的主要目的是什麼，什麼是生活的真正需要，什麼是生活的手段的時候，看來人們似乎是故意選擇了同一的生活方式，因為他們對它偏愛超過對其他的生活方式。可是，他們又坦白地認為，除此之外別無其他選擇。不過，具有警覺、健康天性的人記得，太陽升起時是純潔無理的。拋棄偏見，無論何時都不會太遲。不論是多麼古老的想法或做法，只要缺乏佐證，都不足信。今天人們隨聲附和或默認為是真理的，結果明天就可能被證明是錯誤的，不過是如同煙雲般的想法而已，而有些人卻曾將這煙雲奉作能夠為田園普降甘露的雨雲。古人說你做不到的，你試過之後卻發現能夠做到。古法施於古人，新法施於新人。古人也許由於知識貧乏，不懂得添加新燃料來促使火焰燃燒不熄；新人在罐子下放一小塊木柴，便能以飛鳥的速度繞著大地轉悠，正如俗話說的那樣，「氣死老頭」。作為導師，年邁的絲毫不會比年輕的更稱職，甚至還未必能比得上年輕的，因為年齡使他失去超過他所得到的。人人幾乎都懷疑，最聰明的人是否能單憑活著就可以獲得任何有絕對價值的知識。實際上，老年人沒有什麼非常重要的勸告可以給年輕人，正如他們必然會承認的那樣，他們的個人經驗是那麼片面，他們的生活由於某些個人的原因又是那麼令人沮喪的失敗。也許是由於他們還殘留著某些信仰的緣故，他們的經驗具有某種假像，其實，他們只不過是不那麼年輕罷了。我在這個星球上生活了大約三十年了，我還未從長輩那兒聽到過一句真正有價值的忠告，甚至連句真誠的勸告都沒有。他們什麼也沒告訴我，也許他們也無法中肯地告訴我任何事情。生活就在這兒。它是一項在很大程度上我還未嘗試過的試驗。他

人的嘗試對我並無裨益。如果我有什麼我認為是有價值的經驗的話，我肯定會想到，我的導師根本就沒跟我說過這些.....

我住到樹林裏，也就是，開始在那兒度過日日夜夜的第一天，恰巧是獨立日，或者說是 1845 年 7 月 4 日。那時，我的房子還未完工，還不宜過冬。它還未粉刷，也沒有煙囪，僅僅能避雨。牆壁是用粗糙、飽經風霜、汗跡斑斑的木板釘成的，牆上有很寬的裂縫。到了夜裏，房裏倒是挺涼快。斧頭劈得白白的筆直壁骨和新裝上木板的門和窗框使房子給人一種乾淨、通風的感覺。尤其是在早晨，當壁板浸泡了露水的時候，我幻想著，到了中午，從這些露水中會滲透出一些可愛的仙人。一整天，這幻想或多或少地帶著曙光般的色彩留在我的想像中，使我想起一年前我在山中到過的一幢房子。那是一座通風、未粉刷過的木屋，適合用來招待雲遊仙人，或讓仙女的婆娑衣裙在屋裏掠過。那穿堂過室的風，有如那掠過山脊之雄風，帶著斷斷續續的大地之聲，或者，僅僅是大地樂聲中的天籟。早上，總是晨風吹拂，創造著無窮無盡的詩境；不過，能領略這詩意的卻寥寥無幾。奧林匹斯山比比皆是，唯獨不在塵世之間.....

我到樹林中去，因為我希望從容不迫地生活，僅僅面對生活中最基本的事實，看看我是否能掌握生活的教海，不至於在臨終時才發現自己不曾生活過。我不希望過那種稱不上是生活的生活，因為生存的代價是那麼昂貴；我也不希望聽天由命，除非那是萬不得已。我要生活得深沈，吮吸生活的所有精髓；我要生活得堅定，像斯巴頓人一樣，摒棄一切不屬於生活的事物，辛勤勞作，生活簡樸，將生活局限在小範圍內，將它降到最低水平。如果證明生活是低賤的，那麼就完整、真實地瞭解其低賤之處，並將之公諸於世；如果證明生活是高尚的，那麼就通過實踐瞭解它，並且下一次遠足時，就能對它作出真實的描述。因為，在我看來，大部分人對生活，不管它是魔鬼的產物還是上帝的創造，都非常沒有把握；並且，他們還頗有點倉促地下結論，認為「為上帝增光和永遠享受上帝的福祉」是人類在這世界上的主要目的。

儘管寓言告訴我們說，很久以前我們就進化成人了，但是，我們卻活得低賤，就像螞蟻一樣。我們仍然不自量力地像小精靈似地與鶴爭鬥。這是錯上加錯，雪上加霜；我們最優秀的德性，也有其過分的、但又是可以避免的鄙賤性。我們的生活被細節消耗殆盡。老實人用十個手指頭計數就差不多了；若在極特殊



情況下，他可以湊上十個腳趾，至於其他的可以合在一起算。要簡單、簡單、再簡單！依我說，你要做的事應當是兩、三件，而不是成百上千件；數上半打，而不要數上百萬；把你的帳日記在你的大姆指指甲上。在這多變的文明生活的海洋裏，雲霧、風暴、流沙和許許多多事情都得考慮。如果一個人不想沈淪到底層，又不短躲進港灣，就得靠精心算計，才能活下去。他要成功，就必須是台出色的計算器。簡化、再簡化！如果吃飯是必須的話，那麼就一天吃一餐，而不要吃三餐；不要吃上百道菜，就吃五道菜；其他的東西也作相應的削減。我們的生活就像由許多小國家組成的德國聯盟一樣，邊界老是在變動；即使德國人自己也無法告訴你，某時某刻它的邊界在那裡。國家本身，儘管內部有些所謂的改善，（順便指出，這些改善都是表面上的、膚淺的）但它仍是一個龐大而且畸形發展的機構，就像這片土地上的千千萬萬座樓房一樣，裏面擠滿了傢俱，被自己設下的陷阱所制約，被奢侈和毫無顧忌的開支、被缺乏精打細算和缺乏有價值的目標弄得傾家蕩產。挽救它的唯一方法，就像挽救那些房子一樣，是嚴格的精打細算，是一種嚴格的、比斯巴頓人更簡樸的生活方式和高尚的生活目標。生活的節奏太快了。人們認為，至關重要的是國家要有商業，要出口冰塊，要通過電報交談，要每小時行駛三十英里，而毫不質疑，他們做得到還是做不到；但是，我們是否應當像狒狒一樣生活，還是像人一樣生活，卻仍是個不定之數……

我們為什麼要生活得如此匆忙，如此浪費生命呢。我們還不曾感到餓，便斷定會挨餓。人們說，及時縫一針，省得縫九針，於是，他們便在今天縫上千百針，好為明天省下九針。至於工作，我們還沒有過任何有價值的工作。我們跳聖·維圖斯舞，可卻無法保持頭不動……飯後，人們幾乎不午睡，可是當他醒來時，他抬頭便問：「有什麼消息。」好像人類其他人都在為他站崗放哨似的。毫無疑義，有些人囑咐別人每半小時叫醒他一次，其目的卻僅僅是為了被這樣叫醒。爾後，作為回報，他們就敘述自己夢到的事情。睡了一夜之後，新聞就跟早餐一樣不可缺少。「求你告訴我，世界上什麼地方，什麼人發生了什麼新鮮事。」——他一邊喝咖啡吃麵捲，一邊閱讀新聞：在瓦赫土河有個人的眼睛被挖掉了；同時，他卻沒想到他正生活在世界上深不可測的猛馬洞穴裏，而且他自己也只有一隻發育不健全的眼睛。

就我來說，沒有郵局，我也能夠輕鬆對付。我覺得，沒有什麼非常重要的消息是通過郵局得到的。挑剔地說，我一生中僅收到過一、兩封信，其內容值得付那郵資——這是我數年前寫的。通常收費低廉的郵局只是一種機構，通過它你能一本正經地付上一點錢，便可購買他人心中的想法，而且付這麼點錢還常常是為了開個肯定不會出差錯的玩笑。我確信，我從未在報紙上讀到過任何值得記憶的消息。如果我們讀一則關於有個人遭搶劫的消息，或者有人被謀殺，或者有人在事故中喪生，或者有座房子被燒了，或者條船沈沒了，或者有艘汽輪爆炸了，或者有只母牛在西部鐵路被壓死了，或者一條瘋狗被宰了，或者冬季裏來了一批蝗蟲——那麼，我就絕對不必再讀其他消息了。一則就夠了。如果你已經認識了這條原則，那麼你搭理那一大堆具體例子和該原則的實際應用情況又有什麼用呢。對於哲學家來說，所有的新聞，所謂的新聞，都是閒話，其編輯和讀者都是些老婦人，一邊喝茶，一邊藉以度日。

讓我們像大自然一樣，從容不迫地過上一天吧，別讓一些落在枕木上的堅果和蚊子的翅膀將我們顛出軌。讓我們一早起來，不吃早飯或吃早飯，一切慢慢來，不帶任何煩亂。朋友來也罷，走也罷；門鈴響也罷，孩子哭也罷，——橫下一條心，過一天這樣的日子。我們為什麼應當向潮流屈服和順應潮流呢。午飯，有如位於淺灘中央的湍急而又可怕的漩渦，屆時我們萬萬不可心煩意亂，不知所措。度過這個危險，你就平安了，因為剩下的時間就如下山，帶著未鬆懈的勇氣和上午的活力，揚帆而下，縛於桅桿上，像尤利西斯一樣，領略另一側風光。如果引擎發出響聲，就讓它一直響到聲音嘶啞，痛苦不已。如果鈴聲響了，我們幹嘛得跑呢。我們可以想想鈴聲像何種音樂。讓我們安下心來工作吧。觀念、偏見、傳統、妄想和表面現象組成的泥濘淤積層覆蓋了整個地球，從巴黎到倫敦，從紐約到波士頓再到康科，從教會到政府，從詩學到哲學再到宗教，全部被覆蓋著。我們要邁開雙腳，踏著淤泥前進，一直到我們抵達我們稱之為「現實」的實地和礁石為止。我們說，就是這個，沒錯……不論是生還是死，我們僅追求現實。如果我們真的要死了，那就讓我們聽到喉頭的呼嚇聲，感到臨終的冰冷；如果還活著，那就讓我們幹我們的事業。

時間不過是我垂釣的小溪。我飲用溪中水；喝水時，我看到沙質的水底，發覺溪水是那麼淺。那淺淺的水流一溜而過，留下的是永恆。我要喝得深一些，到

空中垂釣，蒼穹的盡頭是有如鵝卵石的星星。我不識數，我連字母表上的第一個字母都不認得，我一直後悔我不能像初生時那麼聰明。理智是一把利刃，它辨清方向，一路剖切直抵事物的奧秘之所在。如非必需，我不希望動手忙碌。我的大腦就是手和腳。我覺得，我的所有最精華的能力都集中在大腦裏。我的本能告訴我，我的大腦是挖掘器官，就像一些生靈用嘴或前爪挖穴一樣，我用大腦挖掘一條穿過這些山巒的隧道。我想，最富足的礦脈就在這兒的某個地方，憑藉這魔杖和這淡淡升騰起的霧氣，我的判斷也是如此。我要在這兒開始我的挖掘。

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## Walden

. . . . The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation. What is called resignation is confirmed desperation. From the desperate city you go into the desperate country, and have to console yourself with the bravery of minks and muskrats. A stereotyped but unconscious despair is concealed even under what are called the games and amusements of mankind. There is no play in them, for this comes after work. But it is a characteristic of wisdom not to do desperate things.

When we consider what, to use the words of the catechism, is the chief end of man, and what are the true necessities and means of life, it appears as if men had deliberately chosen the common mode of living because they preferred it to any other. Yet they honestly think there is no choice left. But alert and healthy natures remember that the sun rose clear. It is never too late to give up our prejudices. No way of thinking or doing, however ancient, can be trusted without proof. What everybody echoes or in silence passes by as true to-day may turn out to be falsehood to-morrow, mere smoke of opinion, which some had trusted for a cloud that would sprinkle fertilizing rain on their fields. What old people say you

cannot do, you try and find that you can. Old deeds for old people, and new deeds for new. Old people did not know enough once, perchance, to fetch fresh fuel to keep the fire a-going; new people put a little dry wood under a pot, and are whirled round the globe with the speed of birds, in a way to kill old people, as the phrase is. Age is no better, hardly so well, qualified for an instructor as youth, for it has not profited so much as it has lost. One may almost doubt if the wisest man has learned anything of absolute value by living. Practically, the old have no very important advice to give the young, their own experience has been so partial, and their lives have been such miserable failures, for private reasons, as they must believe; and it may be that they have some faith left which belies that experience, and they are only less young than they were. I have lived some thirty years on this planet, and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors. They have told me nothing, and probably cannot tell me any thing to the purpose. Here is life, an experiment to a great extent untried by me; but it does not avail me that they have tried it. If I have any experience which I think valuable, I am sure to reflect that this my Mentors said nothing about....

When first I took up my abode in the woods, that is, began to spend my nights as well as days there, which, by accident, was on Independence Day, or the Fourth of July, 1845, my house was not finished for winter, but was merely a defence against the rain, without plastering or chimney, the walls being of rough, weather-stained boards, with wide chinks, which made it cool at night. The upright white hewn studs and freshly planed door and window casings gave it a clean and airy look, especially in the morning, when its timbers were saturated with dew, so that I

fancied that by noon some sweet gum would exude from them. To my imagination it retained throughout the day more or less of this auroral character, reminding me of a certain house on a mountain which I had visited a year before. This was an airy and unplastered cabin, fit to entertain a traveling god, and where a goddess might trail her garments. The winds which passed over my dwelling were such as sweep over the ridges of mountains, bearing the broken strains, or celestial parts only, of terrestrial music. The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted; but few are the ears that hear it. Olympus is but the outside of the earth everywhere. . . .

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practise resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God, and have somewhat hastily concluded that it is the chief end of man here to "glorify God and enjoy him forever." Still we live meanly, like ants; though the fable tells us that we were long ago changed into men; like pygmies we fight with cranes; it is error upon error, and clout upon clout, and our best virtue has for its

occasion a superfluous and evitable wretchedness. Our life is frittered away by detail. An honest man has hardly need to count more than his ten fingers, or in extreme cases he may add his ten toes, and lump the rest. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumbnail. In the midst of this chopping sea of civilized life, such are the clouds and storms and quicksands and thousand-and-one items to be allowed for, that a man has to live, if he would not founder and go to the bottom and not make his port at all, by dead reckoning, and he must be a great calculator indeed who succeeds. Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion. Our life is like a German Confederacy, made up of petty states, with its boundary forever fluctuating, so that even a German cannot tell you how it is bounded at any moment. The nation itself, with all its so-called internal improvements, which, by the way, are all external and superficial, is just such an unwieldy and overgrown establishment, cluttered with furniture and tripped up by its own traps, ruined by luxury and heedless expense, by want of calculation and a worthy aim, as the million households in the land; and the only cure for it, as for them, is in a rigid economy, a stern and more than Spartan simplicity of life and elevation of purpose. It lives too fast. Men think that it is essential that the Nation have commerce, and export ice, and talk through a telegraph, and ride thirty miles an hour, without a doubt, whether they do or not; but whether we should live like baboons or like men, is a little uncertain. ...

Why should we live with such hurry and waste of life. We are

determined to be starved before we are hungry. Men say that a stitch in time saves nine, and so they take a thousand stitches to-day to save nine to-morrow. As for **work**, we haven't any of any consequence. We have the Saint Vitus' dance, and cannot possibly keep our heads still. ... Hardly a man takes a half-hour's nap after dinner, but when he wakes he holds up his head and asks, "What's the news." as if the rest of mankind had stood his sentinels. Some give directions to be waked every half-hour, doubtless for no other purpose; and then, to pay for it, they tell what they have dreamed. After a night's sleep the news is as indispensable as the breakfast. "Pray tell me anything new that has happened to a man anywhere on this globe,"--and he reads it over his coffee and rolls, that a man has had his eyes gouged out this morning on the Wachito River; never dreaming the while that he lives in the dark unfathomed mammoth cave of this world, and has but the rudiment of an eye himself.

For my part, I could easily do without the post-office. I think that there are very few important communications made through it. To speak critically, I never received more than one or two letters in my life--I wrote this some years ago--that were worth the postage. The penny-post is, commonly, an institution through which you seriously offer a man that penny for his thoughts which is so often safely offered in jest. And I am sure that I never read any memorable news in a newspaper. If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter,--we never need read of another. One is enough. If you are acquainted with the principle, what do you care for a myriad

instances and applications. To a philosopher all news, as it is called, is gossip, and they who edit and read it are old women over their tea. . . .

Let us spend one day as deliberately as Nature, and not be thrown off the track by every nutshell and mosquito's wing that falls on the rails. Let us rise early and fast, or break fast, gently and without perturbation; let company come and let company go, let the bells ring and the children cry,--determined to make a day of it. Why should we knock under and go with the stream. Let us not be upset and overwhelmed in that terrible rapid and whirlpool called a dinner, situated in the meridian shallows. Weather this danger and you are safe, for the rest of the way is down hill. With unrelaxed nerves, with morning vigor, sail by it, looking another way, tied to the mast like Ulysses. If the engine whistles, let it whistle till it is hoarse for its pains. If the bell rings, why should we run. We will consider what kind of music they are like. Let us settle ourselves, and work and wedge our feet downward through the mud and slush of opinion, and prejudice, and tradition, and delusion, and appearance, that alluvion which covers the globe, through Paris and London, through New York and Boston and Concord, through Church and State, through poetry and philosophy and religion, till we come to a hard bottom and rocks in place, which we can call reality, and say, This is, and no mistake. . . . Be it life or death, we crave only reality. If we are really dying, let us hear the rattle in our throats and feel cold in the extremities; if we are alive, let us go about our business.

Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. I cannot count one. I



know not the first letter of the alphabet. I have always been regretting that I was not as wise as the day I was born. The intellect is a cleaver; it discerns and rifts its way into the secret of things. I do not wish to be any more busy with my hands than is necessary. My head is hands and feet. I feel all my best faculties concentrated in it. My instinct tells me that my head is an organ for burrowing, as some creatures use their snout and fore paws, and with it I would mine and burrow my way through these hills. I think that the richest vein is somewhere hereabouts; so by the divining-rod and thin rising vapors I judge; and here I will begin to mine.

約翰·格林利夫·惠梯爾

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)

光腳丫的孩子

### **The Barefoot Boy**

約翰·格林利夫·惠梯爾(1807－1892)是位編輯、詩人和隨筆作者。他是一位熱忱的獻身社會改革，尤其是獻身廢奴制的貴格會教徒。他在麻塞諸塞州的黑弗裏爾家庭農場長大，也以描寫新英格蘭農村生活的詩人而著稱。他的詩作《莫德·米勒》裏有這麼兩句著名的詩句「語言文字中所有淒慘的字眼裏 / 最淒慘的莫過於：本來可以」。他的詩歌《光腳丫的孩子》以其喚起對鄉村生活的樸實的愛而深受人們喜歡。詩歌作於 1855 年。

祝福你，小傢伙，  
光腳丫的孩子，黑乎乎的面頰！  
朝上翻起的馬褲，  
還有那歡快的笛聲；  
紅彤彤的嘴唇顯得更火紅，  
因為讓山上的草莓親吻過；  
臉上灑著陽光，

Blessings on thee, little man,  
Barefoot boy, with cheek of tan!  
With thy turned-up pantaloons,  
And thy merry whistled tunes;  
With thy red lip, redder still  
Kissed by strawberries on the  
hill;

透過被劃破了的帽沿露出悠然的風采；

我打心眼裏為你高興——

我也曾是個光腳丫的孩子！

你是王子——而成年人

不過是個共和黨人。

讓百萬富翁驅車去吧！

你光著腳丫，跋涉在他身旁，

耳目所及，

你的財富遠非他的錢財能購買——

身外的陽光，內心的歡喜：

祝福你，光腳丫的孩子！啊！孩提那無憂無慮的嬉戲，

一覺醒來已是歡笑的白天，

結實的身子戲謔醫生的規矩，

知識從來在課堂裏習得，

野蜂在清晨的追逐，

野花開放的時間與地點，

鳥的飛程與築巢處，

還有那林中的棲身客；

烏龜如何馱他的殼，

啄木鳥如何啄他的洞，

鼯鼠如何掘他的穴，

歐鵲如何餵她的仔，

黃鸝的巢又是如何掛起來；

最白的百合花在哪兒開，

最鮮的草莓在哪兒長，

落花生的蔓在哪兒爬，

串串木葡萄在哪兒摘；

With the sunshine on thy face,  
Through thy torn brim's jaunty  
grace;

From my heart I give thee joy,--

I was once a barefoot boy!

Prince thou art,--the grown-up  
man

Only is republican.

Let the million-dollared ride!

Barefoot, trudging at his side,

Thou hast more than he can buy

In the reach of ear and eye,--

Outward sunshine, inward joy:

Blessings on thee, barefoot  
boy!

Oh for boyhood's painless play,

Sleep that wakes in laughing  
day,

Health that mocks the doctor's  
rules,

Knowledge never learned of  
schools,

Of the wild bee's morning  
chase,

Of the wild flower's time and  
place,

Flight of fowl and habitude,

Of the tenants of the wood;

How the tortoise bears his shell,

精明的黑螞蜂  
用泥巴糊出他的巢，  
還有藝術大師灰大黃蜂  
他那了不起的建築藍圖！——  
撇開書本和功課，  
答案大自然全都能給你；  
他與自然手挽手地走，  
他與自然面對面地談，  
分享她的全部歡樂——  
祝福你，光腳丫的孩子！啊，孩提的  
六月，  
短短的一月裏擠進了一年又一年，  
我，它們的主人，聽到、看到了  
我所期盼的一切。  
我富有，就為了那鮮花和樹木，  
婉啼的小鳥和嗡嗡的蜜蜂；  
為了讓我消遣嬉戲——  
松鼠用他的錘子搗鼓鼯鼠的洞穴；  
為了讓我品嚐佳果  
籬笆頭、石縫中的黑草莓熟得發了  
紫；  
為了我的歡樂，小溪不停地歡笑，  
笑遍了白晝、笑遍了夜晚，  
在花園的牆角囁嚅細語，  
伴著一個又一個瀑布同我敘說談笑，  
我擁有那餵養小狗魚的沙邊池，  
我擁有那長著胡桃的山坡，  
我擁有那彎身探出果園牆頭的  
赫斯珀裏德的蘋果！

How the woodchuck digs his  
cell,  
And the ground mole sinks his  
well  
How the robin feeds her young,  
How the oriole's nest is hung;  
Where the whitest lilies blow,  
Where the freshest berries  
grow,  
Where the groundnut trails its  
vine,  
Where the wood grape's  
clusters shine;  
Of the black wasp's cunning  
way,  
Mason of his walls of clay,  
And the architectural plans  
Of gray hornet artisans!--  
For, eschewing books and tasks,  
Nature answers all he asks;  
Hand in hand with her he walks,  
Face to face with her he talks,  
Part and parcel of her joy,--  
Blessings on thee, barefoot boy!  
  
Oh for boyhood's time of June,  
Crowding years in one brief  
moon,  
When all things I heard or saw

隨著我的地平線的延伸，  
我的財富越來越豐盛，  
我看到或知道的世界  
似乎是件複雜的中國式玩具，  
專為光腳丫的孩子設計！啊！那豐盛  
的節日佳餚，  
就像我那碗牛奶和麵包——  
錫鑲的勺子和木製的碗盆，  
就擱在門口的石階上，灰白而又無  
華！  
頭頂落日輝映，  
就像一頂雲霧支撐起的皇家帳篷，  
紫紅的帳幕鑲著金邊，  
捲成了許許多多稻子在風中搖曳；  
樂聲初期，  
那是雜色青蛙演奏的交響樂；  
為了給嘈雜的合唱隊照明  
螢火蟲點亮了他的螢火之燈。  
我是君主：氣派而又愉快  
伺候著那光腳丫的孩子！小傢伙，那  
麼你就高高興興地  
像孩子那樣盡情生活和歡笑！  
儘管山頭石坡硬梆梆，  
儘管新割的草茬針樣札，  
每天清晨帶著你  
接受露水新的洗禮；  
每日夜晚，習習涼風  
在你腳邊親吻著熱乎乎的大地  
太短暫了，這雙腳

Me, their master, waited for.  
I was rich in flowers and trees,  
Humming birds and honeybees;  
For my sport the squirrel  
played,  
Plied the snouted mole his  
spade;  
For my taste the blackberry  
cone  
Purpled over hedge and stone;  
Laughed the brook for my  
delight  
Through the day and through  
the night,  
Whispering at the garden wall,  
Talked with me from fall to fall;  
Mine the sand-rimmed pickerel  
pond,  
Mine the walnut slopes beyond,  
Mine, on bending orchard trees,  
Apples of Hesperides!  
Still, as my horizon grew,  
Larger grew my riches too;  
All the world I saw or knew  
Seemed a complex Chinese toy,  
Fashioned for a barefoot boy!  
  
Oh for festal dainties spread,  
Like my bowl of milk and

就要藏身在驕傲的牢獄裏，  
失去親撫大地的自由，  
就像馬駒釘掌為的是幹活，  
逼它在磨坊裏跋涉，  
一上一下沒完沒了地勞碌：  
萬幸啊，如果足跡  
永遠不留在那片禁土上；  
萬幸啊，如果雙足未陷進  
那捉摸不定的罪孽流沙中。  
啊！但願你知道你的福氣，  
當它還未逝去，光腳丫的孩子！

bread,--  
Pewter spoon and bowl of wood,  
On the doorstone, gray and  
rude!  
O'er me, like a regal tent,  
Cloudy-ribbed, the sunset bent,  
Purple-curtained, fringed with  
gold;  
Looped in many a wind-swung  
fold;  
While for music came the play  
Of the pied frog's orchestra;  
And to light the noisy choir,  
Lit the fly his lamp of fire.  
I was monarch: pomp and joy  
Waited on the barefoot boy!  
Cheerily, then, my little man,  
Live and laugh, as boyhood can!  
Though the flinty slopes be  
hard,  
Stubble-speared the new-mown  
sward,  
Every morn shall lead thee  
through  
Fresh baptisms of the dew;  
Every evening from thy feet  
Shall the cool wind kiss the  
heat:  
All too soon these feet must

hide

In the prison cells of pride,  
Lose the freedom of the sod,  
Like a colt's for work be shod,  
Made to tread the mills of toil,  
Up and down in ceaseless moil:  
Happy if their track be found  
Never on forbidden ground;  
Happy if they sink not in  
Quick and treacherous sands of  
sin.  
Ah! that thou shouldst know thy  
joy  
Ere it passes, barefoot boy!

托馬斯.科溫

(THOMAS CORWIN)

反對墨西哥戰爭

### **Against the Mexican War**

倘若我是墨西哥人，我就會告訴你：「在你們自己的國家裏沒有埋葬死人的空間嗎。」

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美國向西域擴展時，其疆土的增加是以墨西哥為代價的。在德克薩斯的美國開拓者們反叛墨西哥當局。於 1836 年宣佈獨立，成為一個共和國。1845 年夏，當議會辯論是否兼併德克薩斯時，《民主論壇報》的編輯，約翰.愛羅.歐薩利文極力主張兼併，因為什麼也不能干擾美國「明擺著的命運——為我們每年都成倍增長的數百萬民眾的自由發展，擴展上蒼賜予的疆土」。同年晚些時候，德克薩斯共和國成了一個州。同時，由約翰.西.弗裏蒙特帶領的美國開拓者進軍加利福尼亞，於 1846 年宣告熊旗共和國成立。

由於墨西哥與美國在邊界問題上意見相左，詹姆斯.科.波爾克總統派了一位代表到墨西哥，並將軍隊派遣到有爭議的邊界地區。談判破裂後，戰爭便爆發了。戰爭受到了普遍的支特，因為，民眾擁護所謂「明擺著的命運」這種觀點。但是，有些勇士——如丹尼爾.韋伯斯特，弗萊德裏克.道格拉斯和一位年輕的、名叫亞伯拉罕.林肯的伊利諾依的國會議員——譴責這場戰爭。

最善辯的反對墨西哥戰爭的托馬斯.科溫(1794—1865)是來自俄亥俄的輝格派參議員。作為自學成才的律師和前俄亥俄州的州長，科溫在 1847 年 2 月 11 日公開譴責這場戰爭時，正是在他的第一屆參議員任期內。科溫預言墨西哥戰爭將加劇讚成奴隸制與反對奴隸制力量之間的緊張局勢，並將導致美國的內戰。

科溫在辯論中敗北，美國贏得了那場戰爭。於 1848 年 2 月，美國與墨西哥簽署了瓜達盧佩伊達爾戈和約。該和約將大片墨西哥土地割讓給美國，包括現在的加利福尼亞、內華達和猶他，以及亞利桑那、懷俄明、科羅拉多和新墨西哥州的部分地區。五年後，美國從墨西哥購買了一塊帶狀的位於現在新墨西哥和亞利桑那的土地，於是便完成了現在的西南部邊界。

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總統先生，你提議從墨西哥奪取的領土是什麼.是墨西哥古老的卡斯提長老通過多少次浴血奮戰才獲得並成為墨西哥神聖核心的土地。墨西哥人的邦克山、薩拉托加和約克敦全在這一帶!墨西哥人會說：「我在這兒為了自由流血!我能把我心愛的神聖的家園拱手交給盎格魯.撒克遜入侵者嗎.他們要這土地幹什麼.他們已經把德克薩斯弄到手了。他們已經擁有從新亞西斯河到格蘭德河之間的土地，他們還要什麼? 如果我將失去這些戰場，那麼我能傳給兒孫哪些獨立之豐碑呢.」

先生，倘若有人向麻塞諸塞州的人民索取邦克山，倘若英國獅在那兒露面，又有哪個年齡在十三歲到九十三之歲之間的人不會毅然決然地去迎戰他呢.這片土地上的哪一條江河不會被鮮血染紅呢.倘若要把這些神聖的自由之戰的戰場從我們手中奪走，又有哪一片土地不會堆起一層又一層被殺戮而又來不及掩埋的美國人的屍骨呢.但就是這些美國人踐踏姐妹鄰邦，對貧窮軟弱的墨西哥人說：「放棄你們的國土吧，你們不配擁有它。我已經有了一半了，我向你要的

不過是那另一半！」英國人，在上述情況下，可能吩咐我們說：「放棄大西洋坡地吧——放棄從阿勒格尼山到海邊的那片不起眼的土地，那只不過從曼思到聖.馬雷，不到你們共和國的三分之一領土又是令人最不感興趣的那部分領土。」那麼，我們將如何回答呢.他們會說，我們必須把這土地讓給約翰.布林。為什麼.「他缺少空間」。密西根的參議員說他必須要這片土地。天哪，我尊敬的基督徒兄弟，這是根據那條正義的原則呢.「我缺少空間！」

先生，瞧瞧這條缺少空間的藉口吧。兩千萬人口，擁有一億公頃的土地。以各種能夠想像出來的理由招募人去開發，每公頃的地價低到二十五美分，並且允許任何人選擇他喜歡的任何地方。但是，密西根的參議員說，數年內，我們的人口將達到兩億，所以我們缺少空間。倘若我是墨西哥人，我就會告訴你，「在你們自己的國家，沒有埋葬人的空間嗎.如果你們到我的國家來，我們將用帶血的雙手迎接你們，歡迎你們到好客的墳墓中去。」...

前些日子，我有點驚訝地聽那位來自密西根的參議員宣稱，歐洲已經快把我們忘得乾乾淨淨了，除非用這些戰爭來喚醒他們的注意力。我想，參議員先生很感激總統先生，因為他「喚醒」了歐洲。我希望總統先生通曉民事與軍事的知識，他是否記得有人說過他曾長期思考過歷史，長期思考過人類、人的本質和人的真正命運。孟德斯鳩對這種「喚醒」方式沒有什麼好感。他說：「如果一個民族的年鑑是枯燥無味的話，那麼這個民族就有福了。」

密西根的參議員先生的觀點則不同。他認為，一個民族除非以戰爭著稱，否則就不是一個傑出的民族。他擔心酣睡的歐洲無能力察覺這兒有兩千萬盎格魯.撒克遜人，在鋪鐵路、開運河，正飛速地將所有和平的手段發展到優秀文明的最完美的程度！他們對此一無所知！那麼，為了使我們聲名遠揚，這種創造歷史的民主方武將採取的絕妙手段是什麼呢.轟炸城市，摧毀和平、幸福的家園，槍殺男人——唉，先生，這就是戰爭——而且還槍殺婦女.....

有一個與這個問題相關的話題，每次提及這話題，便使我發抖。可是，我卻忍不住要留意它。你每採取一個步驟都會碰到它，無論你以何種方式發動這場戰爭，它都威脅著你。我指的是奴隸制問題。顯而易見，反對奴隸制的進一步漫延是一個深深植根在我們稱之為非蓄奴州的所有黨派人士心中的決心。紐約、賓夕法尼亞、俄亥俄這三個最強大的州已經把他們的法律指令送交到此。我相



信，所有其他州也會這樣做。現在推測其緣由毫無用處。南方的先生們可能會稱之為偏見、慾望、虛偽和狂熱。在這一點上、我現在不與他們爭論。事實的確如此。我們關切的是瞭解這一個重要的事實。你我都無法變更或改變這個觀點，即使我們願意的話。這些人只會說，我們不會、也不能同意你在不存在奴隸制的地方實行奴隸制。如果你們州裏存在奴隸制，他們不想打擾你，你就好好受用吧，如果你想而且能夠的話。這就是他們的語言；這就是他們的打算。南方的情況如何呢.指望他們同樣流血出資來謀取那片廣大的土地，然後，又指望他們心甘情願地放棄他們把奴隸帶到那兒、並居住在那被征服的國土的權利。如果他們想那樣於的話。這怎麼可能呢.先生，我太瞭解南方人的感情和觀點了。我對他們絲毫不抱這種指望。我相信，他們會竭盡全力爭取這種權利，即使他們並不想行使這種權利。我相信，在這可怕的問題上，雙方都同樣固執己見。(我承認，當我想到這一點的時候，我顫抖了。)

那麼，如果我們堅持發動戰爭，如果戰爭不是僅僅以無端浪費生命與財富而告終，就必然(正如此議案所提議的那樣)以取得領土而告終，而這場爭論必然立刻與這片領土聯繫在一起。——那麼，這項議案就似乎是徹頭徹尾的一項引發內部混亂的議案。倘若我們再延長這場戰爭一分鐘，或再多花上一美元來購買或佔領哪怕是一公頃墨西哥的土地的話，北方和南方便將被帶入一場雙方都不會妥協的衝突之中。誰能預見或預知其後果！誰會如此大膽或魯莽以至於面對這種衝突而無動於衷！如果一個人能意識到這種衝突的可能性，而又不至於被痛苦的感情所折服，那麼，我決不會羨慕這種人的心靈。那麼，我們作為合眾國各主權州的代表，作為被挑選來捍衛合眾國的人們，為什麼我們明知道戰爭的結果必然迫使我們立刻面對一場內戰，卻要繼續這場戰爭以加速這場可怕的衝突的來臨呢.先生，確切地說，這是背叛，是對合眾國的背叛，是對我們選民的最寶貴的利益、最崇高的理想、最珍惜的希望的反叛。冒引起這種衝突的風險是一種犯罪，一種十惡不赦的罪孽，任何邪惡與之相比，都將昇華為美德。哦，總統先生，在我看來，如果地獄能夠張口吐出囚禁在它煉獄中的妖魔，吩咐他們來破壞這世界的和諧，來搗碎人們憧憬的最美好的幸福前景的話，那麼完美實現這個魔鬼意圖的第一步便將是點燃內戰的戰火，將合眾國的姐妹州全都拋進這無底的內亂的深淵。今天，我們就站在這深淵的正在崩潰的邊緣之上

——我們看它血腥的浪潮在我們跟前翻滾——趁現在還來得及，我們為什麼不能停下來呢。在這兒，道路是明擺著的。我可以說，這是唯一負責任的、謹慎的、真正愛國的路。讓我們拋棄一切進一步獲取領土的念頭，進而立刻停止發動這場戰爭。讓我們把軍隊召回來吧，立刻把他們召回到我們自己承認的邊界內。向墨西哥表明，當你們說你們不希望佔領任何東西時，你們是真誠的。墨西哥知道她無法同你們訴諸武力。如果她不曾訴諸武力話，那是因為她太軟弱了，不能在這兒打攪你們。給與她和平，我以性命擔保，她就將接受和平。不過，不論她同意與否，你們沒有她的同意，照樣還會有和平。你們的侵略導致了這場戰爭；你們的撤軍將會恢復和平。那麼，讓我們永遠地封閉通往內部敵對的途徑，回到古老的和諧和古老的通往民族昌盛和水恆的光榮的道路上來。讓我們在這兒，在這奉獻給合眾國的神聖殿堂裏，舉行莊嚴的驅除邪惡的儀式；洗去我們手上沾著的墨西哥人的鮮血，在這聖壇上，在這庇佑我們的聖父的神像前，發誓保衛光榮的世界和平，保衛彼此間永恆的兄弟之情。

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### Against the Mexican War

What is the territory, Mr. President, which you propose to wrest from Mexico. It is consecrated to the heart of the Mexican by many a well-fought battle with his old Castilian master. His Bunker Hills, and Saratogas, and Yorktowns are there! The Mexican can say, "There I bled for liberty! and shall I surrender that consecrated home of my affections to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. What do they want with it. They have Texas already. They have possessed themselves of the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. What else do they want. To what shall I point my children as memorials of that independence which I bequeath to them, when those battlefields shall have passed from my possession."

Sir, had one come and demanded Bunker Hill of the people of Massachusetts, had England's lion ever showed himself there, is there a man over thirteen and under ninety who would not have

been ready to meet him. Is there a river on this continent that would not have run red with blood. Is there a field but would have been piled high with unburied bones of slaughtered Americans before these consecrated battlefields of liberty should have been wrested from us. But this same American goes into a sister republic, and says to poor, weak Mexico, "Give up your territory, you are unworthy to possess it; I have got one half already, and all I ask of you is to give up the other!" England might as well, in the circumstances I have described, have come and demanded of us, "Give up the Atlantic slope--give up this trifling territory from the Allegheny Mountains to the sea; it is only from Maine to St. Mary's--only about one third of your Republic, and the least interesting portion of it." What would be the response. They would say we must give this up to John Bull. Why. "He wants room." The Senator from Michigan says he must have this. Why, my worthy Christian brother; on what principle of justice. "I want room!"

Sir, look at this pretense of want of room. With twenty millions of people, you have about one thousand millions of acres of land, inviting settlement by every conceivable argument, bringing them down to a quarter of a dollar an acre, and allowing every man to squat where he pleases. But the Senator from Michigan says we will be two hundred millions in a few years, and we want room. If I were a Mexican I would tell you, "Have you not room enough in your own country to bury your dead. If you come into mine, we will greet you with bloody hands, and welcome you to hospitable graves." . . .

I was somewhat amazed the other day to hear the Senator from Michigan declare that Europe had quite forgotten us, till these battles waked them up. I suppose the Senator feels grateful to the President for "waking up" Europe. Does the President, who is, I

hope, read in civic as well as military lore, remember the saying of one who had pondered upon history long: long, too, upon man, his nature, and true destiny. Montesquieu did not think highly of this way of "waking up." "Happy," says he, "is that nation whose annals are tiresome."

The Senator from Michigan has a different view. He thinks that a nation is not distinguished until it is distinguished in war. He fears that the slumbering faculties of Europe have not been able to ascertain that there are twenty millions of Anglo-Saxons here, making railroads and canals, and speeding all the arts of peace to the utmost accomplishment of the refined civilization! They do not know it! And what is the wonderful expedient which this democratic method of making history would adopt in order to make us known. Storming cities, desolating peaceful, happy homes; shooting men--ay, sir, such is war--and shooting women, too. . . .

There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to notice it. It meets you in every step you take; it threatens you which way soever you go in the prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery. Opposition to its further extension, it must be obvious to everyone, is a deeply rooted determination with men of all parties in what we call the nonslaveholding states. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, three of the most powerful, have already sent their legislative instructions here. So it will be, I doubt not. in all the rest. It is vain now to speculate about the reasons for this. Gentlemen of the South may call it prejudice, passion, hypocrisy, fanaticism. I shall not dispute with them now on that point. The great fact that it is so, and not otherwise, is what it concerns us to know, You and I cannot alter or change this opinion. if we would. These people only say we will

not, cannot consent that you shall carry slavery where it does not already exist. They do not seek to disturb you in that institution as it exist in your states. Enjoy it if you will and as you. will. This is their language; this their determination. How is it in the South. Can it be expected that they should expend in common their blood and their treasure in the acquisition of immense territory, and then willingly forgo the right to carry thither their slaves, and inhabit the conquered country if they please to do so. Sir, I know the feelings and opinions of the South too well to calculate on this. Nay, I believe they would even contend to any extremity for the mere right, had they no wish to exert it. I believe (and I confess I tremble when the conviction presses upon me) that there is equal obstinacy on both sides of this fearful question.

If then, we persist in war, which, if it terminates in anything short of a mere wanton waste of blood as well as money, must end (as this bill proposes ) in the acquisition of territory, to which at once this controversy must attach--this bill would seem to be nothing less than a bill to produce internal commotion. Should we prosecute this war another moment, or expend one dollar in the purchase or conquest of a single lore of Mexican land, the North and the South are brought into collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result! Who so bold or reckless as to look such a conflict in the face unmoved! I do not envy the heart of him who can realize the possibility of such a conflict without emotions too painful to be endured. Why, then, shall we, the representatives of the sovereign states of the Union--the chosen guardians of this confederated Republic, why should we precipitate this fearful struggle, by continuing a war the result of which must be to force us at once upon a civil conflict. Sir, rightly considered, this is treason,

treason to the Union, treason to the dearest interests, the loftiest aspirations, the most cherished hopes of our constituents. It is a crime to risk the possibility of such a contest. It is a crime of such infernal hue that every other in the catalogue of iniquity, when compared with it, whitens into virtue. Oh, Mr. President, it does seem to me, if hell itself could yawn and vomit up the fiends that inhabit its penal abodes, commissioned to disturb the harmony of this world, and dash the fairest prospect of happiness that ever allured the hopes of men, the first step in the consummation of this diabolical purpose would be to light up the fires of internal war and plunge the sister states of this Union into the bottomless gulf of civil strife. We stand this day on the crumbling brink of that gulf--we see its bloody eddies wheeling and boiling before us--shall we not pause before it be too late. How plain again is here the path, I may add the only way, of duty, of prudence, of true patriotism. Let us abandon all idea of acquiring further territory and by consequence cease at once to prosecute this war. Let us call home our armies, and bring them at once within our own acknowledged limits. Show Mexico that you are sincere when you say you desire nothing by conquest. She has learned that she cannot encounter you in war, and if she had not, she is too weak to disturb you here. Tender her peace, and, my life on it, she will then accept it. But whether she shall or not, you will have peace without her consent. It is your invasion that has made war; your retreat will restore peace. Let us then close forever the approaches of internal feud, and so return to the ancient concord and the old ways of national prosperity and permanent glory. Let us here, in this temple consecrated to the Union, perform a solemn lustration; let us wash Mexican blood from our hands, and on these altars, and in the presence of that image of the Father of his Country

that looks down upon us, swear to preserve honorable peace with all the world and eternal brotherhood with each other.

霍勒斯.曼

(HORACE MANN)

公立學校的狀況

### **The Case for Public Schools**

教育是人類創造的所有設施中最了不起的人類條件等化器，是社會機器上的平衡輪。

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當年輕的民族成長時，各個社區都有責任決定為其兒童提供多少學校教育。在許多地區，學校教學質量低下、老師未受到良好的培訓，體罰現象普遍。

麻塞諸塞州的立法機構回應改革者們於 1837 年提出的要求，創立了州教育委員會。該委員會聘請霍勒斯.曼(1796—1859)任其秘書。在霍勒斯.曼任秘書的 11 年間，曼領導了旨在改善教育的改革運動。於 1848 年，曼辭去該職，進入國會，成為國會內廢奴主義的鬥士。後來，他出任俄亥俄州安蒂奧克學院的院長。在他逝世前兩個月，曼勸告該學院的四年級學生說：「我懇求你們將我臨終前的這些話珍藏在心裏：只有當你為人類贏得某種勝利後，你才死而無憾。」

本文摘自曼於 1848 年寫給麻塞諸塞教育委員會的最後一份報告。報告陳述了他的信條。在美國普及教育，使其成為免費的、非宗教性的、人道的和全民的教育鬥爭中，他的名字成了這場鬥爭的同義詞。

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.....根據歐洲人的理論，人劃分為階級——有的人辛勤勞作，掙錢餬口；另一些人則強取豪奪，揮霍享受。根據馬薩諸塞的理論，人人都有同樣的掙錢機會，都有同樣的權利享受他們的勞動所得。後者有助於平等條件的形成，而前者則有造成最嚴裏的不平等的傾向。.....

我建議，凡是將仁愛與政治經濟觀念聯繫在一起的人都應當具有同樣的觀念，

即巨大的、盛氣凌人的私有財產是共和國人民的幸福可能面臨的最大危險之一。這種財產將造成新的封建主義，一種比中世紀的封建主義更具壓迫性、更殘酷的封建主義。現在，大部分外國製造商和資本家將他們的技術工人和工人所置於的境地，其淒慘程度遠遠超過當年英國和歐洲大陸的封建君主們將他們的僕人所置於的奴役狀態。儘管他們使用的手段不同，但其結果卻具有驚人的相似之處。過去靠的是權力，而現在靠的是金錢。……

現在，除了全民教育之外，別無其他能夠抵消這種資本統治和奴役勞工傾向的途徑。如果一個階級佔有所有的財富和教育，而社會上的其他成員卻是無知、貧窮的，那麼他們之間的關係被看成什麼都無關緊要；事實上，後者確實將成為前者的奴僕和臣民。但是，如果教育是均衡地分佈的話，教育將成為所有吸引力中最強大的吸引力，將把財富帶給人們，因為一個聰明和實幹的人從來不曾、也不可能永遠貧窮。當財富與勞動分屬於不同的階級時，它們在本質上是對抗性的；但是，當財富與勞動同屬於一個階級時，它們在本質上則是情同兄弟的。麻塞諸塞的人民在某種程度已經領悟到了這個真理。本州的空前繁榮——生活的舒適、可觀的收入、總體智力和道德水平——全得歸功於本州或多或少是完美的教育。本州人人都受到了教育。但是，人們是否意識到一個同樣重要的事實，——也就是，本州人口的三分之二得感激本州的教育，因為是教育使他們今日未像當今歐洲下層人民那樣被野蠻而又強暴地束縛於暴政之下，成為以資本形式出現的暴政的奴僕。教育是人類創造的所有設施中最了不起的人類條件均衡器，是社會機器上的平衡輪。我這裏不是說教育已經將人們的道德本質提高到了不屑並且憎惡對同胞的剝削的程度。這屬於教育的另一種屬性。我指的是教育賦予每個人獨立性和手段，人們可以藉以抵制別人的自私。這比消除窮人對富人的敵意效果好，因為它使人們不至於鬧窮。……通過擴大受教育的階級或階層來普及教育，將開創出一個更廣闊的天地。在這天地裏，社會中的各種情緒將得以緩解。一旦教育成為全民的和全面的，它將能最有效地消除社會中各種人為的差異。

一些政治改革家和革命家的信條中的主要觀點：有些人鬧窮，是因為其他人富有。這種觀點認為，社會財富是一定的，由於採取欺騙或暴力的手段，或由於專斷的法律，這些財富的分配是不平均的；需要解決的問題是如何將這些財富



中的一部分從那些據說是過於富有的人手中轉移到那些感到並且知道自己是過於貧窮的人手中。就這一點來說，他們的理論及其前景是改革的中止。然而，教育的改善力是永不枯竭的，即使它以和平方式消除了那些由於巨大的財富與悲慘的貧困並存而造成的一切悲哀，它仍然不會枯竭。教育具有更高的功能。它除了具有分配原有的財富的能力之外，還具有創造新財富的特殊能力。與欺行詐騙相比，它能創造成千倍的利潤；與最成功的領土侵佔相比，它能成千倍增加民族的資源。流氓、竊賊只能攫取原先由別人佔有的財富。但是，教育卻能創造或開拓新的財富——那些未曾為人所佔有或夢想到的財富。……

如果一個未開化的人能夠學會游泳，他就能在脖子上掛上十二磅重的東西，把它送過一條小河，或送過其他中等寬度的水域。如果他發明了斧子或其他工具，就能用它砍倒一棵樹，將樹作為浮體，用他的一隻手或腳作為槳，就能運送許多倍於原先重量的東西，而且運送的距離也將是從前的許多倍。如果掏空樹幹，就可以增加其可以稱作是噸位或磅位的載重能力。而且，通過削尖兩端，它就能更輕鬆地劈水，更快地前進。把幾棵樹捆綁在一起，他便造成一個木筏，從而增加了尚處於胚胎狀態的船舶的浮力。如果將帶有小孔的兩端向上翹起，或者使用肋材而不是筆直的本板，並且通過開槽將肋材拼在一起，或者用某種填料將其空隙封起使其不透水，那麼他也就把粗陋的木筏變成了名副其實的船體了。通過改進船體水下部分，並在船體上安裝上風帆，他就成了令人驕傲的商人，讓風將他從一個大陸送往另一個大陸。但是，即使如此，還不能使具有冒險精神的海運設計師滿意。他用鋼鐵製作船體的框架，用鐵輪來代替槳，帶來了速度上的革命，而且使他的艙比大海還要強大。他在船體的鋼鐵四壁內，安裝上龐大、有力、與火有不解之緣的鋼鐵機器，點燃機器內的一座小型火山。於是，這出自他雙手的絕妙創造物便假有知覺、有理情的生靈一樣，劈波破浪，不畏風暴，載著充滿活力、興高采烈的乘客周遊全球。如果拋開造船師的智慧，那麼人類藝術的奇跡——汽輪，便將淪落回一塊飄浮著的木頭；甚至連這木頭本身也將喪失殆盡，只剩下那未開化的游泳者，背上馱著十二磅重的東西。

這不僅僅在一個部門是如此，在人類各個勞動部門都是如此。就像太陽的毀滅必將帶來黑暗一樣，人類智慧的泯滅必將使整個人類立刻陷入未開化的孱弱與無助之中。一個政府若置其勞動階級的一生於無知之中，就如同創造出像我們

這樣的生靈，置之於這個世界，但卻未施予太陽的光明一樣殘酷。...

對財富的創造來說，對於一個富足的的人民和富足的國家的存在來說，智慧是唯一重要的條件。當明智的選民(如果我可以這樣稱呼他們的話)增加時，改進者的數量也就增加了。過去，甚至在當今世界的大部分地區，不到百萬分之一的人所受到的教育能使其具備為藝術或科學作出貢獻的可能性。優先發展這種教育，那麼無數不可估量的貢獻就必定接踵而至。如果政治經濟僅關心資本與勞動，供應與需求，利息與租金，貿易的平衡與否，而不考慮普及智力教育，那麼這種政治經濟就完全是天大的蠢事。政治經濟中最偉大的技巧是使消費者變成生產者，次之是增加生產者的生產力——這個目的可以直接通過增強生產者的智力來實現。

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#### The Case for Public Schools

. . . . According to the European theory, men are divided into classes, --some to toil and earn, others to seize and enjoy. According to the Massachusetts theory, all are to have an equal chance for earning, and equal security in the enjoyment of what they earn. The latter tends to equality of condition; the former to the grossest inequalities....

I suppose it to be the universal sentiment of all those who mingle any ingredient of benevolence with their notions on Political Economy, that vast and overshadowing private fortunes are among the greatest dangers to which the happiness of the people in a republic can be subjected. Such fortunes would create a feudalism of a new kind; but one more oppressive and unrelenting than that of the Middle Ages. The feudal lords in England, and on the continent, never held their retainers in a more abject condition of servitude, than the great majority of foreign manufacturers and capitalists hold their operatives and laborers at the present day. The means employed are different, but the similarity in results is striking. What

force did then, money does now. . . .

Now, surely, nothing but Universal Education can counter-work this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called; the latter, in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependants and subjects of the former. But if education be equably diffused, it will draw property after it. by the strongest of all attractions; for such a thing never did happen, and never can happen. as that an intelligent and practical body of men should be permanently poor. Property and labor, in different classes, are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor, in the same class, are essentially fraternal. The people of Massachusetts have, in some degree, appreciated the truth, that the unexampled prosperity of the State,--its comfort, its competence, its general intelligence and virtue,--is attributable to the education, more or less perfect, which all its people have received; but are they sensible of a fact equally important.--namely, that it is to this same education that two thirds of the people are indebted for not being, to-day, the vassals of as severe a tyranny, in the form of capital, as the lower classes of Europe are bound to in the form of brute force. Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin. is the great equalizer of the conditions of men--the balance-wheel of the social machinery,. I do not here mean that it so elevates the moral nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means, by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich; it prevents

being poor. . . . The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society.

The main idea set forth in the creeds of some political reformers, or revolutionizers, is, that some people are poor because others are rich. This idea supposes a fixed amount of property in the community, which, by fraud or force, or arbitrary law, is unequally divided among men; and the problem presented for solution is, how to transfer a portion of this property from those who are supposed to have too much, to those who feel and know that they have too little. At this point, both their theory and their expectation is of reform stop. But the beneficent power of education would not be exhausted, even though it should peaceably abolish all the miseries that spring from the coexistence, side by side, of enormous wealth and squalid want. It has a higher function. Beyond the power of diffusing old wealth, it has the prerogative of creating new. It is a thousand times more lucrative than fraud; and adds a thousand fold more to a nation's resources than the most successful conquests. Knaves and robbers can obtain only what was before possessed by others. But education creates or develops new treasures,--treasures not before possessed or dreamed of by any one. . . .

If a savage will learn how to swim, he can fasten a dozen pounds' weight to his back, and transport it across a narrow river, or other body of water of moderate width. If he will invent an axe, or other instrument, by which to cut down a tree, he can use the tree for a float, and one of its limbs for a paddle, and can thus transport many

times the former weight, many times the former distance. Hollowing out his log, he will increase, what may be called, its tonnage,--or, rather, its poundage,--and, by sharpening its ends, it will cleave the water both more easily and more swiftly. Fastening several trees together, he makes a raft, and thus increases the buoyant power of his embryo water-craft. Turning up the ends of small poles, or using knees of timber instead of straight pieces, and grooving them together, or filling up the interstices between them, in some way, so as to make them water-tight, he brings his rude raft literally into **ship-shape**. Improving upon hull below and rigging above, he makes a proud merchantman, to be wafted by the winds from continent to continent. But, even this does not content the adventurous naval architect. He frames iron arms for his ship; and, for oars, affixes iron wheels, capable of swift revolution, and stronger than the strong sea. Into iron-walled cavities in her bosom, he puts iron organs of massive structure and strength, and of cohesion insoluble by fire. Within these, he kindles a small volcano; and then, like a sentient and rational existence, this wonderful creation of his hands cleaves oceans, breasts tides, defies tempests, and bears its living and jubilant freight around the globe. Now, takeaway intelligence from the ship-builder, and the steamship,--that miracle of human art,--falls back into a floating log; the log itself is lost; and the savage swimmer, bearing his dozen pounds on his back, alone remains.

And so it is, not in one department only, but in the whole circle of human labors. The annihilation of the sun would no more certainly be followed by darkness, than the extinction of human intelligence would plunge the race at once into the weakness and helplessness of barbarism. To have created such beings as we are, and to have

placed them in this world, without the light of the sun, would be no more cruel than for a government to suffer its laboring classes to grow up without knowledge. . . .

For the creation of wealth, then,--for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,--intelligence is the grand condition. The number of improvers will increase, as the intellectual constituency, if I may so call it, increases. In former times, and in most parts of the world even at the present day, not one man in a million has ever had such a development of mind, as made it possible for him to become a contributor to art or science. Let this development precede, and contributions, numberless, and of inestimable value, will be sure to follow. That Political Economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interest and rents, favorable and unfavorable balances of trade; but leaves out of account the element of a wide-spread mental development, is nought but stupendous folly. The greatest of all the arts in political economy is, to change a consumer into a producer; and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power; --an end to be directly attained, by increasing his intelligence.

#### 塞尼卡福爾斯感傷宣言與決議

#### **(Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions)**

人類的歷史是一部男人對婦女不斷傷害與掠奪的歷史。

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十九世紀中葉，婦女只擁有少數一些法權和政治權利，儘管婦女在國家機關、商店、工廠、農場和學校中工作的人數在不斷增加。婦女對自己命運的不滿是美國灌輸民主意識的產物。婦女能夠識字，所以她們閱讀了《獨立宣言》，聽到過廢奴主義者和其他改革者們使用的關於自然、權利、平等、自由等字眼。

在一個尊重個人良知的國度裏，不可避免地便有些婦女會大聲疾呼，為什麼婦女在法律上和政治上遭受不平等的待遇。

伊麗莎白·凱蒂·斯坦頓(1815—1902)與其他四位婦女籌劃在 1848 年 7 月 19 日至 20 日召開一次會議，「討論社會、公民、宗教狀況和婦女的權利問題」。在斯坦頓的領導下，小組起草了一個模仿《獨立宣言》的《感傷宣言》。大約一百名婦女和男士聚會在紐約的塞尼卡福爾斯，討論、修改並接受了她們的《宣言》。比起普遍蔑視婦女權利，尤其是蔑視婦女投票權的輿論來，她們要進步得多。

1869 年，懷俄明成了美國第一個允許婦女投票的州。首批允許婦女投票的國家是紐西蘭(1893 年)、芬蘭(1906 年)、挪威(1913 年)。1920 年，美國婦女贏得了投票權，當時批准了對憲法的第 19 次修正案。

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在有關人類事務的發展過程中，當人類家庭的一個部份必須在人們之間依照自然法則和上帝的意旨，接受與婦女迄今不同的地位時，出於對人類輿論的尊重，必須把婦女不得不這樣做的原因予以宣佈。

我們認為下面這些真理是不言而喻的：男人與女人生而平等；造物者賦予她們若幹不可剝奪的權利，其中包括生命權、自由權和追求幸福的權利，為了保障這些權利才建立政府，而政府的正當權力，是經被治理者的同意而產生的。——當任何形式的政府對這些目標具有破壞作用時，受其害的人民便有權拒絕效忠它，要求建立一個新的政府；其賴以奠基的原則，其組織權力的方式，務使人民認為唯有這樣才最可能獲得他們的安全和幸福。為了慎重起見，成立多年的政府，是不應當由於輕微和短暫的原因而予以變更的。過去的一切經驗也都說明，任何苦難，只要是尚能忍受，人類都寧願容忍，而無意為了本身的權益便廢除他們久已習慣了的政府。但是，當追逐同一目標的一連串濫用職權和強取豪奪發生，證明政府企圖把婦女置於專制統治之下時，那麼她們就有義務推翻這個政府，並為她們未來的安全建立新的保障。這就是婦女過去逆來順受的情況，也是她們現在不得不要求得到她們有權得到的地位的原因。

人類的歷史是一部男人對婦女不斷傷害與掠奪的歷史，其直接目的是在婦女之上建立絕對專制暴政。為了證明此言屬實，現將下列事實公諸於公正的世界。

男人從未允許婦女行使其不可剝奪的選舉權。

男人強迫婦女服從那些她無權參與制定的法律。

男人拒絕給予婦女連最無知、最下流的——不論是本國的還是外來的男人都具有的權力。

在剝奪了婦女作為公民的首要權力——選舉權，從而使她在立法機構中沒有任何代表之後，男人從各個方面壓迫婦女。

一旦結婚，在法律意義上，男人便使婦女喪失了公民的權利。

男人被奪了婦女的全部財產權，甚至包括支配她掙得的工資的權利。

男人使婦女成為不負道德責任的人，因為婦女可以犯下許多罪而不受懲罰，只要這些罪是當著她丈夫的面犯下的。在訂立婚約時，婦女被迫發誓聽命於丈夫，而丈夫，在實質上，則成為她的主人——法律授權男人，允許他褫奪她的自由權、對她行使懲罰權。

男人制定離婚法，規定准於離婚的各種正當理由；規定一旦雙方分離，孩子的監護權必須歸屬於誰；法律完全忽視了婦女的幸福——在任何情況下，它都是建立在男人至上的錯誤假設之上，將所有的權力置於男人之手中。

儘管婦女在婚後被剝奪全部的權利，可是單身並擁有財產的婦女卻被男人課稅來支援政府，然而政府卻僅僅在婦女的財產對其有利可圖的時候才承認婦女。男人幾乎壟斷了全部有利可圖的職業；在允許婦女從事的職業中，婦女所得到的報酬都是微不足道的。

男人封閉了所有能讓婦女通向財富和名望的途徑，他認為財富與名望是男人最體面的榮耀。婦女從未能成為醫學、法學或神學的教師。

男人拒絕向婦女提供全面教育的便利——所有大學的校門都對婦女關閉著。

男人允許婦女在教會以及政府機構任職，但只能處於附屬地位。男人宣稱，根據使徒教義，婦女不得任牧師，除了個別例外的，婦女還不得在公共場合參與宗教事務。

男人製造了錯誤的公共輿論，因為在他給予世人的道德法典中，男女未能一視同仁。根據這法典，將婦女排斥在社會之外的錯誤不僅僅受到了寬容，而且被認為是無足輕重的。

男人攫取了耶和華的權力，宣稱他有權為婦女規劃出行動的範圍，儘管這種權



力僅僅屬於她的良知和上帝。男人竭盡全力試圖摧殘婦女對自己能力的自信，貶低她的自尊，迫使她心甘情願地過聽人擺佈的淒慘生活。

現在，佔國家人口一半的民眾完全沒有選舉權。她們在社會、宗教上受到不公正的待遇。面對上述這些不公正的法律，況且婦女確實感到了她們受到的冤曲、她們蒙受的壓迫和她們最神聖的權力被人用欺騙的手段剝奪了，我們堅決要求立刻給予婦女所有屬於美國公民的權力和特權。

在著手我們眼前的偉大工作時，我們估計將遇到大量的誤解、誤傳和嘲諷。不過，我們仍將竭盡全力實現我們的目標。我們將聘請代理人，散發傳單，向政府和立法機構請願，努力爭取教會與報界的支援。我們希望這次大會之後，在全國各地將召開一系列的大會。

我們堅信，勝利終將屬於正義與真理。今天，我們在此宣言上簽署上我們的名字。

決議：

鑒於「人類必須追求真正的、實質的幸福」公認是自然的偉大法則，布萊克斯通在評論中指出，這條自然法則是與人類同生共存的法則，是上帝欽定的法則；它當然比任何其他法則都具有更高的約束性。在全世界，在所有國家，在任何時候，這條法則都具有約束性。任何人類的法則倘若與此法則相矛盾，便喪失其效力；而具有效力的法律，其全部法力、效力和權威則都是間接地或直接地從這一根源產生的。因此，決議認為，凡是與婦女真正和實質的幸福衝突的法律，不論其形式如何，都是與自然的偉大法則相矛盾的，都是無效的，因為「自然的偉大法則比任何其他法則都具有更高的約束性」。

決議認為，一切阻撓婦女謀取良知而需要的社會地位的法律，一切主張男尊女卑的法律，都是與自然的偉大法則相違背的，因而也是不具備任何法力或權威的。

決議認為，男女平等，是造物主的旨意，人類善之最高境界要求男女平等。

決議認為，應當開導我國的婦女，使她們對制約她們生活的法律有更多的瞭解；這樣她們就不至於對婦女當前的地位表示滿意，從而表現出自己的低下；她們也不至於聲稱已經擁有自己想要的一切權利，從而表現出自己的無知。

決議認為，既然男人宣稱他在智力上具有優越性，並且承認婦女在道德方面具

有優越性，那麼男人的一個突出的責任就是鼓勵婦女暢所欲言、教書講學，正如婦女在所有宗教團體中有機會做到的那樣。

決議認為，在社會上，在道德和舉止談吐溫文爾雅等方面，對男士也應當提出對婦女一樣的要求。男女若犯同樣性質的罪，應當受到同樣嚴厲的制裁。

婦女在公開場合發表演說，常常招致某些人有失典雅端莊之類的攻擊，而這些人卻以親自光臨的方式慫恿婦女登臺演出，舉行音樂會或在馬戲院出場獻技。決議認為，這種攻擊是非常不得體的。

婦女安於各種限制已經太久了。這些限制是由腐敗的習俗和對聖經的肆意曲解為婦女設置的。決議認為：現在是婦女步入偉大的造物主賦予她的更廣闊的天地的时候了。

決議認為，確保婦女神聖的選舉權是我國婦女的職責。

決議認為，人權的平等是人人能力與責任相同這一事實的必然結果。

因此，決議認為，由於造物主賦予男女相同的能力和運用這些能力的相同的責任感，所以男女顯然都有相同的權利和責任，利用一切正義的手段促進一切正義的事業；尤其在道德和宗教這些重大的問題上，不言而喻，婦女有權同她的兄弟一道，在私下和公開的場合，通過文章和演講，運用任何合適的手段、在任何合適的集會上，開宗名義地宣講。這是不言自明的真理，它是從紮根在人類本性的神聖原則中產生的，任何與之相違背的習俗和權威，不論是現代的還是被磨損得蒼白的古老法則，都將被視作不言而喻的謬誤，是違背人類利益的。決議認為，我們事業的早日成功，取決於男人與婦女的熱忱和執著的努力，推翻教會的獨裁，確保在各行各業和社交活動中婦女享有與男子同樣的參與權。

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### Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a

course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.--Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education--all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, --with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependant and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,--in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our

object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration. Resolutions

Whereas, the great precept of nature is conceded to be, "that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this origin; Therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent women from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal--was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under -which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with

their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak, and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior, that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in the feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause, by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of

morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as self-evident falsehood, and at war with the interests of mankind. Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce.

索喬納.特魯斯

(SOJOURNER TRUTH)

在俄亥俄婦女權利大會上的講話

### **Address to the Ohio Women's Rights Convention**

那麼，我就不是女人嗎。

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索喬納.特魯斯(1793－1883)出生在紐約州阿爾斯特縣的一個奴隸家庭裏，名叫伊莎貝拉。在 1827 年紐約廢除奴隸制之前，她被賣給一個名叫範.瓦傑納的主人。範.瓦傑納給了她自由。她便移居到紐約市，給人當傭人，並參與了福音派教會活動。

在 1843 年，她改名作索喬納.特魯斯，並開始以宗教牧師的身份周遊全國。作為一個引人注目的講演者，她宣揚、歌頌並呼籲人民接受上帝的旨義和人人皆兄弟的博愛。她的觀點是宗教與廢奴主義的混合體。當她發現了女權運動之後，她的觀點還具有了女權主義的色彩。在內戰期間，她代表聯邦派同盟為黑



人軍團募集軍需品。於 1864 年，她訪問華盛頓特區，在那兒幫助取消市內有軌電車上的種族隔離，並且在白宮受到了亞伯拉罕·林肯總統的接見。

在 1850 年，索喬納·特魯斯參加了在馬薩諸塞的伍斯特召開的首屆全國婦女權利大會。她是與會的唯一黑人婦女。第二年，索喬納·特魯斯參加了在阿克倫舉行的俄亥俄婦女權利大會。許多與會者反對她出席，擔心女權運動會與不受歡迎的廢奴主義混淆起來。當索喬納站起來發言時，會場響起了一陣非難的噓噓聲。但是，當她演講結束時，從觀眾中爆發出雷鳴般的掌聲。

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唉，孩子們，凡是這個吵鬧的地方，一定是出了什麼毛病。我想，從南方的黑人到北方的婦女，大家都在談論著權利，白人紳士們很快就要吃苦頭了。可是，這兒的一切都在談論什麼呢。

在那兒的那位男人說什麼婦女上車要人幫忙，過小溝得人抱著，到哪兒都得為她們讓出最好的位置。可是誰也不曾幫我上車，或幫我過爛泥窪，或為我讓出最好的位置！那麼，我就不是女人嗎。看看我！看看我的胳膊。我拉過犁，種過地，收穫過莊稼，可是沒有一個男人勸阻過我！那麼，我就不是女人嗎。我能像男人一樣幹活，一樣吃喝——如果我能夠弄得到的話——並且像男人一樣遭鞭打！那麼，我就不是女人嗎。我生過十三個孩子，眼睜睜地看著大多數孩子都被賣作奴隸。當我帶著母親的悲哀哭泣時，除了上帝以外，誰也沒聽到我的哭聲！那麼，我就不是女人嗎。

於是，他們大談起腦子裏的那個玩藝兒。他們管它叫什麼來著。[智力，有人輕聲說。]對，就是那玩藝兒。天哪，那跟女人的權利或黑人的權利有什麼關係呢。如果我的杯子只能盛下一品托，而你的杯子能盛下一夸脫，那麼你會小氣到不為我盛滿那僅僅是你的一半大的杯子嗎。

於是，那兒的那位穿黑衣服的小個子男人說，女人不能擁有與男人一樣多的權利，因為基督不是女人！那麼，你的基督從哪兒來的呢。你的基督是從哪兒來的呢。是從上帝和一個女人那兒來的！人跟上帝不是一回事。

如果上帝創造的第一個女人能夠獨自把世界翻了個底朝天，那麼，這些女人一起應當能夠再把世界翻轉回來，使它重新恢復秩序！現在，女人們正疾呼要這麼幹，男人們最好別攔著她們。難為你們聽我講話。現在，老索喬納沒有什麼

別的話要說了。

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### Address to the Ohio Women's Rights Convention

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the Negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about.

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman. Look at me! Look at my arm. I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman. I could work as much and eat as much as a man--when I could get it--and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman. I have borne thirteen children, and seen them most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman.

Then they talk about this thing in the head ; what's this they call it. [Intellect, someone whispers.] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or Negro's rights. If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full.

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from. Where did your Christ come from. From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able

to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.

史蒂芬.福斯特

(STEPHEN FOSTER)

《哦，蘇珊娜！》和《故鄉的親人》

### **Oh! Susanna and Old Folks at Home**

史蒂芬.柯林斯.福斯特(1825—1864)於 1826 年 7 月 4 日生於賓夕法尼亞。他家裏人曾想勸阻他打消對音樂的興趣，他曾在辛辛那提他哥哥的商店裏當了幾年記帳員。但福斯特的音樂天才是壓制不住的，他創作了大約二百首歌。由於受當時流行的化裝黑人樂隊表演及黑人民歌的影響，福斯特創作了大量的歌曲。其個最著名的是《哦，蘇珊娜!》、《故鄉的親人》、《我的肯塔基老家》、《金髮的珍妮姑娘》、《坎普敦賽跑》、《老黑奴》及《美麗的夢中人》。儘管福斯特的許多歌很快就流行了，但他不通生意，常被歌曲出版商佔了便宜。如果他早聽父母的勸告，他就能談判到更優厚的版稅，並保護他的著作權。由於貧困和酗酒，他三十七歲便去世了。

《哦，蘇珊娜!》是福斯特最早寫的一首歌，1848 年，他以一百美元把版權賣給一個音樂出版商，像福斯特的許多歌曲一樣，這首歌也是寫化裝黑人樂隊表演的。一夜之間，這首歌就引起轟動——成了立即流行的「民歌」，也是 1849 年淘金熱時期湧向西部的開發者們最喜愛的一支歌。

《故鄉的親人》作於 1851 年，由於歌中充滿對久別故鄉的傷感與懷舊之情，所以一直很流行。福斯特從來沒有想回到斯旺裏河或舊莊園，因為當他寫這首歌時，他還從未去過南方，也從未見過斯旺裏河，在寫歌詞時，他考慮寫，「沿著亞祖河下行」，放棄了，又想寫「皮迪河」，又放棄了，後來翻開一本地圖冊，挑到 佛羅裏達的斯旺河作為他想再訪的地方。他唯一的一次南方之行是在 1852 年，即這首歌發表後一年。

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哦，蘇珊娜！我來自阿拉巴馬，膝上拖著班卓琴，  
我要去到路易斯安娜，  
為了看望我情人。  
我離開那晚下著雨，  
白天氣候很乾，  
赤日炎炎，我卻冷得要死，  
蘇珊娜，別哭泣。(合唱)  
哦，蘇珊娜，別為我哭泣，我來自阿拉巴馬，膝上拖著班卓琴。幾天前一個萬籟俱寂之夜，  
我做了一個夢，  
夢見親愛的蘇珊娜，  
夢見她走下山崗，  
嘴裏含著蕎麥餅，  
眼裏還掛著淚花，  
我說我來自南方，  
蘇珊娜，別哭泣。  
我即將來到新奧爾良，  
到那以後我會四處找，  
一旦我找到了蘇珊娜，  
我會撲到地上向她求愛，  
假如我不能找到她，  
我這黑鬼一定會死，  
當我死後被埋葬，  
蘇珊娜，別哭泣。故鄉的親人沿著斯旺裏河下行，  
千里迢迢，  
那兒是我心嚮往的地方，

Oh! Susanna and Old Folks at Home

Oh! Susanna

I come from Alabama -with a banjo on my knee;

I'm gone to Lou'siana

My true love for to see.

It rained all night the day I left,

The weather it was dry.

The sun so hot I froze to death,

Susanna, don't you cry.

CHORUS:

Oh! Susanna, don't you cry for me;

I come from Alabama with a banjo on my knee

I had a dream the other night,  
When everything was still;

I thought I saw Susanna dear,  
a'coming down the hill.

The buckwheat cake was in her mouth,

The tear was in her eye.

Says I, I'm coming from the South,

Susanna, don't you cry.

I soon will be in New Orleans,

那兒是我老鄉住的地方，  
我浪跡江湖，走遍了  
天涯海角，  
但我仍懷念故鄉的親人，  
和那古老的田莊。

(合唱)

我走遍天涯，到處流浪，  
世態炎涼，歷盡辛酸，  
哦，黑老哥們，遠離故鄉的親人  
我的心已漸漸憔悴。  
幼年時我常在農場裏，  
到處遊玩，  
那時我曾度過許多好時光，  
也唱過許多歌，  
每當與兄弟玩樂  
我總很快活，  
哦，請帶我回慈母身旁，  
讓我生老病死在故鄉。  
叢林中的小茅屋，  
我很喜歡，  
不論我流浪到何方，  
它總使我愁腸望斷。  
何時再看見蜜蜂  
繞著蜂窩嗡嗡？  
何時能在我可愛的故鄉，  
聽見班卓琴悠揚的琴聲？

And then I'll look all 'round,  
And when I find Susanna,  
I'll fall upon the ground.  
But if I do not find her,  
This darkey'll surely die,  
And when I'm dead and  
buried,  
Susanna, don't you cry.  
Old Folks at Home  
'Way down upon the Swanee  
River,  
Far far away,  
There's where my heart is  
turning ever,  
There's where the old folks  
stay.  
All up and down the whole  
creation,  
Sadly I roam,  
Still longing for the old  
plantation,  
And for the old folks at home.  
CHORUS:  
All the world is sad and dreary  
Everywhere I roam,  
Oh, darkies, how my heart  
grows weary,  
Far from the old folks at home.  
All 'round the little farm I

wandered  
When I was young,  
Then many happy days I  
squandered,  
Many the songs I sung.  
When I was playing with my  
brother  
Happy was I.  
Oh! take me to my kind old  
mother,  
There let me live and die.  
One little hut among the  
bushes,  
One that I love,  
Still sadly to my mem'ry  
rushes,  
No matter where I rove.  
When will I see the bees  
a-humming  
All 'round the comb.  
When will I hear the banjo  
strumming  
Down in my good old home.

伊麗莎白.凱蒂.斯坦頓

(ELIZABETH CALM STANTON)

在紐約立法機關作的關於女權的講話

### **Address to the Legislature of New York on Women's Rights**

我們要求的權利，僅僅是與你們為你們自己制定的相同的權利。.....理由很簡

單——每個人的權利都是相同的、彼此一樣的。

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伊麗莎白·凱蒂·斯坦頓(1815－1902)是美國爭取婦女平等權利運動的戰略制定者、演說家、哲學家和宣傳家。她是紐約州北部地區一個富有而且保守的家族的女兒。她丈夫亨利·比·斯坦頓是一位廢奴主義者和律師。她有七個孩子，(最小的孩子出生於 1859 年)。1848 年，由於她的努力，紐約州通過了一項劃時代的法案，賦予已婚婦女以財產權；同時，她又是 於同年召開的塞尼卡福爾斯女權大會的主要發起者。1851 年，她與蘇珊·比·安東尼聯手。從那以後，她們倆成了十九世紀美國女權運動的領袖。

1854 年 2 月，斯坦頓代表女權倡導者大會出席了在奧爾巴舉行的紐約州立法會議。斯坦頓與安東尼在每位議員的桌上放了一份講話稿，並且還印發了五萬份小冊子。在發言前，斯坦頓(時年 38 歲)先將講話讀給父親聽。她父親是位受人尊敬的法學家，他起初曾威脅要取消她的繼承權，結果卻幫助她從法律的角度進行分析。

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.....先生們，在共和制的美國，在十九世紀，我們作為一七七六年革命英雄的女兒，要求你們洗雪我們的冤屈——修定你們的州憲法——制定一部新的法典。請允許我們盡可能簡要地提請你們注意使我們吃盡苦頭的所謂法律上的無資格。

第一點，請看看婦女作為女人的地位。依照法律，我們可以生存、呼吸，有權從我們法律上的保護人處索取生活必需品——為我們所犯的罪過受罰；但是，僅僅如此是不夠的。我們是人，是本地人，生來就是自由民，是財產持有者，是付稅人；可是，人們卻拒不允許我們享有選舉權，我們養活我們自己，而且還部分地負擔了學校、大學、教會的費用，部分地負擔了你們的貧民院、監獄、陸軍、海軍和整個國家機器的費用。但是，我們在你們的議會裏卻沒有發言權。除了性別之外，我們完全符合憲法規定的合法投票人所必備的條件，我們講道德，守貞節，聰明理智，在各個方面都與驕傲的白人男子不相上下。可是，你們的法律卻把我們同白癡、瘋子和黑人劃歸一類。儘管我們覺得這樣一種地位並不會給我們帶來任何榮耀，但是實際上，我們的法律地位比他們還要低。因

為，如果黑人擁有二百五十美元，便有權成為投票人；瘋子可以在他理智清醒的瞬間投票；白癡，只要是男性，只要不是徹頭徹尾的傻瓜，就也能投票。可是我們呢.我們領導了偉大的慈善運動，設立了慈善機構，編輯雜誌，出版論述歷史、經濟和數理統計的著作；我們領導了國家、軍隊，出任教授，給當代的學者講授哲學與數學；我們發現星球，駕駛船舶漂洋過海。可是，人們卻拒不給予我們公民的最神聖的權利，其原因，就因為，天哪，我們來到這個共和國時未被賦予男人的尊嚴！ .....難道說，在這個我們認為沒有皇家血統，沒有使徒後裔的地方，在這個宣稱人人生而平等的地方，在這個宣稱政府的正當權力來自被治理的人民的同意的地方，你們卻一心要建立這樣一種貴族制度，它將無知、粗俗的人置於有教養的、高雅的人士之上，將外人和苦力置於當代作家、詩人之上，將兒子置於生養了他們的母親之上嗎.....

第二點，請看看婦女作為妻子的地位。婚姻事實上是建立在英國的古老習慣法之上的，是一個僅僅由於文明進步才得到一點改善的種種野蠻習俗的混合體。你們有關婚姻的法律公開違背了我們關於正義、關於我們本性中最神聖的感情的開明觀念。如果你們對婚姻持最神聖的看法，視其為神聖的關係，是唯有愛情才能建立和滿足的關係，那麼。人類立法所能做的當然僅僅是承認這種關係。人既不能人為地繫上也不能鬆開婚姻的約束，因為這個特權僅屬於上帝，是上帝創造了男人與女人，以及將他們結合在一起的吸引法則。但是，如果你們視婚姻為民間契約，那麼就讓它服從制約所有其他契約的同樣法則。不要把婚姻弄成一種半人半神的機制，一種你能建立但卻不能管理的機制。你們不要為這種契約制定特殊的法令，從而將自己捲入最荒唐、最嚴重的矛盾之中。根據你們的法律，凡是不滿 21 歲的人不得簽約購買馬匹或土地，而且，如果簽約中有欺騙行為，或簽約人未完全履約，那麼他還可以不受該契約的束縛。根據你們法律，所有民事契約的簽約方，只要仍保留他們簽約前的身份、能力和獨立性，便有充分的權利以任何理由按他們自己的意願和選擇來解除合作關係和契約。那麼，你們是根據什麼民事法律原則，允許 14 歲的男孩與 12 歲的女孩違背一切自然法則地訂立比任何其他契約都更具有巨大重要性的契約，並且，不論發生什麼情況，即使他們感到失望，感到受騙上當，感到痛苦，他們也必須終生恪守這個契約呢.而且，簽署這種契約意味著簽約的一方立刻喪失其公



民權利。僅僅在昨天還傲視跪地求婚者的女子，昨天在人類天平上的讀數還高到足以與一位驕傲的撒克遜男子以同等條件簽定契約的女子，今天便全無公民的權利，全無社會自由了。妻子不能繼承財產，其法律地位與南方種植園裏的奴隸毫無兩樣。她什麼也不能佔有，什麼也不能出售。她甚至連支配自己賺來的工資的權利都沒有。她的身子，她的時間，她的勞動都是另一個人的財產。...

第三點，請看看婦女作為寡婦的地位。每當我們試圖指出法律對妻子的不公正時，那些總要我們相信法律已無法改善了的人便向我們指出寡婦的特權、權力和要求權。讓我們稍微看看這些吧。.....瞧瞧法律的寬宏大量吧：它允許寡婦終生保留、享有地產的三分之一利息，享有丈夫個人財產的二分之一，而法律自己卻佔有了大部分的財富！如果妻子先於丈夫去世，那麼房產和土地卻仍將全部屬於丈夫。沒人膽敢干擾他家的清靜，或騷擾他神聖的憂傷避難所。請問，如此區別對待男人與婦女，能叫作正義嗎.....

人們多次而且常常一本正經地問我們，「你們女人缺什麼呢.你們的目的是什麼呢.」許多人表現出一種值得稱頌的好奇心。他們想知道，在共和制的美國，妻子和女兒有什麼可抱怨的。她們的先生和兒子曾經那麼英勇地為了自由而戰，並且光榮地贏得了獨立，將所有的暴政、偏執和等級制度統統踩在腳下，向啟盼著的世界宣佈了一條神聖的真理——人人生而平等。在這樣的政府下，婦女能缺少什麼呢？承認在性別上的根本差異，那麼你就得要求獲得不同的地位——有如水之於魚，空氣之於鳥雀一樣。

人們無法使南方的種植園主相信他的奴隸同他一樣有感覺，能思維。人們無法使他相信，對於他的奴隸來說，非正義與壓迫就像對他一樣痛苦。人們無法使他相信：他的奴隸也能像主人一樣強烈地感受到按照他人意志生活的屈辱，感受到聽憑他人癖性的支配，任憑他人情慾的擺佈的奴役性。如果你能強迫他違心地看一幅黑人蒙受冤苦的寫照。使他的靈魂一時受到震動，那麼他的邏輯會立刻使他得到安慰。他會說，奴隸感覺不到我所感覺到的。先生，這就是我們困難之所在。當我們面對共和國的議員和學者，為我們的事業辯護隊他們無法接受男人和女人是相像的觀點。只要這些人都處於這種錯覺之中，那麼公共輿論對於所揭示出的婦女地位的不公正和低下所表示的驚訝，將比不上對婦女終於覺醒、並且意識到這一不公正事實所表示出的驚訝。.....

但是，先生們，如果你們以男人與女人相像為由，進而認為你們是我們忠實的代表的话，那麼，你們為什麼要為婦女制定出這些特殊的法律呢.難道同一部法典不能滿足所有類似的需要嗎.基督的金科玉律勝過所有凡人才子能夠設想出的特殊法令，「己所不欲，勿施於人。」先生兄弟們，這就是我們對你們要求。我們要求的權利，僅僅是與你們為你們自己制定的相同的權利。我們需要的保障，僅僅是現行法律為你們提供的保障。

最後，讓我們代表全州的婦女聲明，我們所要求的，正是你們自從「五月花」號在普利茅斯港拋錨以來，在開發過程中你們為自己所要求得到的。理由很簡單——每個人的權利都是相同的，彼此一樣的。你們可能會說，本州的大部分婦女並未提出這個要求，提出要求的只是一些失望的、令人討厭的老處女和沒有子女的女人。

你們錯了。廣大婦女是通過我們來發言的。本州絕大部分婦女自食其力，而且還供養孩子，許多人還供養她們的丈夫。...

那麼，你們真的認為這些婦女不希望掌握她們掙來的工資，不希望擁有自己購買的土地和自己建起的房子嗎.你們真的認為她們不希望將自己的孩子置於自己的支配之下，而不必遭受一位一錢不值、花天酒地的懶漢的沒完沒了的干涉和蹂躪呢.你們以為任何女人都是如此虔誠、馴服，以至於心甘情願地終日縫紉，卻僅僅掙得可憐的 50 美分嗎.你們以為她們希望遵照你們的法律，享受那個為丈夫支付煙錢和灑錢的無法言喻的特權嗎.試想想，一個十足畜生一樣的酒鬼，他的妻子會同意與他分享她的家和她的床嗎，如果法律和公共輿論允許她解除這種粗野的伴侶關係的话.很明顯，她絕對不會同意！...

我們為所有的這些婦女說話，如果在這長長的單子上，你們再加上那些大聲疾呼要求賠償她們沒完沒了的勞動的婦女；再加上那些在我們的私立女子學校、高等學府和公立學校任教，卻僅僅換來微薄收入的女子；再加上那些被無情課以稅款的寡婦；再加上那些被關在感化院、貧民院和監獄裏的不幸的婦女；那麼，我們還有什麼人不能代表呢.我們不能代表的只不過是一些時髦的輕浮女子，她們像蝴蝶一樣，在短暫的夏日裏，追逐陽光和花朵，但是秋季的涼風和冬天的白霜很快便會驅走陽光和花朵，那時，她們也將需要、也將尋求保護。到那時，將輪到她們通過別人的嘴向你們提出爭取正義與平等的要求。

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## Address to the Legislature of New York on Women's Rights

. . . . Gentlemen, in republican America, in the nineteenth century, we, the daughters of the revolutionary heroes of '76, demand at your hands the redress of our grievances--a revision of your State Constitution--a new code of laws. Permit us then, as briefly as possible, to call your attention to the legal disabilities under which we labor.

1st. Look at the position of woman as woman. It is not enough for us that by your laws we are permitted to live and breathe, to claim the necessities of life from our legal protectors--to pay the penalty of our crimes; we demand the full recognition of all our rights as citizens of the Empire State. We are persons; native, freeborn citizens; property-holders, tax-payers; yet are we denied the exercise of our right to the elective franchise. We support ourselves, and, in part, your schools, colleges, churches, your poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, the navy, the whole machinery of government, and yet we have no voice in your councils. We have every qualification required by the Constitution, necessary to the legal voter, but the one of sex. We are moral, virtuous, and intelligent, and in all respects quite equal to the proud white man himself, and yet by your laws we are classed with idiots, lunatics, and negroes; and though we do not feel honored by the place assigned us, yet, in fact, our legal position is lower than that of either; for the negro can be raised to the dignity of a voter if he possess himself of \$250; the lunatic can vote in his moments of sanity, and the idiot, too, if he be a male one, and not more than nine-tenths a fool; but we, who have guided great movements of charity, established missions, edited journals, published works on

history, economy, and statistics; who have governed nations, led armies, filled the professor's chair, taught philosophy and mathematics to the savants of our age, discovered planets, piloted ships across the sea, are denied the most sacred rights of citizens, because, forsooth, we came not into this republic crowned with the dignity of manhood! . . . Can it be that here, where we acknowledge no royal blood, no apostolic descent, that you, who have declared that all men were created equal--that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, would willingly build up an aristocracy that places the ignorant and vulgar above the educated and refined--the alien and the ditch digger above the authors and poets of the day--an aristocracy that would raise the sons above the mothers that bore them. . . .

2d. Look at the position of woman as wife. Your laws relating to marriage--founded as they are on the old common law of England, a compound of barbarous usages, but partially modified by progressive civilization--are in open violation of our enlightened ideas of justice, and of the holiest feelings of our nature. If you take the highest view of marriage, as a Divine relation, which love alone can constitute and sanctify, then of course human legislation can only recognize it. Men can neither bind nor loose its ties, for that prerogative belongs to God alone, who makes man and woman, and the laws of attraction by which they are united. But if you regard marriage as a civil contract, then let it be subject to the same laws which control all other contracts. Do not make it a kind of half human, half-divine institution, which you may build up, but can not regulate. Do not, by your special legislation for this one kind of contract, involve yourselves in the grossest absurdities and contradictions.

So long as by your laws no man can make a contract for a horse or piece of land until he is twenty-one years of age, and by which contract he is not bound if any deception has been practiced, or if the party contracting has not fulfilled his part of the agreement--so long as the parties in all mere civil contracts retain their identity and all the power and independence they had before contracting, with the full right to dissolve all partnerships and contracts for any reason, at the will and option of the parties themselves, upon what principle of civil jurisprudence do you permit the boy of fourteen and the girl of twelve, in violation of every natural law, to make a contract more momentous in importance than any other, and then hold them to it come what may, the whole of their natural lives, in spite of disappointment, deception, and misery. Then, too, the signing of this contract is instant civil death to one of the parties. The woman who but yesterday was sued on bended knee, who stood so high in the scale of being as to make an agreement on equal terms with a proud Saxon man, to-day has no civil existence, no social freedom. The wife who inherits no property holds about the same legal position that does the slave of the Southern plantation. She can own nothing, sell nothing. She has no right even to the wages she earns; her person, her time, her services are the property of another. . . .

3d. Look at the position of woman as widow. Whenever we attempt to point out the wrongs of the wife, those who would have us believe that the laws can not be improved, point us to the privileges, powers, and claims of the widow. Let us look into these a little. . . . Behold the magnanimity of the law in allowing the widow to retain a life interest in one-third the landed estate, and one-half the personal property of her husband, and taking the lion's share to

itself! Had she died first, the house and land would all have been the husband's still. No one would have dared to intrude upon the privacy of his home, or to molest him in his sacred retreat of sorrow. How, I ask you, can that be called justice, which makes such a distinction as this between man and woman. . . .

Many times and oft it has been asked us, with unaffected seriousness, "What do you women want. What are you aiming at."

Many have manifested a laudable curiosity to know what the wives and daughters could complain of in republican America, where their sires and sons have so bravely fought for freedom and gloriously secured their independence, trampling all tyranny, bigotry, and caste in the dust, and declaring to a waiting world the divine truth that all men are created equal. What can woman want under such a government. Admit a radical difference in sex, and you demand different spheres--water for fish, and air for birds.

It is impossible to make the Southern planter believe that his slave feels and reasons just as he does--that injustice and subjection are as galling as to him--that the degradation of living by the will of another, the mere dependent on his caprice, at the mercy of his passions, is as keenly felt by him as his master. If you can force on his unwilling vision a vivid picture of the negro's wrongs, and for a moment touch his soul, his logic brings him instant consolation. He says, the slave does not feel this as I would. Here, gentlemen, is our difficulty: When we plead our cause before the law-makers and savants of the republic, they can not take in the idea that men and women are alike; and so long as the mass rest in this delusion, the public mind will not be so much startled by the revelations made of the injustice and degradation of woman's position as by the fact that she should at length wake up to a sense of it. . . .

But if, gentlemen, you take the ground that the sexes are alike, and, therefore, you are our faithful representatives--then why all these special laws for woman. Would not one code answer for all of like needs and wants. Christ's golden rule is better than all the special legislation that the ingenuity of man can devise: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." This, men and brethren, is all we ask at your hands. We ask no better laws than those you have made for yourselves. We need no other protection than that which your present laws secure to you.

In conclusion, then, let us say, in behalf of the women of this State, we ask for all that you have asked for yourselves in the progress of your development, since the Mayflower cast anchor beside Plymouth rock; and simply on the ground that the rights of every human being are the same and identical. You may say that the mass of the women of this State do not make the demand; it comes from a few sour, disappointed old maids and childless women.

You are mistaken; the mass speak through us. A very large majority of the women of this State support themselves and their children, and many their husbands too. . . .

Now, do you candidly think these wives do not wish to control the wages they earn--to own the land they buy--the houses they build. to have at their disposal their own children, without being subject to the constant interference and tyranny of an idle, worthless profligate. Do you suppose that any woman is such a pattern of devotion and submission that she willingly stitches all day for the small sum of fifty cents, that she may enjoy the unspeakable privilege, in obedience to your laws, of paying for her husband's tobacco and rum. Think you the wife of the confirmed, beastly drunkard would consent to share with him her home and bed, if law

and public sentiment would release her from such gross companionship. Verily, no!...

For all these, then, we speak. If to this long list you add the laboring women who are loudly demanding remuneration for their unending toil; those women who teach in our seminaries, academies, and public schools for a miserable pittance; the widows who are taxed without mercy; the unfortunate ones in our workhouses, poor-houses, and prisons; who are they that we do not now represent. But a small class of the fashionable butterflies, who, through the short summer days, seek the sunshine and the flowers; but the cool breezes of autumn and the hoary frosts of winter will soon chase all these away; then they too, will need and seek protection, and through other lips demand in their turn justice and equity at your hands.

### 西雅圖酋長的演說

#### **Chief Seattle's Oration**

在我的人民看來，這兒的每一寸土地都是神聖的。每一個山坡，每一條山谷，每一塊平原和樹林都由於一些在那早已消逝的歲月裏的悲傷或愉快的事件，而變成了聖地。

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西雅圖酋長是瀕臨太平洋的西北地區六個印地安部落的酋長。1854 年 12 月，他對包括准州州長，白人移民和大約一千名印地安人在內的集會發表演說。他的講話是針對州長伊薩克·艾·史蒂文斯的。史蒂文斯州長剛從華盛頓特區來，帶來了購買印地安人土地，設置印地安人保護區的指示。在後來成為西雅圖市的地方，酋長發表了人們稱之為「葬禮演說」或者說是「天鵝臨終之歌」的演說。他表示他接受聯邦政府的提議，不發動戰爭以反抗在力量上佔絕對優勢的政府，因為那是註定要失敗的。早期歷史常常反覆刊載移民與印地安人之間的駭人聽聞的戰事。但是，當大多數印地安人部落被驅趕到西部，被馴化或被摧殘之後，印地安人成了人們同情或感傷的物件，成了「進步」或命定說的不可



避免的受害者。西雅圖酋長的演說一再被重印，不是為了感傷地看待他為之辯護的人們，而是因為他動人地描述了紅種人與白種人之間的差異。下文再現了西雅圖酋長的演說。該文系亨利.阿.史密斯博士所作。他在 1854 年那個具有歷史意義的事件中，是西雅圖酋長的翻譯。

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.....說不清有多少世紀了，蒼天為我的人民灑下了多少動情的淚水，它在我們看來是水恆不變的，但卻可能要變了。今天晴空萬里，明天卻可能烏雲密佈。不過，我的話卻像那些星星，永世不變。如同日落日出，四季週而復始是不容置疑的一樣，西雅圖酋長說的一切，華盛頓的大首領同樣也無須置疑。白人頭領說，華盛頓的大頭領向我們表示友誼和善意。這是他的好意，因為我們知道，他根本無需我們以友誼作為回報。他們人多，多得就像那覆蓋著廣闊草原的青草。我的人民人少力薄，就像風暴肆虐後零星留在平原上的樹木。白人大首領，我姑且認為他是善良的首領，捎信給我們，說他希望購買我們的土地，不過願意允許我們擁有足夠我們安逸生活的土地。這看來的確是公正、甚至是慷慨的，因為紅種人不再擁有他必須尊重的權利了；這可能也是明智的，因為我們已不再需要遼闊的鄉土了。

我們的人民曾一度像大風攪亂的大海覆蓋著佈滿貝殼的海床一樣覆蓋著這片土地，但是，那時代早已同龐大的部落一道成為過去，而那些部落現在只不過是一樁令人憂傷的回憶。我不想細述或哀悼我們不合時宜的衰敗；我也不想斥責那些加速了我們衰敗過程的白臉兄弟，因為我們對此可能也有責任。

青年是容易感情衝動的。當我們的年輕人對某些真正的或臆想的冤屈而氣憤的時候，他們用黑顏料來改變他們的面容。這表明他們的心是黑的。他們常常是殘暴冷酷的，我們年邁的老頭子和老太婆無法約束他們。事情向來如此。當白人最初將我們的祖先往西趕時，情況就是這樣。不過，讓我們希望我們之間的敵意永遠別再復生。我們將喪失一切，而一無所獲。年輕人又琢磨著報仇了，即使犧牲他們自己的生命，也在所不辭。但是，那些在戰時留在家中的老年人，那些將失去兒子的母親比較明智些，他們不會答應的。

我們在華盛頓的慈父——因為我姑且承認他現在是我們的父親，也是你們的父親，既然喬治國王已經將他的邊界往北移了——我們偉大的慈父捎信給我們，

表示如果我們按照他說的話辦，他就保護我們。他英勇的戰士對我們來說，將成為嚴陣以待的銅牆鐵壁，而他那頂呱呱的戰艦將遍佈我們的港口，這樣，我們北方的宿敵——海達斯和茨姆先斯部落就不能嚇唬我們的婦女、兒童和老人了。那麼，實際上他將成為我們的父親，而我們將成為他的孩子嗎。這可能嗎。你們的上帝不是我們的上帝！你們的上帝疼愛你們的人民，但卻增恨我的人民。你們的上帝用他有力的胳膊疼愛地摟著白人，保護他，像父親領著幼兒一樣手把手地領著他——但是，他卻遺忘了他的紅種子女——如果他們真是他的子女的話，我們的上帝是偉大的神靈，但他似乎也遺忘了我們。你們的上帝使你們的人口日益增長，很快他們就將充斥整個大地。而我們的人口，卻像迅速退去而且水不再漲的潮水一樣，越來越少。白人的上帝不可能疼愛我們的人民，不然他就會保護他們的。他們就像無依無靠的嬰兒。這樣，我們怎麼能成為兄弟呢。你們的上帝怎麼會成為我們的上帝呢。你們的上帝怎麼會再現我們的繁盛，喚醒我們心中要求重新強大起來的夢想呢。如果說我們同有一位天國之父，那麼他一定是偏心的——因為他只看望他的白人子女。我們從未見過他。他賦予你們法律，可是對他的紅種子女卻沒有片言隻語，儘管他的這些子女曾人丁興旺，一度充斥這片廣衰的大陸，就像繁星充斥了太空一樣。不！我們是兩個不同的種族，起源不同，命運也不同。我們之間沒有什麼共同之處。

祖先的骨灰對我們來說是神聖的，他們安息之場所是聖地。你們遠離祖先的墓地漫遊，並且似乎毫無任何遺憾的感覺。你們的宗教是你們的上帝用他鐵一般的手指，書寫在石碑上，這樣你們就不會遺忘。紅種人永遠無法理解，也無法記住你們的宗教。我們的宗教是我們祖先的傳統——是偉大神靈在深夜莊嚴的時刻交給我們老人的夢想，是我們酋長心中的幻象。我們的宗教就寫在我們人民的心中。

你們的死者一旦邁進墳墓的門檻，便遠遊星際，不再鍾愛你們，不再鍾愛養育了他們的故土。他們很快便被遺忘，也永遠不再回返。我們的死者永遠不會忘卻那給予他們身心的美麗家園。他們依舊留戀那碧綠的山谷，潺潺的流水，巍巍的叢山，與世隔絕的溪穀，鑲著翠綠堤岸的湖泊和海灣。他們甚至柔情脈脈地思慕那些仍然活在世間的心中寂寞的人們，常常從歡樂的狩獵場抽身回來探望、指引、撫問和安慰他們。晝夜不能同在。紅種人一向在白種人來臨時遁去，

就像晨霧在晨曦前逃逸一樣。

不過，你們的建議看來還公平。我想，我的人民會接受，並且將退到你們為我們提供的保護區內。那時，我們將分別生活在和平之中，因為白人大首領的話似乎就是那冥冥無知的自然對我的人民說的一樣。

我們的餘生在何處度過沒有多大關係。反正所剩的時日也不多了。印地安人的夜看來是漆黑一片。地平線上連顆希望之星都沒有。淒風在遠處呻吟。冷酷無情的命運看來是跟定了紅種人的足跡。無論他走到哪裡，都會聽到兇殘的殺手逼近的腳步聲。他木然地準備迎接死亡，就像受傷的母鹿聽到獵人逼近的腳步聲時一樣。

再過幾個月，再過幾個冬天——昔日在偉大神靈庇佑下，馳騁在這片遼闊的土地上或安居在幸福家園的強大主人們，到頭來將連一個在墳頭哀悼的後人都不會留下——那是一度曾比你們更強大、更有希望的民族的墳家啊。不過，為什麼我要對我的人民過早夭折的命運哀悼呢。一個部落取代另一個部落，一個民族取代另一個民族，就像大海的波浪，一浪接一浪。這就是自然的法則，悔恨是無濟於事的。你們衰敗的時日也許還很遙遠，但是它終究會到來，因為即使白人與他的上帝一道漫步、交談，有如朋友，白人也逃脫不了相同的命運。我們最終可能成為兄弟。我們等著瞧。

我們將考慮你們的建議，一旦我們作出了決定，便會通知你們。不過，倘若我們接受了你們的建議，此時此地我要提出這個條件，我們將有權不受干擾地祭掃我們祖先、朋友和子女的墳墓。在我的人民看來，這兒的每一寸土地都是神聖的。每一個山坡，每一條山谷，每一塊平原和樹林都由於一些在那早已消逝的歲月裏的悲傷或愉快的事件，而變成了聖地。岩石貌似麻木、毫無生氣，但卻在那陽光普照的靜悄悄的海岸邊淌著汗水，顫慄著回想起那些與我的人民聯繫在一起的動人往事；那片就在你們腳底下的沙土回應他們腳步比起回應你們腳步來，要帶著更多的愛與情，因為它包含著我們祖先的鮮血，而我們赤裸的雙足能感覺到它滿懷同情的愛撫。我們逝去的勇士、慈祥的母親、歡快的少年，甚至還有孩童，他們曾在這兒生活，曾在這兒慶祝過短暫的時光，他們將熱愛這些幽暗僻靜的地方。當潮汐平息時，他們在這兒迎候返鄉人的身影。倘若最後一位紅種人也泯滅了，關於我的部落的回憶將成為白人之間的傳說。這些海

岸將充滿我部落中冥冥不可見的死者，當你們孩子的孩子以為他們是獨自呆在田野上、商店裏、店舖裏、公路上或者寂靜無徑的樹林裏時，他們卻並不孤單。在這地球上，沒有僻靜的地方。深夜，當你們的城市、鄉村的街道寂靜無聲的時候，你們以為這些街道已經被人捨棄了，而實際上，它們卻熙熙攘攘擠滿了那些還鄉的主人。他們曾經充斥了這些街道。他們仍然鍾情於這片美麗的土地。白人永遠不會孤單的。

願他公正善良地對待我的人民。死去的並不是無能為力的。死去的？我這麼說了嗎？世上沒有死亡，只有轉世。

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### Chief Seattle's Oration

Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon my people for centuries untold, and which to us appears changeless and eternal, may change. Today is fair. Tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never change. Whatever Seattle says the great chief at Washington can rely upon with as much certainty as he can upon the return of the sun or the seasons. The White Chief says that Big Chief at Washington sends us greetings of friendship and goodwill. This is kind of him for we know he has little need of our friendship in return. His people are many. They are like the grass that covers vast prairies. My people are few. They resemble the scattering trees of a storm-swept plain. The great, and I presume--good White Chief sends us word that he wishes to buy our lands but is willing to allow us enough to live comfortably. This indeed appears just, even generous, for the Red Man no longer has rights that he need respect, and the offer may be wise also, as we are no longer in need of an extensive country.

There was a time when our people covered the land as the waves of a wind-ruffled sea cover its shell paved floor, but that time long since passed away with the greatness of tribes that are now but a

mournful memory. I will not dwell on, nor mourn over, our untimely decay, nor reproach my paleface brothers with hastening it as we too may have been somewhat to blame.

Youth is impulsive. When our young men grow angry at some real or imaginary wrong, and disfigure their faces with black paint, it denotes that their hearts are black, and that they are often cruel and relentless, and our old men and old women are unable to restrain them. Thus it has ever been. Thus it was when the white men first began to push our forefathers further westward. But let us hope that the hostilities between us may never return. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Revenge by young men is considered gain, even at the cost of their own lives, but old men who stay at home in times of war, and mothers who have sons to lose, know better.

Our good father at Washington--for I presume he is now our father as well as yours, since King George has moved his boundaries further North--our great and good father, I say, sends us word that if we do as he desires he will protect us. His brave warriors will be to us a bristling wall of strength, and his wonderful ships of war will fill our harbors so that our ancient enemies far to the northward--the Hydats and Tsimpsians, will cease to frighten our women, children and old men. Then in reality will he be our father and we his children. But can that ever be. Your God is not our God! Your God loves your people and hates mine. He folds his strong protecting arms lovingly about the pale face and leads him by the hand as a father leads his infant son--but He has forsaken His red children--if they really are his. Our God, the Great Spirit, seems also to have forsaken us. Your God makes your people wax strong every day. Soon they will fill all the land. Our people are ebbing away like a

rapidly receding tide that will never return. The white man's God cannot love our people or He would protect them. They seem to be orphans who can look nowhere for help. How then can we be brothers. How can your God become our God and renew our prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness. If we have a common heavenly father He must be partial--for He came to His paleface children. We never saw him. He gave you laws but had no word for his red children whose teeming multitudes once filled this vast continent as stars fill the firmament. No; we are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us.

To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander far from the graves of your ancestors and seemingly without regret. Your religion was written upon tables of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend nor remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors--the dreams of our old men, given them in solemn hours of night by the Great Spirit; and the visions of our sachems, and is written in the hearts of our people.

Your dead cease to love you and the land of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander away beyond the stars. They are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender, fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the Happy Hunting Ground to visit, guide, console and comfort them.

Day and night cannot dwell together. The Red Man has ever fled the

approach of the White Man, as the morning mist flees before the morning sun.

However, your proposition seems fair and I think that my people will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them. Then we will dwell apart in peace, for the words of the Great White Chief seem to be the words of nature speaking to my people out of dense darkness.

It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many. The Indians' night promises to be dark. Not a single star of hope hovers above his horizon. Sad-voiced winds moan in the distance. Grim fate seems to be on the Red Man's Trail, and wherever he goes he will hear the approaching footsteps of his fell destroyer and prepare stolidly to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter.

A few more moons. A few more winters--and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people--once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people. Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend with friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.

We will ponder your proposition and when we decide we will let you know. But should we accept it, I here and now make this condition that we will not be denied the privilege without molestation of visiting at any time the tombs of our ancestors, friends and children.

Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks, which seem to be dumb and dead as they swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people, and the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than to yours, because it is rich with the blood of our ancestors and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch. Our departed braves, fond mothers, glad, happy-hearted maidens, and even the little children who lived here and rejoiced here for brief season, -will love these somber solitudes and at eventide they greet shadowy returning spirits. And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.

Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say. There is no death, only a change of worlds.

露西.斯通

(LUCY STONE)

一位失望的女人



## A Disappointed Woman

在教育、婚姻、宗教方面，在各個方面，失望是婦女的命運。

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露西.斯通(1818-1893)生於麻塞諸塞，在九個孩子中排行第八。當她家庭拒絕資助她上大學時，她到學校任教，攢足了錢後，進了美國第一所招收女學生的大學——奧伯林學院學習。斯通是位廢奴主義者和女權主義者，而且還是位著名的演說家。當她在 1855 年嫁給改革家亨利.布萊克威爾時，他們擬定了一個新式的婚姻契約，以抗議將妻子置於丈夫管轄之下的法律。為了象徵性地表示她獨立的身份，斯通保留了她當姑娘時的姓氏。這是這個領域中一個引人注目的舉措。露西.斯通同盟長期鼓勵婦女在婚後保留她們當姑娘時的姓氏。在 1869 年，露西.斯通與亨利.布萊克威爾幫助成立了「全美婦女選舉權協會」並創為了一家針對選舉權的主要雜誌——《婦女之刊》。下文摘自斯通於 1855 年 10 月在俄亥俄的辛辛那提舉行的全國婦女權利大會上的即席演講。

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上一位發言者暗示說這個運動是一些失望婦女的運動。從我記憶中最早的年代起，我就一直是個失望的女子。當我與我的兄弟一道追求尋覓知識的源泉時，人們責備我說：「那對你不合適；那不屬於女人。」那時，世界上只有一所大學錄取女學生，而那所大學在巴西。我本來會想辦法到那兒去的。不過，當我準備上路的時候，在年輕的俄亥俄州開辦了一所大學——美國第一所允許婦女和黑人享有與白種男人同樣機會的大學。當我要尋求一個能使英名永垂青史的職業時，我失望了——除了教師、裁縫和管家之外，所有職業的大門都對我緊鎖著。在教育、婚姻、宗教方面，在各個方面，失望是婦女的命運。我畢生的工作是加深每個婦女心中的這種失望感，直至她們不再向它低頭為止。我希望婦女不要成為會走路的擺設，不要向她們的父親和兄弟索討最時髦、最華麗的新帽子，而要向他們索要她們的權利。

婦女的權利問題是個實際的問題。佔主導地位的觀點認為，這只是個短時間的問題，它只不過是婦女要求有權在馬路上抽煙，有權常常光顧酒吧間。其他人以為它是個相對說來屬於知識界的問題；還有一些人則認為，它只是個事關地位、身份的問題。關於婦女的地位和身份，人們已經寫得、說得太多了。所有

這些說法歸根到底，都僅僅是建立在一些時代習俗和偏見之上。這一點可以從以下事實中得到證明——某個國家的婦女可以做的事情，另一個國家的婦女卻不許做。我國的婦女可以舉行禱告會等等，但是在信奉伊斯蘭教的國家裏，清真寺上卻寫著：「女人與狗以及其他動物不得入內。」溫德爾·菲利浦說：「一個人能夠從事的最好而且最偉大的事情，是找到他的地位和身份。」我相信天父，當他賦予我們某種辦事能力時，他不會鑄下什麼大錯。那麼，就讓婦女去尋找她們自己的地位和身份吧。不要在我們出生之前就吩咐我們說，我們的領域就是燒飯、補襪和釘鈕扣。.....

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### A Disappointed Woman

The last speaker alluded to this movement as being that of a few disappointed women. From the first years to which my memory stretches, I have been a disappointed woman. When, with my brothers, I reached forth after the sources of knowledge, I was reproved with "It isn't fit for you: it doesn't belong to women." Then there was but one college in the world where women were admitted, and that was in Brazil. I would have found my way there, but by the time I was prepared to go, one was opened in the young State of Ohio--the first in the United States where women and Negroes could enjoy opportunities with white men. I was disappointed when I came to seek a profession worthy an immortal being--every employment was closed to me, except those of the teacher, the seamstress, and the housekeeper. In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer. I wish that women, instead of being walking show-cases, instead of begging of their fathers and brothers the latest and gayest new bonnet, would ask of them their rights.

The question of Woman's Rights is a practical one. The notion has prevailed that it was only an ephemeral idea; that it was but women claiming the right to smoke cigars in the streets, and to frequent bar-rooms. Others have supposed it a question of comparative intellect; others still, of sphere. Too much has already been said and written about woman's sphere. Trace all the doctrines to their source and they will be found to have no basis except in the usages and prejudices of the age. This is seen in the fact that what is tolerated in woman in one country is not tolerated in another. In this country women may hold prayer-meetings, etc., but in Mohammedan countries it is written upon their mosques, "Women and dogs, and other impure animals, are not permitted to enter." Wendell Phillips says, "The best and greatest thing one is capable of doing, that is his sphere." I have confidence in the Father to believe that when He gives us the capacity to do anything He does not make a blunder. Leave women, then, to find their sphere. And do not tell us before we are born even, that our province is to cook dinners, darn stockings, and sew on buttons. . . .

艾米莉.狄金森

(EMILY DICKINSON)

成 功

**Success**

艾米莉.狄金森(1830—1886)現在被公認為是美國最優秀的詩人之一，可在她有生之年所發表的詩作卻寥寥無幾。她在麻塞諸塞州的阿默斯特過著與世隔絕的生活。她是在阿默斯特學校(當地一所私立中學)和霍利奧克山女子學院受的教育。她極少冒險離開阿默斯特，甚至沒有離開過家。她生在家裏，死在家裏，儘管艾米莉.狄金森缺少社會閱歷，但她卻有權豐富的內心世界，其詩歌的主題主要集中在像愛情，死亡和自然這樣的永恆主題上。自她去世後的一個

世紀裏，她的詩已贏得了所有年齡段的人的讚賞。當今美國，詩歌能被定期編入教科書的詩人為數不多，狄金森便是其中之一。這部分是由於她的詩短，但也由於她的詩不需要專家來解釋，她的詩能直接為讀者所理解。

從未成功的人認為，  
成功的滋味最甜美。  
要以強烈的需求，  
去領會花蜜的滋味。袞袞諸公顯貴們，  
執掌今日的大旗，  
沒有人能這樣，  
明瞭勝利的真諦。當他失敗後垂死，  
失聰的耳邊突然響起  
遙遠的凱歌旋律  
是如此痛苦而清晰。

Success  
Success is counted sweetest  
By those who ne'er succeed.  
To comprehend a nectar  
Requires sorest need.  
Not one of all the purple host  
Who took the flag to-day  
Can tell the definition  
So clear, of victory,  
As he, defeated, dying,  
On -whose forbidden ear  
The distant strains of triumph  
Break, agonized and clear.

戴維.沃爾克

(DAVID WALKER)

沃爾克的呼籲書

**Walker's Appeal**



### The Liberty Almanac (廢奴主義出版品) 的封面

我們(美國的有色種族)是有史以來生活在這個世上最卑微、最可憐、最淒慘的人們。

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這是一篇在美國歷史上最為聲名赫赫的文章之一，作者是戴維·沃爾克(1785—1830)。他的父親是個奴隸，母親是自由人。他生於北卡羅萊納州的威爾明頓市，後來在波士頓定居，並成長為廢奴運動的積極分子。他向《自由日報》投稿，該報是美國第一家黑人報紙。他同時還在濱水區經營一家舊服裝店。1829年，他寫了題為《分四篇刊出、附加一篇序言、對世界有色公民——尤其是對美利堅合眾國的有色公民——發出的沃爾克的呼籲書》的文章。

《呼籲書》譴責了奴隸制，並預言它將給美國帶來毀滅。沃爾克反對在利比裡亞建立黑人殖民地的計劃，譴責白人牧師漠不關心的態度。他通過與水手朋友的關係，將他的《呼籲書》傳到了南方，從而引起奴隸主們的盛怒。於是南方各州開始禁止廢奴主義文學的傳播，並簽以法律來禁止對奴隸的文化教育。沃爾克受到懸賞通緝，但他拒絕逃亡。據信他說過：「我的立場不會改變；總有人要為這個事業而犧牲的。」1830年6月。人們在他的店舖附近發現了他的屍體，據信是被毒死的。

在接下來的三十年裏，沃爾克的《呼籲書》由廢奴主義者一版再版。以下是這篇文章的節選。

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我在美國遊歷甚廣，在此過程中對現狀作了最為細緻的觀察。觀察的結果使我確信無疑：我們(美國的有色種族)是有史以來生活在這個世上最卑微、最可憐、

最淒慘的人們。我向上帝祈禱：讓人們永遠永遠不要再這樣生活下去了。人們告訴了我們關於古埃及的以色列人、古斯巴達的農奴和古羅馬的奴隸的情況，後者包括了幾乎天底下的各個民族。他們在那些遠古和野蠻的國度裏受到的磨難，與我們在這開明的基督教國家所受到的相比，的確是微乎其微了——換句話說，那些遠古的野蠻國家不過具有奴隸制的名稱和形式而已；而虔信基督的美國人，卻將不幸和無邊的苦難加以濃縮而保存了下來，灌注到我們的先輩、我們自己和我們的後代身上去.....

在對我的深臨苦海的同胞們發出呼籲之際，我心中十分明白，我將受到那些此生最大的願望就是使我們保持愚昧無知和淒涼悲慘的狀況的人們的圍攻，受到那些堅信上蒼本來就是將我們和我們的子女造就成爲他們和他們的子女當牛做馬的人們的圍攻。不僅如此，我要說，我不僅會被這樣貪得無厭的傢夥們舉街示眾，說我是一個無知、魯莽和愛鬧事的人，給大眾的生活帶來騷擾不安，也許還會被投入監獄或處以極刑，就因爲我將我們的苦難和暴君們的罪行公諸於眾。也有人勸我說，我的許多同胞，特別是那些愚昧地與奴隸主和惡霸們同穿一條褲子的人，那些靠比他們更愚昧的同胞們的血汗辛勞而混口飯吃的人——其中確實有不少人愚昧得只顧眼前利益——他們會一哄而起詛咒我的。是的，我們中的謹小慎微者有可能會機關算盡地斷言我的努力是徒勞的；他們會說我們的境況並不壞，沒有必要加以改善，因爲我們做不到。這裏，我要問一個問題——我們的境況不是不能再糟糕了嗎。——難道還會比這更糟更慘嗎。如果我們的境況發生了變化，雖然開頭有可能顯得更糟，難道不會朝好的方向發展嗎。這些變化會使我們更加淪落嗎。它們會給我們帶來什麼。壓迫者們不敢使我們境況更糟，因爲他們非常清楚，要是他們這樣做了，他們自己也就完了。

然而，我要頂著所有可能加在我頭上的罪名，爲我撰寫此文的動機向上天呼籲——上天知道我的目的是什麼，這就是盡我所能，在我的備受苦難、低微卑賤和執迷不醒的同胞們的心中喚起一種精神，在這塊自由共和國的土地上，對我們的苦難和不幸的原因，問個究竟！！！！……

幾年前，我從一份南卡羅萊納州的報紙上讀到一段文章，談到土耳其人的野蠻。文章寫道：「土耳其人是世界上最野蠻的民族——他們對待希臘人就像對待野獸一樣而不是作爲人來對待。」在同一張報紙上有一則廣告：「八個體格健壯的維吉尼亞和馬裡蘭的黑人小夥子和四個黑人少女定爲今日賣給出價最高者！」使我更加吃驚的是，我看到這張人道的報紙上登了三個男人的圖片，在他們的背上烙有梅花印記，並附有一則通告，高價懸賞拿他們逮捕歸案。我要說的是，聽這個國家的南部和西部人談什麼野蠻，的確很滑稽，聽來的確很使人感到可笑……

有色種族也是有知有覺的人，我的呼籲特別是對你們而發出的。我們較無知的同胞們不能理會它的價值。因此我號召你們將眼光投向你們同胞的不幸遭遇，盡你們之所能給他們以啓迪——行動起來，啓迪你們的同胞們！——讓我們的主看看你們能做些什麼把他們和你們自己從落魄中拯救出來。你們要做的事很多，儘管你們可能認爲自己能做的是微不足道的。你們應該向美國人和整個世界證明：我們是人，不是野獸，而我們卻一直被看作野獸，成百上千萬的我們也是被當作野獸對待的。記住，你們在同胞們，特別是在年輕人中所作的努力，要達到的是教育和宗教的廣泛傳播……

我在我的上帝面前聲明，美國的佈道者們怎麼看我們的我無法確知。他們有各種報紙和月刊源源不斷地供他們享用，但在這些報刊雜誌上你們很難發現有關

奴隸制的段落，而奴隸制比起其他各種邪惡加在一起對這個國家的損傷也要大上千倍萬倍。除非我們儘快採取措施，否則奴隸制最終將使這個國家的政府顛覆滅亡，因為他們的杯子已快到了滿溢的邊緣了。——也許他們會對此一笑了之，或漠然視之，但是我要告訴你們，美國人！除非你們改變你們的航向，否則你們和你們的國家就要完蛋了!!!!因為萬能的上帝將把這個地球撕扯得面目全非!!!難道那非凡的聖書所說的不會降臨到美國基督教徒身上嗎。聽聽看吧，美國人!!「他如果不是正義的，就讓他不正義吧；他如果是醜陋的，就讓他醜陋吧；他如果是正義的，就讓他正義吧；他如果是神聖的，就讓他神聖吧。」我希望美國人聽到這些，但是恐怕他們由於已經如此嚴重地傷害了我們，由於他們如此相信我們的造物主把我們造出來是永遠給他們作為遺產來繼承的，因此他們已變得鐵石心腸，這樣，他們肯定要面臨毀滅了。我這樣說也許是嚴厲得使美國人纖弱的耳朵不堪接受，然而，美國人啊，美國人!!我借上帝的名義告誡你們(不管你們是否能聽到，是否能忍受)，悔悟吧，改過吧，不然你們就完了!!難道你們認為你們可以向希臘人、愛爾蘭人等等派遣傳教士和樂施行善，由此而對世界上的其他人隱藏手上的血污，使我們的主看不到我們的流血嗎。難道他不會在屋頂上將你們犯下的罪行昭然於世嗎。甚至於就在波士頓，傲慢和偏見已達到了如此地步：就在為主而建造的教堂屋宇裏，你們為有色人種指定了小小的容身之處；他們必須坐在那裏，否則就被趕出上帝的屋宇。佈道者們對此裝聾作啞，更不用說為他們走進籬笆、走上大道尋找以色列之屋迷失的羔羊並把它們帶回它們的主耶穌身邊了。在暴君和魔鬼的淫威下，這個國家南部和西部的黑人生活在無比的不幸、愚昧、淒慘和貧困之中。美國的佈道者們看不見他們，但是都能夠派遣傳教士去皈依野蠻人。啊，美國人!美國人!!



我向上帝呼籲，向人類呼籲，看哪，你們已經危在旦夕了；除非你們悔過自新，不然很快就要滅亡了。

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### Walker' s Appeal

Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist, the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we (coloured people of these United States) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until time shall be no more. They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cypher--or, in other words, those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon our fathers, ourselves and our children, by Christian Americans. ...

I am fully aware, in making this appeal to my much afflicted and suffering brethren, that I shall not only be assailed by those whose greatest earthly desires are to keep us in abject ignorance and wretchedness, and who are of the firm conviction that Heaven has designed us and our children to be slaves and beasts of burden to them and their children. I say, I do not only expect to be held up to

the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the public peace, by such avaricious creatures, as well as a mover of insubordination--and perhaps put in prison or to death, for giving a superficial exposition of our miseries, and exposing tyrants. But I am persuaded, that many of my brethren, particularly those who are ignorantly in league with slave-holders or tyrants, who acquire their daily bread by the blood and sweat of their more ignorant brethren--and not a few of those too, who are too ignorant to see an inch beyond their noses, will rise up and call me cursed--Yea, the jealous ones among us will perhaps use more abject subtlety, by affirming that this work is not worth perusing, that we are well situated, and there is no use in trying to better our condition, for we cannot. I will ask one question here.--Can our condition be any worse.--Can it be more mean and abject. If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worse at first. Can they get us any lower. Where can they get us. They are afraid to treat us worse, for they know well, the day they do it they are gone. But against all accusations which may or can be preferred against me, I appeal to Heaven for my motive in writing--who knows what my object is, if possible, to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this Republican Land of Liberty!!!!. . .

I saw a paragraph, a few years since, in a South Carolina paper, which, speaking of the barbarity of the Turks, said: "The Turks are the most barbarous people in the world--they treat the Greeks more like brutes than human beings." And in the same paper was an advertisement, which said: "Eight well built Virginia and Maryland Negro fellows and four wenches will positively be sold this day, to

the highest bidder!" And what astonished me still more was, to see in this same humane paper!! the cuts of three men, with clubs and budgets on their backs, and an advertisement offering a considerable sum of money for their apprehension and delivery. I declare, it is really amusing to hear the Southerners and Westerners of this country talk about barbarity, that it is positively enough to make a man smile. . . .

Men of colour, who are also of sense, for you particularly is my Appeal designed. Our more ignorant brethren are not able to penetrate its value. I call upon you therefore to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren, and to do your utmost to enlighten them--go to work and enlighten your brethren!--Let the Lord see you doing what you can to rescue them and yourselves from degradation. There is a great work for you to do, as trifling as some of you may think of it. You have to prove to the Americans and the world, that we are Men, and not brutes, as we have been represented, and by millions treated. Remember, to let the aim of your labours among your brethren, and particularly the youths, be the dissemination of education and religion. . . .

What the American preachers can think of us, I aver this day before my God, I have never been able to define. They have newspapers and monthly periodicals, which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which, you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to this country than all the other evils put together; and which will be the final overthrow of its government, unless something is very speedily done; for their cup is nearly full. --Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this; but I tell you Americans! that unless you speedily alter your course, you and your Country are gone!!!! For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!! Will not that very remarkable passage of Scripture be fulfilled on Christian Americans. Hear it

Americans!! "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still:--and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still." I hope that the Americans may hear, but I am afraid that they have done us so much injury, and are so firm in the belief that our Creator made us to be an inheritance to them forever, that their hearts will be hardened, so that their destruction may be sure. This language, perhaps, is too harsh for the American's delicate ears. But O Americans! Americans!! I warn you in the name of the Lord (whether you will hear, or forbear,) to repent and reform, or you are ruined!!! Do you think that our blood is hiding from the Lord, because you can hide it from the rest of the world, by sending out missionaries, and by your charitable deeds to the Greeks, Irish, etc.. Will he not publish your secret crimes on the house top. Even here in Boston, pride and prejudice have got to such a pitch, that in the very houses erected to the Lord, they have built little places for the reception of coloured people, where they must sit during meeting, or keep away from the house of God, and the preachers say nothing about it--much less go into the hedges and highways seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and try to bring them in to their Lord and Master. There are not a more wretched, ignorant, miserable and abject set of beings in all the world than the blacks in the southern and western sections of this country, under tyrants and devils. The preachers of America can not see them, but they can send out missionaries to convert the heathens, notwithstanding. . . . O Americans! Americans!! I call God--I call angels--I call men, to witness, that your destruction is at hand, and will be speedily consummated unless you repent.

威廉.勞埃德.加裏森

(WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON)

《解放者》報發刊詞

**Prospectus for The Liberator**

我不願溫文爾雅地思考、發言和寫文章.....我是誠切認真的——我不會閃爍其

辭——我不會客套——我將寸土不讓——我將使人們聽到我的呼聲。

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威廉·勞埃德·加裏森(1805－1879)生於馬薩諸塞州，當過新聞記者、職業改革家，不僅為廢奴主義運動，也為了爭取婦女的權利、和平主義運動以及戒酒運動四處奔走呼號。1829年，他與一個公誼會教友編輯了巴爾的摩的廢奴運動報紙《普遍解放精神》報。1830年，他寫了一篇社論譴責一位紐伯裏波特商人販賣黑奴的行徑而判誹謗罪入獄。一年以後，他遷居波士頓，創辦了《解放者》報來推進廢奴主義事業。加裏森抨擊奴隸制的罪惡，呼籲立即解放黑奴。1832年，他建立了新英格蘭反對奴隸制協會；一年後又創立美國反對奴隸制協會。加裏森是個傑出的雄辯家，總是一語中的地譴責社會的罪惡。他的同時代人認為他是個極端主義分子和激進派人物，而他們自己卻情願在奴隸制下長遠地生活下去。加裏森不願這樣。他靠自己熾烈的雄辯引起公眾道德意識上的憤慨，使越來越多的美國人意識到奴隸制既非理所當然，又不是正義的、值得維護的。

這篇《發刊詞》刊登在1831年《解放者》報第一期上。

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……近來，爲了激勵民眾的覺悟意識，我四處奔走，對於奴隸問題發表了一系列的講演。所到之處都給予我新的例證：與南方各州相比較，自由州的公眾情緒將掀起一場更爲巨大的變革波瀾——在新英格蘭尤爲如此。我發現在這些地方，與奴隸主們自己的情緒相比，持輕蔑態度的更加強烈，持反對態度的更加積極，持貶斥態度的更加無情，持有偏見的更加固執，而漠不關心的也更加冷淡。當然，個別情況會有例外。這種現狀使我苦惱，卻不使我氣餒。我已下定決心。不顧一切風險，面向舉目在望的邦克山，腳踏這片自由的誕生地，在我們民族的心目中，讓解放的戰旗高高飄揚。這面戰旗業已展開，願她長久飛舞，在時光的流逝中完好無損，在仇敵鋌而走險的射擊中槍彈不入——是的，直至每一根鎖鏈都被砸開，每一個奴隸都獲得解放！讓南方的壓迫者們發抖吧！讓

他們的幕後策劃者們發抖吧！讓他們北方的辯護者們發抖吧！讓所有殘酷迫害黑人的仇敵們發抖吧！

我認為發表我的《發刊詞》本是沒有必要的，因為它已經家喻戶曉。它所包含的原則將在這份報紙中切實遵循。但我要說明我不是爲了任何黨派的觀點而說話。在捍衛人權這項偉大事業中，我希望得到各教派和各黨派的支援。

我贊同《美國獨立宣言》中主張的「不證自明」的真理，即「一切人生來就是平等的；他們的創造者賦予他們某種不可剝奪的權利——其中包括生存權、自由權以及追求幸福的權利」。因此我要爲我們的奴隸立即得到解放而努力奮鬥。

1829年7月4日，我在公園街教堂作了講演。當時我欠考慮地說我同意那種流行的但又是有害的關於逐漸廢除奴隸制的觀點。現在，我要利用這個機會徹底地、明確地收回我的話，並且在此當眾祈求我的上帝的原諒，我的國家的原諒，我的受窮受難的奴隸同胞們的原諒，原諒我說了這樣充滿怯弱、不公正和荒謬的情緒的話。我在1829年9月巴爾的摩《普遍解放精神》報上同樣寫過要收回我的話。這樣，我的良心總算得到了安寧。

我知道許多人反對我的言辭激烈，但難道我沒有理由這樣做嗎。真理是嚴厲的，因此我要嚴厲；正義是毫不妥協的，因此我也毫不妥協。對於這個問題，我不願溫文爾雅地思考、發言和寫文章。不！不！你們可以對一個家中起火的人溫吞吞地報警，叫他慢慢地把妻子從死神的手中奪回來；讓做母親的慢慢地將落入火海的嬰兒救出來——但是，你們不要勸我在當前的這個事業中採取溫文爾雅的態度。我是誠肯認真的——我不會閃爍其辭——我不會客套——我將寸土不讓——**我將使人們聽到我的呼聲**。人們的冷漠已足能使每座雕像從底座上跳下來而加快死者復活的進程了。

有人說，我採取粗俗漫罵的言辭和驟然激烈的手段，在這場解放事業中不過是裝腔作勢而已。這項指控不能成立。在這個問題上，我的影響力——雖則並不起眼——此時此刻卻已經達到了相當程度。在未來的日子裏，我的影響將會發展，它將是有益而不是有害的；是一聲祝福而不是一道詛咒。我們的子孫後代將會證明我是對的。我誠心感謝上帝，他使我無視「使人落入陷阱的恐懼」，使我能傳播他的簡樸而又強大的真理……

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#### Prospectus for The Liberator

. . . During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states--and particularly in New-England--than at the south. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among the slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth place of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe--yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let southern oppressors tremble--let their secret abettors tremble--let their northern apologists tremble--let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated

will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights--among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity. I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher: tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; --but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest--I will not equivocate--I will not excuse--I will not retreat a single inch--AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten



the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation, by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence,--humble as it is,--is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years--not perniciously, but beneficially--not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare." and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power....

約翰.格林裏夫.惠蒂埃

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)

### 時代的詩篇

#### Stanzas for the Times

在美國南北戰爭前的年代，惠蒂埃是作為廢奴運動的傑出詩人而聲名遐邇。他對奴隸制的猛烈抨擊觸怒了一些人的神經，因此詩集出版商更願意發表他的鄉村詩歌，如《赤腳男孩》和《大雪封門》，以及他的愛國詩《巴爾巴拉.弗裏徹》。惠蒂埃的第一首詩於 1826 年在《紐伯裏波特自由報》上發表，該報是由激烈的廢奴主義者威廉.勞埃德.加裏森主編的。加裏森到惠蒂埃家走訪，發現了這個沒受過多少教育、屬於公誼會教派的鄉村小子，又瞭解到他父親反對他寫詩。加裏森收養了他並做他的保護人，還介紹他參加廢奴運動。惠蒂埃參加了廢奴報刊的編輯工作，並在公眾集會上演講。他的演講有時使聽眾震怒。惠蒂埃是共和黨的創始人之一，但南北戰爭後，他對激進的共和黨人產生了反感，便從政治生活中引退出來，專心寫詩。

《時代的詩篇》寫於 1835 年。當時在波士頓的法諾伊禮堂開了一場親奴隸制集會，發言者提出通過限制言論自由來約束廢奴主義者們。這首詩即針對此集會而作的。

就是我們的先輩

Stanzas for the Times  
Is this the land our fathers loved,  
The freedom which they toiled to win. Is this the soil

熱愛的故土嗎。

這就是他們的辛  
勞換來的自由  
嗎？

這就是他們曾經  
奔走過的土地  
嗎。

這就是他們長眠  
安息的墓園嗎。

我們

就是穿著先烈曾  
經身披的蓑衣，

他們的後代子孫  
嗎。難道我們理

應蜷伏在他們的  
墓穴上，

心驚肉跳、噤若  
寒蟬。

難道我們理應成  
為套上繩索烙上

印記的牛馬，

皮鞭落處，顫抖

whereon they moved. Are these the graves they slumber  
in. Are we the sons by whom are borne The mantles which  
the dead have worn. And shall ' /e crouch above these  
graves, With craven soul and fettered lip. Yoke in with  
marked and branded slaves, And tremble at the driver's  
whip. Bend to the earth our pliant knees, And speak but  
as our masters please.

Shall outraged Nature cease to feel. Shall Mercy's tears no  
longer flow. Shall ruffian threats of cord and steel,  
The dungeon's gloom, the assassin's blow, Turn back the  
spirit roused to save The Truth, our Country, and the  
slave.

Of human skulls that shrine was made, Round which the  
priests of Mexico Before their loathsome idol prayed; Is  
Freedom's altar fashioned so. And must we yield to  
Freedom's God, As offering meet, the negro's blood.

Shall tongue be mute, when deeds are wrought Which will  
might shame extremest hell. Shall freemen lock the  
indignant thought.

Shall Pity's bosom cease to swell. Shall Honor  
bleed.--shall Truth succumb. Shall pen, and press, and  
soul be dumb.

No; by each spot of haunted ground, Where Freedom  
weeps her children's fall; By Plymouth's rock, and  
Bunker's mound; By Griswold's stained and shattered  
wall; By Warren's ghost, by Langdon's shade; By all the  
memories of our dead!

By their enlarging souls, which burst The bands and  
fetters round them set; By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed

瑟瑟。

難道我們理應屈

膝跪在這片土地

上，

主人令下，唯聲

諾諾。受辱的大

自然該冰霜冷若

嗎。

同情的淚水該停

止奔湧嗎。

惡徒的威脅——

繩索、鐵鏈、地

牢的寒光、殺手

的子彈，

該使奮起的精神

退縮，

置真理、國家、

奴隸而不顧嗎。

頭骨構成的祭壇

令人反胃心寒，

偶像周圍墨西哥

教士禱告聲聲。

**Within our inmost bosoms, yet, By all above, around,  
below, Be ours the indignant answer,--No!**

**No; guided by our country's laws, For truth, and right,  
and suffering man, Be ours to strive in Freedom's cause,  
As Christians may, as freemen can! Still pouring on  
unwilling ears That truth oppression only fears.**

**What! shall we guard our neighbor still, While woman  
shrieks beneath his rod, And while he tramples down at  
will The image of a common God. Shall watch and ward  
be round him set, Of Northern nerve and bayonet.**

**And shall we know and share with him The danger and  
the growing shame. And see our Freedom's light grow  
dim, Which should have filled the world with flame. And,  
writhing, feel, where'er -we turn, A world's reproach  
around us burn.**

**Is't not enough that this is borne. And asks our haughty  
neighbor more. Must fetters which his slaves have worn  
Clank round the Yankee farmer's door. Must he be told,  
beside his plough, What he must speak, and when, and  
how.**

**Must he be told his freedom stands On Slavery's dark  
foundations strong; On breaking hearts and fettered  
hands, On robbery, and crime, and wrong. That all his  
fathers taught is vain,-- That Freedom's emblem is the  
chain.**

**Its life, its soul, from slavery drawn! False, foul, profane!  
Go, teach as well Of holy Truth from Falsehood born! Of  
Heaven refreshed by airs from Hell! Of Virtue in the arms  
of Vice! Of Demons planting Paradise!**

自由的聖壇也是  
如此建成？

黑人的鮮血怎能  
上供自由之神！

令魔鬼魂離魄散  
的罪孽業已犯  
下，

還要人們裝聾作  
啞嗎.

自由的人們，  
還要將填膺的義  
憤深藏不露嗎.

富於同情的胸  
膛，

還要停止翻騰起  
伏嗎.

榮譽要流血嗎.

真理要屈服嗎.

筆桿，報刊，靈  
魂，

難道要封凍麻木

嗎.不——

**Rail on, then, brethren of the South, Ye shall not hear the truth the less; No seal is on the Yankee's mouth, No fetter on the Yankee's press! From our Green Mountains to the sea, One voice shall thunder. We are free!**

從每所魂靈出

沒、

自由爲她的不幸

子孫痛哭的墓

地；

從普利茅斯的岩

石和邦克山的土

丘；

從格裏斯沃爾德

染血的牆垣；

從沃倫的陰魂；

從蘭登的幽影，

從我們先烈的所

有記憶中，。

得到了回答。從

他們粉碎一切鐐

拷枷鎖的不朽英

靈中，

從我們內心深處

孕育的自由朝聖

精神中

從上到下，從周

圍的一切一切

我們得到義憤滿

襟的 回 答——

不！

不。

在國家法律的引

導下，

爲一真理，爲了

正義，爲了苦難

的人們

我們要奮鬥於自

由大業。

基督徒能做到，

自由人會做到！

要用反對派懼怕

的真理，

灌充於掩耳不聞

的人們。

什麼.

難道還要袒護我

們的南鄰，

而任憑婦女慘叫

於他們的亂棍.  
任憑我們共同的  
上帝偶像痛遭踐  
踏？  
難道北方人的勇  
氣和刺刀，  
還要在他們周圍  
構成鐵壁銅牆.  
難道要我們明知  
故犯，  
與他們分享和危  
險俱增的恥辱.  
眼看自由的火光  
餘灰黯淡，  
而不是使她在全  
世界燎燃？  
難道要我們不論  
身居何處，  
都受到世人譴責  
而歷盡磨難？  
我們不是已受夠  
了這一切.

還要讓趾高氣揚  
的南鄰變本加  
厲.

難道他們奴隸的  
枷鎖，

非要在北方農人  
門前作響叮噠.

在我們農人的耕  
犁旁，

難道非要告訴他  
們，

該講什麼、何時  
講、怎樣講.

難道竟要對他們  
講——

說自由構置於奴  
隸制黑色基石  
上.

說自由之牢固基  
礎是：

傷心、鏹拷、掠  
奪、罪惡、冤屈.



說先輩的遺訓是

空話一片，

而自由的標誌是

一條鎖鏈。

自由的生命和靈

魂競來自奴役——

這是謊言！這是

下流！這是褻瀆！

去吧！告訴他們

——  
高尙的真理孕育

於謬誤！

地獄陰風給天堂

帶來清新！

美德由邪惡所撫

養！

天國樂園由魔鬼

耕耘！

南方同胞，

繼續你們的所爲

吧，

真理不會因此沈  
默。  
鎖不上北方的報  
刊，  
封不住北方的口  
舌。  
從我們的格林山  
到大海，  
一個聲音響徹天  
穹——  
我們是自由的！

西奧多.S.萊特  
(THEODORE S. WRIGHT)

對有色人種的偏見

### **Prejudice Against the Colored Man**

只有受鞭打的人才懂得皮鞭的滋味.....只有戴鐐銬的人才知道鐐銬的傷痛。

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西奧多.S. 萊特(1797 — 1847)是一名傑出的教士和廢奴主義者。他出生於新澤西州，在普林斯頓神學院受教育而成為第一個從美國神學院畢業的黑人。他曾擔任過紐約市黑人長老會教堂牧師的職務，是美國反對奴隸制協會的創始人之一。他為戒酒運動、教育、黑人選舉權和土地改革四處奔忙。

1837 年 9 月 20 日，他在紐約烏提卡美國反對奴隸制協會的集會上作了以下的講演。會議通過了這樣的決議：「決議：我國所特有的偏見在信仰、集會和教育等諸方面將有色人種擺在了受歧視的卑微地位上。它還剝奪了他們在旅館、客輪、舞臺以及公共集會場所他們有權與其他公民一樣所應享受的熱情有

禮的待遇。這種偏見就是奴隸制的幽魂所在；它是惡貫滿盈的，必須予以譴責和消除。」萊特的講演是就這個決議而作的。

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主席先生，我是以滿懷激動的心情站起來向大會發言的。即使沒有人要求我這樣做我也會當仁不讓的。我承認我本人對此決議甚感興趣。然而，只有受鞭打的人才懂得皮鞭的滋味，只有戴鐐銬的人才知道鐐銬的傷痛。要不是本著這樣的事實，我是不會發言的。

事情很嚴重，先生。當下存在著對有色自由人的偏見就像大氣一樣無處不有。誠然，在美國，在我們這個州，是有像我這樣黑皮膚的人，他們沒有受過鞭打，沒有妻離子散的遭遇，也沒有人從他們手上奪走《聖經》。誠然，我們可以到國外走走，可以享受國內的舒適便利以及家庭之樂，可以獨處私室，可以上教堂禮拜，可以允許勸告我們的子女和鄰人好自爲之。但是，先生，我們依然是奴隸——鐐銬的傷痛無所不在地折磨著我們。由於現存如此偏見，大會的決議譴責奴隸制的幽魂，譴責現行的法律。奴隸制思想不以上帝之規對待芸芸眾生，無視人的道德和文化修養。在這種情形下，敗壞了的公眾感情就助長了奴隸制幽魂的猖獗和現行法律的肆無忌憚。這種幽魂使希望之花枯萎，並常常使黑人父母面對自己的子女而歎息，覺得他們還是不出生爲好。一個黑人母親懷抱自己的幼兒時，內心往往充滿了悲傷。她想到的是，由於人們的偏見，自己的子女無望在這塊土地上成爲有用之人。先生，這種偏見是邪惡的。

要是國家和教會明白這一點的話，我就不會對這種置有色人種的名譽於死地的偏見的影響發表任何言論了。這種影響奪走了我們的一切，伴隨著我們從小到大，使我們失去了獲利、成才、享有榮譽等所有機會，使我們失去爭取成爲對世界和對我們自己的有用之材所有奮發上進的動機。

首先，它幾乎完全剝奪了我們通過掌握技藝本領來獲得各種利益的機會。一個黑人難有機會學一門本事，即使能做到這一點，在我們州的任何地方都難以找到僱主而發揮專長。多數大城市都有技工協會，它們設立規章將黑人排除出本行業。在許多情況下，即使我們的年輕人掌握了技術，也不得不因為在這個行業領域裏發展無望而低就其他的行業。

要是在我們這個地方黑人父母有受教育的權利，該多令人鼓舞！要是在我們這個地方黑人父母能讓子女入學掌握本領，該多令人鼓舞！然而，現在學校大門對他們是緊閉的。我就不用提及自己和其他黑人所遇到的諸多不便了，儘管上帝也是按自己的形象塑造了我們。我也不用說明我們在旅行時碰到多少麻煩，別人是怎麼對我們輕蔑地皺起眉頭的。無論我們如何低三下四，也擺脫不了無處不在的窘迫難堪。

但是，先生，這種偏見是變本加厲的。它將人們摒棄於天堂之外。先生，當奴隸制將有色人種從大家庭中剔除出來剝奪他們的宗教權利時，他們就成了異教徒。人們要問，你們的基督教精神究竟是什麼？你們是怎麼對待你們的同胞兄弟的？你們口裏談論著未開化的人們並飄洋過海把《聖經》分發四處，同時卻把同胞拒之門外，這是什麼邏輯？碰到這種事情使我們痛心疾首……

感謝上帝，有一個振奮人心的道義在此情況下鼓舞著歷經踐踏的有色貧苦人——「這就是：每個人的價值得到如實的社會評價；事實上當他們仰望天堂時，心裏明白上帝將他們一併視為蒼生之員而不論他們的種族和背景；處於羞辱與難堪，身受譏諷與蔑視之時，他們提起精神，滿懷希望：他們不久將獲得解放，像飛出樊籠的鳥兒，展開雙翅，投入耶穌的懷抱歡欣雀躍；他們將憐憫地俯隴那些蔑視奴隸，認為自己是上帝造就的人們，俯瞰那些蔑視自己、將自己等同

於奴隸的人們。讚美上帝！因為他制定了《福音書》的道義。要是沒有這一切，要是新生活的曙光遙遙無期，我將不願繼續存活於世。——爲了廢奴運動，讚美上帝！爲了反奴隸制之戰，爲了花崗岩石就要從它的基座高高滾下，讚美上帝！然而，只要有色人種被看成是劣等民族，人們就會繼續置他們的哭泣、呻吟和慘叫而不顧。

先生，身處這個協會我歡欣鼓舞。加入這個協會的那一天是我有生以來最感自豪的一天，我知道，如果今天要我去死，我會死得其所，死得泰然的，因爲我明白會有人爲了我的子女的事業奔走呼籲的。

我要通過你，先生，要求與會代表們抓緊這個議題。奴隸們想對我們說：你們對奴隸的愛到哪兒去了。你們對踩在你們腳下的黑人的愛到哪裡去了。你們叫我們解放我們的奴隸，而你們自己卻在感情上奴役著他們，這樣，你們以你們的偏見看待他們，比我們用我們的方式對待他們，所造成的傷害要嚴重得多了。抓緊這個議題，我們就可以讓他們住口，他們在提醒我們根據每個人自身的價值，尊重人的存在，把黑人當人看，以表示我們對淪爲奴隸的人們的熱愛。

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### Prejudice Against the Colored Man

Mr. President, with much feeling do I rise to address the society on this resolution, and I should hardly have been induced to have done it had I not been requested. I confess I am personally interested in this resolution. But were it not for the fact that none can feel the lash but those who have it upon them, that none know where the chain galls but those who wear it, I would not address you.

This is a serious business, sir. The prejudice which exists against the colored man, the free man is like the atmosphere, everywhere

felt by him. It is true that in these United States and in this State, there are men, like myself, colored with the skin like my own, who are not subjected to the lash, who are not liable to have their wives and their infants torn from them: from whose hand the Bible is not taken. It is true that we may walk abroad; we may enjoy our domestic comforts, our families; retire to the closet; visit the sanctuary, and may be permitted to urge on our children and our neighbors in well doing. But sir, still we are slaves--everywhere we feel the chain galling us. It is by that prejudice which the resolution condemns, the spirit of slavery, the law which has been enacted here, by a corrupt public sentiment, through the influence of slavery which treats moral agents different from the rule of God, which treats them irrespective of their morals or intellectual cultivation. This spirit is withering all our hopes, and oftentimes causes the colored parent as he looks upon his child, to wish he had never been born. Often is the heart of the colored mother, as she presses her child to her bosom, filled with sorrow to think that, by reason of this prejudice, it is cut off from all hopes of usefulness in this land. Sir, this prejudice is wicked.

If the nation and church understood this matter, I would not speak a word about that killing influence that destroys the colored man's reputation. This influence cuts us off from everything; it follows us up from childhood to manhood; it excludes us from all stations of profit, usefulness and honor; takes away from us all motive for pressing forward in enterprises, useful and important to the world and to ourselves.

In the first place, it cuts us off from the advantages of the mechanic arts almost entirely. A colored man can hardly learn a trade, and if he does it is difficult for him to find any one who will

employ him to work at that trade, in any part of the State. In most of our large cities there are associations of mechanics who legislate out of their society colored men. And in many cases where our young men have learned trades, they have had to come to low employments for want of encouragement in those trades.

It must be a matter of rejoicing to know that in this vicinity colored fathers and mothers have the privileges of education. It must be a matter of rejoicing that in this vicinity colored parents can have their children trained up in schools.--At present, we find the colleges barred against them.

I will say nothing about the inconvenience which I have experienced myself, and which every man of color experiences, though made in the image of God. I will say nothing about the inconvenience of traveling; how we are frowned upon and despised. No matter how we may demean ourselves, we find embarrassments everywhere.

But sir, this prejudice goes farther. It debars men from heaven. While sir, slavery cuts off the colored portion of the community from religious privileges men are made infidels. What, they demand, is your Christianity. How do you regard your brethren. How do you treat them at the Lord's table. Where is your consistency in talking about the heathen, traversing the ocean to circulate the Bible everywhere, while you frown upon them at the door. These things meet us and weigh down our spirits. . . .

Thanks be to God, there is a buoyant principle which elevates the poor down-trodden colored man above all this: --It is that there is society which regards man according to his worth; it is the fact, that when he looks up to Heaven he knows that God treats him like a

moral agent, irrespective of caste or the circumstances in which he may be placed. Amid the embarrassments which he has to meet, and the scorn and contempt that is heaped upon him, he is cheered by the hope that he will be disenthralled, and soon, like a bird set forth from its cage, wing his flight to Jesus, where he can be happy, and look down with pity on the man who despises the poor slave for being what God made him, and who despises him because he is identified with the poor slave. Blessed be God for the principles of the Gospel. Were it not for these, and for the fact that a better day is dawning, I would not wish to live.--Blessed be God for the anti-slavery movement. Blessed be God that there is a war waging with slavery, that the granite rock is about to be rolled from its base. But as long as the colored man is to be looked upon as an inferior caste, so long will they disregard his cries, his groans, his shrieks.

I rejoice, sir, in this Society; and I deem the day when I joined this Society as one of the proudest days of my life. And I know I can die better, in more peace to-day, to know there are men who will plead the cause of my children.

Let me, through you, sir, request this delegation to take hold of this subject. This will silence the slaveholder, when he says where is your love for the slave. Where is your love for the colored man who is crushed at your feet. Talking to us about emancipating our slaves when you are enslaving them by your feelings, and doing more violence to them by your prejudice, than we are to our slaves by our treatment. They call on us to evince our love for the slave, by treating man as man, the colored man as a man, according to his worth.

安吉莉娜.格裏姆凱



(ANGELINA GRIMKE)

## 對奴隸製作證

### Bearing Witness Against Slavery

作為南方人，我感到今晚我有責任站出來對奴隸製作證。這是我親眼所見！這是我親眼所見！

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安吉莉娜·格裏姆凱(1805－1879)和她的姐姐薩拉是南卡羅來納州查裏斯頓的一個富裕、擁有奴隸制的貴族法官的女兒。青年時代起她們就憎恨奴隸制。後來她們搬到了費城，成了公誼會教友，積極參加廢奴運動。1836年，安吉莉娜·格裏姆凱寫了一篇《致南方基督教婦女的呼籲書》。動員南方姐妹參加廢除奴隸制的戰鬥。她的小冊子在南卡羅來納州被焚燒；兩姐妹也被警告說不許她們回到故鄉，否則就逮捕她們。

1838年5月16日，安吉莉娜·格裏姆凱在費城的全國反對奴隸制大會上作了如下發言。僅在兩天以前，她剛與著名的廢奴主義者西奧多·韋爾德結了婚。大會召開前，有人在城裏到處張貼告示，揚言說廢奴運動反對者要搗毀舉行會議的賓夕法尼亞禮堂。在大會召開的三天裏，禮堂外擠滿了喧囂的人群，有許多是從南方趕來的人和當地醫學院南方籍的學生。格裏姆凱發言時，外面的人群連聲起哄，用石塊投擲禮堂的窗戶。第三天會議結束時，眾人衝進禮堂，將它付之一炬。

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你們要問：「北方和奴隸制有什麼相干。」那麼請你們聽吧！聽吧！外面的吵鬧聲告訴我們，奴隸制的幽魂就在眼前，由於我們的集會而怒氣衝天；而自由卻肯定是犯不著這樣唾沫橫飛、怒髮衝冠的，因為她的朋友與日俱增，接二連三的集會將她的美德發揚光大，將她和平安寧的疆土延至遠方。反對我們的勢力表明，奴隸制深深毒害了公民們的心靈。於是你們又要問：「北方應該做些什麼。」我的回答是，首先，把奴隸制的幽魂從你們的心中驅逐出去；然後，幫助南方

人，改變他們。在座的各位，不論我們自己的境遇如何，不論我們的手段多麼有限，也不論我們的影響多麼微不足道，都應當著手行動起來。這個國家的大人物們是不會行動的，教會也決不會行動的。他們希望討好世人，希望迎合各個黨派，希望隨遇而安，所以就對奴隸制以及其他所有不受歡迎的問題緘默不語。

作為南方人，我感到今晚我有責任站出來對奴隸製作證。這是我親眼所見！這是我親眼所見！我知道它是如何無可形容地令人毛骨悚然！我是在它的羽翼下長大的。多年來我目睹了它是如何使人道德淪喪、如何毀滅著人間快樂的。我從未見過一個快樂的奴隸。誠然，我見過奴隸戴著鐐銬起舞，但他們並不快樂。快樂和作樂是有很大區別的。一個人剝奪了做人的權利就無法享受快樂。但是，奴隸們卻有可能作樂，有時也作樂。在無望中他們說：「讓我們吃吧，喝吧，因為明天我們就要死了。」[這時，有人往窗戶扔石頭——外面人聲鼎沸，會場裏一片混亂。]

人們吵吵鬧鬧又怎樣。所有的窗子都砸碎了又怎樣。把這座禮堂夷爲了平地又怎樣。難道這就證明瞭我們錯了。難道這就證明瞭奴隸制是一個良好健康的制度。要是人們這時朝我們衝進來，攪亂我們的集會，對我們拳腳相待，這與奴隸們所經受的痛苦相比又算得了什麼。不，不。如果我們在危難中退縮。如果我們在奴隸需要我們自我犧牲時不願付出犧牲，那麼我們就忘記了他們是「和我們命運相連」的。[喧鬧聲。]我感謝上帝：生命儘管會對真理動怒，卻還繼續感到了真理的存在；良知還未全然泯滅以至不被無所不在的上帝的真理所感動。[外面又一次傳來了呼喊叫罵聲，會場亂成一片。]

人心是如此地精明巧妙！它盡一切可能地頑抗爲把自己從錯誤拯救出來的任何

努力！我覺得所有這一切騷擾恰恰證明瞭我們所做的努力是我們最好的選擇。要不是這樣，我們維護奴隸制的朋友們就不會在乎我們的言行了。南方人知道我們的所作所爲，應使我們欣慰的是我們的努力觸動了他們。在故鄉我曾多次爲奴隸制度掩面哭泣。但沒有聽說有誰與我的感覺共鳴；我也不會知道有誰爲了被壓迫者的解放作過努力。在荒野中沒有聽到過號召人們悔過自新並爲此做出實際行動的呼喚。我自感痛心不已。啊，要是我有曾聽說有人作出了這樣的努力，該會使我多麼歡欣鼓舞！只是不知我當時爲什麼會有這樣的感覺。然而，在誘惑的包圍中我得以自持，我的同情心日漸溫暖，對奴隸制的憎恨愈加很深蒂固，直至我最後終於流離故土，因爲我再也不忍心聽到奴隸們的哀號聲了。我逃到了賓州的土地上，心想在這裏我定能找到對奴隸的同情心，但我落空了。這裏的人們和藹可親、熱情好客，可是他們的心中沒有奴隸的容身之處。我只好將哀怨埋藏心底。我記得自己來自卡羅來納州一個法律認可不平等的地方，南方輕風陣陣、向我吹來了刺耳的抽泣聲、哀鳴聲、慘叫聲、呻吟聲，還夾雜著祈禱聲、狠狠的咒罵聲。我心頭一沈，想到自己是在這一切令人厭惡的事物生長起來並接受教育的。懷著精神的苦痛，我呼喊道：「人們充耳不聞，既無心又無意爲奴隸們祈禱，那末我面向他們陌生的眼光對他們揭露奴隸制的殘酷和毒害又有什麼意義呢。但是，現在我的感覺又多麼不一樣啊！希望，不，自由必勝的信念和對人類美好的意願使我振作起來。我要像號角一樣高聲吶喊，告訴我們的人民該做些什麼以影響南方人的思想，最終推翻奴隸制。[呼喊聲，窗戶上石雨如注。]

我們常聽到有人問這樣的問題：「我們該做些什麼。」現在時機已到。在座的各位男人、女人們，可以動手了。我們要表明在狂暴的人群面前我們無所懼怕，

在辱罵和恐嚇聲中我們要為瀕臨死亡的人們搖旗吶喊。我敦促每個人去買有關這個問題的書籍，閱讀它們，還要把它們借給你們鄰人。不要再把你們的錢花在助長驕傲和貪慾的東西上了，將我們的錢用來散播「在人民袒露之心上熾烈燃燒的真理的煤炭」，將我們的錢用來傳達我們的呼籲，喚醒基督徒們同情的良知。

有些人說我們的「書刊和傳單說出的不是真理」。那麼請問，為什麼他們不來反駁我們的所言。他們做不到。更有甚者，南方人懇求，不，他們詛咒我們，叫我們住嘴。這樣一來，還有什麼更能證明我們的書刊傳單說出的確為真理呢。費城的婦女！請允許我以一個南方婦女的身份，心懷對故土的深切留戀，懇請你們著手行動起來。我特別要敦促你們展開請願。男人們可以通過投票來解決這樣那樣的問題，但你們還沒有這種權利。只有通過請願。你們才能把意見傳達到立法機關。因此，請願就特別是你們的責任了。你們會說：「這沒什麼用！但南方人已經因為請願書之多而面色蒼白。他們查閱了有關國會程序的報告，發現請願書中有許許多多來自北方婦女請願奴隸制問題的。那些在奴隸們頭上揮舞棍棒的男人在各立法班子中掌握定奪大權；他們否認我們有請願的權利，告誡我們女性不要這麼不合體統。然而，我們的上帝賦予了我們這些權利。讓我們使用這些權利吧；讓我們牢記，雖然請願書往往被置之不理、束之高閣，但那些不公正的法官們由於請願書纏身還是不免受到影響。因此，讓我們行動起來吧。南方人對我們的舉措密切注視，如臨大敵，這也說明了請願是卓見成效的。所以，沒有理由懷疑，沒有理由絕望！

在英國，婦女在廢除其殖民地奴隸制方面起了引人注目的重要作用。她們現在也並非無所事事。無數的請願書最近呈交予女王，要求廢除殘酷的徒工制度，

其殘酷並不亞於它所替代的奴隸制。呈交的請願書有一張竟長達二又四分之一英里。你們認為這些事是徒勞的嗎。讓以往的歷史來回答吧。當美國婦女們將這樣一份請願書交給國會時，我們的立法者們會像他們的英國同僚一樣，起身而立，說道：「這塊土地上所有的婦女，不論年長年少，都來敲我們的門了，我們該立法了。」讓我們英國姐妹們的熱忱、愛心、信念和努力激勵我們加快步伐吧。這樣，當奴隸們還在受苦，在他們要求解放時，我們才會心境安寧，因為我們「做到了力所能及的一切。」

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### **Bearing Witness Against Slavery**

Do you ask, "What has the North to do with slavery." Hear it, hear it! Those voices without tell us that the spirit of slavery is here, and has been roused to wrath by our Conventions; for surely liberty would not foam and tear herself with rage, because her friends are multiplied daily, and meetings are held in quick succession to set forth her virtues and extend her peaceful kingdom. This opposition show's that slavery has done its deadliest work in the hearts of our citizens. Do you ask, then, "What has the North to do." I answer, cast out first the spirit of slavery from your own hearts, and then lend your aid to convert the South. Each one present has a work to do, be his or her situation what it may, however limited their means or insignificant their supposed influence. The great men of this country will not do this work; the Church will never do it. A desire to please the world, to keep the favor of all parties and of all conditions, makes them dumb on this and every other unpopular subject.

As a Southerner, I feel that it is my duty to stand up here

to-night and bear testimony against slavery. I have seen it! I have seen it! I know it has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing. I witnessed for many years its demoralizing influences and its destructiveness to human happiness. I have never seen a happy slave. I have seen him dance in his chains, it is true, but he was not happy. There is a wide difference between happiness and mirth. Man can not enjoy happiness while his manhood is destroyed. Slaves, however, may be. and sometimes are mirthful. When hope is extinguished, they say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." [Here stones were thrown at the windows--a great noise without and commotion within.]

What is a mob. what would the breaking of every window be. What would the levelling of this hall be. Any evidence that we are wrong, or that slavery is a good and wholesome institution. What if the mob should now burst in upon us, break up our meeting, and commit violence upon our persons, would that be anything compared with what the slaves endure. No, no; and we do not remember them, "as bound with them," if we shrink in the time of peril, or feel unwilling to sacrifice ourselves, if need be, for their sake. [Great noise.] I thank the Lord that there is yet life enough left to feel the truth, even though it rages at it; that conscience is not so completely seared as to be unmoved by the truth of the living God. [Another outbreak of the mob and confusion in the house.]

How wonderfully constituted is the human mind! How it resists, as long as it can, all efforts to reclaim it from error! I feel that all this disturbance is but an evidence that our efforts are the best that could have been adopted, or else the friends of slavery would not care for what we say and do. The South know what we do. I am

thankful that they are reached by our efforts. Many times have I wept in the land of my birth over the system of slavery. I knew of none who sympathized in my feelings; I was unaware that any efforts were made to deliver the oppressed; no voice in the wilderness was heard calling on the people to repent and do works meet for repentance, and my heart sickened within me. Oh, how should I have rejoiced to know that such efforts as these were being made. I only wonder that I had such feelings. But in the midst of temptation I was preserved, and my sympathy grew warmer, and my hatred of slavery more inveterate, until at last I have exiled myself from my native land, because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave.

I fled to the land of Penn; for here, thought I, sympathy for the slave will surely be found. But I found it not. The people were kind and hospitable, but the slave had no place in their thoughts. I therefore shut up my grief in my own heart. I remembered that I was a Carolinian, from a State which framed this iniquity by law. Every Southern breeze wafted to me the discordant tones of weeping and wailing, shrieks and groans, mingled with prayers and blasphemous curses. My heart sank within me at the abominations in the midst of which I had been born and educated. What will it avail, cried I, in bitterness of spirit, to expose to the gaze of strangers the horrors and pollutions of slavery, when there is no ear to hear nor heart to feel and pray for the slave. But how different do I feel now! Animated with hope, nay, with an assurance of the triumph of liberty and good-will to man, I will lift up my voice like a trumpet, and show this people what they can do to influence the Southern mind and overthrow slavery. [Shouting, and stones against the windows.]

We often hear the question asked, "What shall we do." Here is an opportunity. Every man and every woman present may do something, by showing that we fear not a mob, and in the midst of revilings and threatenings, pleading the cause of those who are ready to perish. Let me urge every one to buy the books written on this subject; read them, and lend them to your neighbors. Give your money no longer for things which pander to pride and lust, but aid in scattering "the living coals of truth upon the naked heart of the nation"; in circulating appeals to the sympathies of Christians in behalf of the outraged slave.

But it is said by some, our "books and papers do not speak the truth"; why, then, do they not contradict what we say. They can not. Moreover, the South has entreated, nay, commanded us, to be silent; and what greater evidence of the truth of our publications could be desired.

Women of Philadelphia! allow me as a Southern woman, with much attachment to the land of my birth, to entreat you to come up to this work. Especially, let me urge you to petition. Men may settle this and other questions at the ballot-box, but you have no such right. It is only through petitions that you can reach the Legislature. It is, therefore, peculiarly your duty to petition. Do you say, "It does no good!" The South already turns pale at the number sent. They have read the reports of the proceedings of Congress, and there have seen that among other petitions were very many from the women of the North on the subject of slavery. Men who hold the rod over slaves rule in the councils of the nation; and they deny our right to petition and remonstrate against abuses of our sex and our kind. We have these rights, however, from our God. Only let us exercise them, and, though often turned away unanswered, let us



remember the influence of importunity upon the unjust judge, and act accordingly. The fact that the South looks jealously upon our measures shows that they are effectual. There is, therefore, no cause for doubting or despair.

It was remarked in England that women did much to abolish slavery in her colonies. Nor are they now idle. Numerous petitions from them have recently been presented to the Queen to abolish apprenticeship, with its cruelties, nearly equal to those of the system whose place it supplies. One petition, two miles and a quarter long, has been presented. And do you think these labors will be in vain. Let the history of the past answer. When the women of these States send up to Congress such a petition our legislators will arise, as did those of England, and say: "When all the maids and matrons of the land are knocking at our doors we must legislate." Let the zeal and love, the faith and works of our English sisters quicken ours; that while the slaves continue to suffer, and when they shout for deliverance, we may feel the satisfaction of "having done what we could."

亨利.海蘭德.加尼特

(HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET)

對美利堅合眾國黑奴們的演說

**An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America**



Harriet Tubman (最左邊)與其救出 300 名奴隸中的部分黑奴  
你們的信條是抵抗！抵抗！抵抗！

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亨利·海蘭德·加尼特(1815－1882)出生在馬里蘭州一個奴隸種植園裏。他九歲時，與父親一起在公誼會教友的幫助下逃往紐約市。他在紐約烏提卡附近的奧奈達神學院為將來的牧師生涯接受教育。加尼特是美國最知名的廢奴主義者之一，常到英格蘭和蘇格蘭發表演說。

1843 年在紐約的布法羅召開了全國黑人大會。會上他作了他最著名的演講《造反呼籲》。他號召非洲血統的美國人，無論是奴隸還是自由人，將抵抗作為和奴隸制鬥爭的座右銘，必要的話應舉行武裝暴動。演說使當時保守的黑人領袖大為震驚，大會以一票之差沒有將加尼特的呼籲通過作為正式決議。但是黑人的鬥志由此高揚起來。四年之後，另一次全國大會在紐約的特洛伊召開，通過了加尼特類似的號召。

1865 年，加尼特成了第一位在眾議院講道的黑人牧師。他去世前在利比裡亞傳教。

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你們在北部、東部和西部的同胞們常常舉行全國大會表達對彼此的同情之心，為你們的不幸處境哭泣流淚。在這些大會上，我們向所有自由的階級發出了呼籲，但還從未對你們說過一句慰問和建議之詞。我們迄今只停留在按兵不動地

對你們的苦難表示哀痛，誠心希望神聖的自由早該回到你們身邊但是，我們的希望落空了。時光已經流逝，成千上萬的人們在血流沖刷著的永恆的海灘上降生。你們所經歷的壓迫我們願同身受；只要你們還是奴隸，我們就談不上自由。因此，正因為我們彼此命運相連，我們就向你們寫下這番話。

你們之中許多人和我們命運相連，不僅是由於我們之間有人性的共同紐帶，而且還因為我們之間存有父母、妻子、丈夫、姐妹和朋友的更具親情的關係。因此，我們滿腔摯愛地向你們說話。

奴隸制在你們和我們之間挖下了一條深溝，它使你們受不到你們的朋友們樂意給予的同情和撫慰，更使你們遭受到在魔鬼橫行的地獄裏都罕見的磨難和迫害。但是，仁慈、萬能的天父還是留給了我們一線希望之光，在陰雲密佈的空中閃耀著孤星似的微亮。人類正在變得愈來愈聰慧、善良——壓迫者的勢力正在消弱，你們也一天天耳目靈通，力量日益壯大。兄弟姐妹們，你們有許許多多的哀怨；在這篇短短的發言裏，我們不能期望向這個世界列數這個國家裏出現的所有罪惡，而這也實在沒有必要，因為這是你們每天都感受到的；這個世界全體文明的人們也驚愕不已地目睹了這些罪惡。

二百二十七年前，我們飽受傷害的民族首次被帶到美洲的海灘上來。他們並非是心懷喜悅地來這個新世界裏建立家園的。他們也並非是心甘情願地來這裏接受這片豐饒的土地給予他們天倫享樂之祝福的。他們與那些自稱基督徒的人第一次打交道，就感受到了腐敗、齷齪透頂的人心種種。他們也因此確認，在貪慾的驅使下，那怕在文明人的眼裏，任何殘忍、任何邪惡、任何劫掠都是不足為過的。他們也不是乘著自由的雙翼來到一片自由的樂土上來的。相反，他們懷著一顆顆破碎的心遠離親愛的故土來到這裏，辛勤勞作，毫無報償。淪落在

悲慘的深淵。即便是死亡都不能解脫他們身上的枷鎖，因為枷鎖一代又一代地相傳下去。成百上千萬的人們從混沌降生於世，再回到魂靈的世界，一輩子受美國奴隸制度的詛咒和摧殘。

奴隸制的繁衍者和他們的接班人們很快就發現了這個制度愈發膨脹的邪惡，也私下許諾說要將其摧毀。現在擁有奴隸的民族自己原來是為了自由才「漂洋來此」的，他們嚴重的自相矛盾如此顯而易見，不容全然忽視。自由之聲吶喊道：「解放你們的奴隸」；人們熱淚盈眶地哀告釋放來自非洲的子孫們；智慧女神莊重地提出她的懇求；流血的囚徒們喊冤叫屈，面向對著十字架痛哭流涕的基督教義；耶和華向這個惡毒的制度緊皺雙眉；上蒼電閃雷鳴，復仇的火焰呼之即出，欲劈死維護奴隸制罪惡的卑鄙之徒。然而，所有這一切都徒然無功。奴隸制還是展開了它漆黑的死亡翅膀，在這塊土地上遮天蓋日。教會在袖手旁觀——教士發出虛假的預言，而人們又情願如此。奴隸制的王權業已建立，它統治在握，得意非常。

法律和輿論(在這個國家它比法律還強大)禁止近三百萬你們的公民同胞讀《生命之書》。你們的智慧盡其可能地被摧殘。他們企圖招滅你們心存的一絲火花。壓迫者們自己在此企圖中也身陷囹圄。他們變得軟弱無能、荒淫無恥、貪得無厭——他們詛咒了你們，他們也詛咒了自己，他們還詛咒了他們踐踏在腳下的大地。

**奴隸制！**這三個字包藏了多少災難！哪一顆心不會在這令人毛骨悚然的三個字前抽搐痙攣。人人珍藏熱愛自由之心，除非上帝的形象已在人的靈魂中抹去。一個在剛果的野地裏慢跑、未開化的非洲人，對自由權利的熱愛絲毫不亞於一個目光炯炯的政治經濟學家；每個人同其他任何人一樣都有充分享受自由的權

利。自由的種子孕育在每個人的心田裏。誰將他的同胞貶置於對奴隸制心滿意足的境地，誰就對上帝和人類犯下了滔天罪行。

弟兄們時機已到，你們該為自己行動起來了。老話說得對：「世代奴隸要想自由，就該打出自己的拳頭。」你們能夠為自己的事業搖旗吶喊，能夠比其他任何人更能為自己贏得解放……想想非洲這個古老的名字所蘊含著的不朽的光輝吧，——也別忘了自己是土生土長的美國公民。既然如此，你們理應享受賦予最自由的人們的所有權利。想想看你們含辛茹苦卻一無所得；用自己的鮮血養肥的這塊土地上你們揮灑了多少的淚水！然後，找到趾高氣揚的奴隸主們，直截了當地說你們決心已定：要自由。喚醒他們的正義感，對他們說他們沒有權利壓迫你們，正如你們沒有權利奴役他們一樣。要求他們卸掉強加在你們身上的重負。賦予你們的勞動以報償。答應他們說如果你們的勞動得到了應有的報償，你們是會重新在土地上辛勤耕耘的。告訴他們，《解放法案》在英屬西印度群島公佈後，給當地帶來了更多的快樂和繁榮。明確無誤地對他們說奴隸制罪惡滔天，將受到末日審判，受到憤怒的上帝給予的應得報應。告訴他們你們要求的是自由，其他任何東西都不足使你們滿意。就這樣做吧，再也不要為那些鞭笞辱罵你們、讓你們一無所有的惡霸賣命了。要是他們為此想置你們於死地，那麼，應承當後果的不是你們，而是他們。如果你們想繼續生為奴隸、讓你們的後代繼續遭受你們的苦難，那你們最好一死了事——現在就死吧。

同胞們！默默的受難者們！請注意，你們最寶貴的權利正慘遭作踐；你們的兒女們正受到殺戮；你們的妻子、母親和姐妹正淪為娼妓。以上帝的名義，為了珍貴的生命，讓我們再也不要爭論選擇自由還是死亡孰好孰壞了。

1822 年，南卡羅來納州的登馬克·維希為解放他的同胞訂立了一個計劃。在整

個人類歷史上還從未有人為推翻奴隸制的統治而制訂出比這更詳盡、更宏偉的計劃了。然而，他自己的同胞背信棄義告發了他。維希死為自由的烈士。許多勇敢的英雄們倒下了，但歷史信守她的職責，將他們的英名攜刻在摩西、漢普登、退爾、布魯斯、華萊士、圖森一路維杜爾、拉菲特、華盛頓等人的同一座紀念碑上。

納撒尼爾.特納是登馬克.維希的追隨者。邪惡和不公把他逼得走投無路。專制暴政將他的名字釘在恥辱柱上，而人民卻世代景仰他，將他視為高尚、無畏的人。接下來是不朽的約瑟夫.辛克，阿密斯達的勇士。他在非洲土生土長。在上帝的護佑下，他在公海解救了整整一艘船的同胞弟兄。此時，在非洲陽光鋪灑的山峰上，在故鄉的棕桐樹下，高歌歡唱自由，聆聽雄獅的吼叫，感到自己與森林之王一樣自由自在。

還有麥迪遜.華盛頓，那顆自由的明星，在真正英雄主義的星座上佔有一席之地。他與一百零四名其他黑奴一起關在裏士滿的「克裏奧」號雙桅帆船上，運往奴隸大市場新奧爾良州。他們十九個人拚死為自由而搏鬥，結果死了一人，而全體其他人都得到了解放。帆船最後駛往新普羅維登斯的拿騷。

高尚的人們！些為自由而獻身者，真誠而敬畏上帝的子孫後代會永世銘記著他們的。那些活著的人們，他們的名字環繞著榮譽的祥光。

弟兄們，站起來，站起來吧！為你們的生命和自由戰鬥吧！時機已來臨，讓這塊土地上的每一個奴隸都起身戰鬥，奴隸制滅亡之日不會久遠了。你們已受盡了壓迫，你們已受盡了殘暴，寧可死為自由人，不可生為奴隸。記住，你們有四百萬人！

你們的信條是抵抗！抵抗！**抵抗**！受壓迫者沒有不經抵抗而獲得自由的。採取

什麼方式來抵抗，則要根據你們所處的具體情況而定，也要見機行事。弟兄們，再見吧！望你們堅信無所不在的上帝，望你們爲人類的和平而努力。記住，你們有四百萬人！

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### **An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America**

Your brethren of the North, East, and West have been accustomed to meet together in National Conventions, to sympathize with each other, and to weep over your unhappy condition. In these meetings we have addressed all classes of the free, but we have never, until this time, sent a word of consolation and advice to you. We have been contented in sitting still and mourning over your sorrows, earnestly hoping that before this day your sacred liberties would have been restored. But, we have hoped in vain. Years have rolled on, and tens of thousands have been borne on streams of blood and tears to the shores of eternity. While you have been oppressed, we have also been partakers with you; nor can we be free while you are enslaved. We, therefore, write to you as being bound with you.

Many of you are bound to us, not only by the ties of a common humanity, but we are connected by the more tender relations of parents, wives, husbands, and sisters, and friends. As such we most affectionately address you.

Slavery has fixed a deep gulf between you and us, and while it shuts out from you the relief and consolation which your friends would willingly render, it afflicts and persecutes you with a fierceness which we might not expect to see in fiends of hell. But still the Almighty Father of mercies has left to us a glimmering ray of hope, which shines out like a lone star in a cloudy sky. Mankind are becoming wiser, and better--the oppressor's power is fading, and you, every day, are becoming better informed, and more numerous. Your grievances, brethren, are many. We shall

not attempt, in this short address, to present to the world all the dark catalogue of the nation's sins, which have been committed upon an innocent people. Nor is it indeed necessary, for you feel them from day to day, and all the civilized world looks upon them with amazement.

Two hundred and twenty-seven years ago the first of our injured race were brought to the shores of America. They came not with glad spirits to select their homes in the New World. They came not with their own consent, to find an unmolested enjoyment of the blessings of this fruitful soil. The first dealings they had with men calling themselves Christians exhibited to them the worst features of corrupt and sordid hearts: and convinced them that no cruelty is too great, no villainy and no robbery too abhorrent for even enlightened men to perform, when influenced by avarice and lust. Neither did they come flying upon the wings of Liberty to a land of freedom. But they came with broken hearts, from their beloved native land, and were doomed to unrequited toil and deep degradation. Nor did the evil of their bondage end at their emancipation by death. Succeeding generations inherited their chains, and millions have come from eternity into time, and have returned again to the world of spirits, cursed and ruined by American slavery.

The propagators of the system, or their immediate successors, very soon discovered its growing evil, and its tremendous wickedness, and secret promises were made to destroy it. The gross inconsistency of a people holding slaves, who had themselves "ferried o'er the wave" for freedom's sake, was too apparent to be entirely overlooked. The voice of Freedom cried, "Emancipate your slaves." Humanity supplicated with tears for the deliverance of the children of Africa. Wisdom urged her solemn plea. The bleeding captive plead his innocence, and pointed to Christianity who stood weeping at the cross. Jehovah frowned upon the nefarious institution, and thunderbolts, red with vengeance, struggled to leap forth to blast the guilty wretches who maintained it. But all was vain. Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by--the



priests prophesied falsely, and the people loved to have it so. Its throne is established, and now it reigns triumphant.

Nearly three millions of your fellow-citizens are prohibited by law and public opinion (which in this country is stronger than law) from reading the Book of Life. Your intellect has been destroyed as much as possible, and every ray of light they have attempted to shut out from your minds. The oppressors themselves have become involved in the ruin. They have become weak, sensual, and rapacious--they have cursed you--they have cursed themselves--they have cursed the earth which they have trod. . . .

SIAVERY! How much misery is comprehended in that single word. What mind is there that does not shrink from its direful effects. Unless the image of God be obliterated from the soul, all men cherish the love of liberty. The nice discerning political economist does not regard the sacred right more than the untutored African who roams in the wilds of Congo. Nor has the one more right to the full enjoyment of his freedom than the other. In every man's mind the good seeds of liberty are planted, and he who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God and man. . . .

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, "if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." You can plead your own cause, and do the work of emancipation better than any others. . . . Think of the undying glory that hangs around the ancient name of Africa--and forget not that you are native-born American citizens, and as such you are justly entitled to all the rights that are granted to the freest. Think how many tears you have poured out upon the soil which you have cultivated with unrequited toil and enriched with your blood; and then go to your lordly enslavers and tell them plainly, that you are determined to be free. Appeal to their sense of justice, and tell them that they have no more right to oppress you than you have to

enslave them. Entreat them to remove the grievous burdens which they have imposed upon you, and to remunerate you for your labor. Promise them renewed diligence in the cultivation of the soil, if they will render to you an equivalent for your services. Point them to the increase of happiness and prosperity in the British West Indies since the Act of Emancipation. Tell them in language which they cannot misunderstand of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and of a future judgment, and of the righteous retributions of an indignant God. Inform them that all you desire is FREEDOM, and that nothing else will suffice. Do this, and forever after cease to toil for the heartless tyrants, who give you no other reward but stripes and abuse. If they then commence work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had far better all die--die immediately, than live slaves, and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity....

Fellowmen! patient sufferers! behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of the merciful God, and by all that life is worth. let it no longer be a debatable question, whether it is better to choose liberty or death.

In 1822, Denmark Veazie, of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellowmen. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed. He was betrayed by the treachery of his own people, and died a martyr to freedom. Many a brave hero fell, but history, faithful to her high trust, will transcribe his name on the same monument with Moses, Hampden, Tell, Bruce, and Wallace. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Lafayette, and Washington. ...

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Veazie. He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque, the hero of the Amistad. He was a native African, and by the help of God he emancipated a whole ship-load of his fellowmen on the high seas. And he now sings of liberty on the sunny hills of Africa and beneath his native palm-trees, where he hears the lion roar and feels himself as free as the king of the forest.

Next arose Madison Washington, that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig Creole, of Richmond, bound to New Orleans, that great slave mart, with a hundred and four others. Nineteen struck for liberty or death. But one life was taken, and the whole were emancipated, and the vessel was carried into Nassau, New Providence.

Noble men! Those who have fallen in freedom's conflict, their memories will be cherished by the true-hearted and the God-fearing in all future generations; those who are living, their names are surrounded by a halo of glory.

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been--you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. Rather die freemen than live to be slaves. Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS! . . .

Let your motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency. Brethren, adieu! Trust in the living God. Labor for the peace of the human race, and remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

詹姆斯.拉塞爾.洛威爾

(JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL)

危機當前

## The Present Crisis

詹姆斯·拉塞爾·洛威爾(1819—1891)生於馬薩諸塞州的坎布裏奇，家庭是新英格蘭的名門望族。在哈佛大學畢業取得法學學位後，他致力於詩歌和散文的創作而成為一名文學巨擘。1855年，他繼亨利·華滋華斯·朗費羅之後成為哈佛大學的文學教授，同時兼任《大西洋月刊》和《北美評論》兩家著名雜誌的主編。他先後在西班牙和英國出任美國公使。

洛威爾的詩《危機當前》作於1844年。它為全國有色人促進會的領導者們提供了靈感。瑪麗·懷特·歐文頓是該協會的創始人之一。她回顧1910年組織者們圍桌而坐為他們的雜誌命名的情形。她靈機一動想起了洛威爾的詩。於是大家都贊成雜誌取名為《危機》。歐文頓寫道：「如果我們的黑人和白人會員、東南西北的分會、各大學的協會和兒童集體都應遵循一個綱領的話，那麼它就應當是洛威爾傑出的詩句。在今天看來，這些詩句與它們在七十年前發表時一樣，同樣是適用的。」然後她引用了詩的第五節和第十一節。

每當自由的業績功告完成，  
一脈預示未來迴腸蕩氣的歡躍  
就發自大地那飽受痛楚的寬闊胸膛，  
由東方延伸至西方。  
每當一個世紀的雄風偉力，  
在時光的刺槐樹幹上綻開出絢爛花朵  
時，  
奴隸們不論蜷居何處，  
就感到他們的心靈，  
攀上了人性高山峻嶺的巔峰。每當新時  
代就要降生之際，

## The Present Crisis

When a deed is done for Freedom,  
through  
the broad earth's aching breast  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic,  
trembling on  
from east to west,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers,  
feels the  
soul within him climb  
To the awful verge of manhood, as  
the energy  
sublime  
Of a century bursts full-blossomed

陣痛便扭曲著大地。

每一處農牆，每一面宮壁，

都爲之一顫，

感受了分娩之苦淒。

各民族口呆目瞪，面面相覷，

祝願真理之男嬰，

要從未來之軀降生於世。邪惡力量同樣

帶著恐怖陰森，

飄蕩於各大陸，撒播災難不幸。

奴隸們不論蜷居何處，

都同感於上帝。

渾灑的熱淚，

被大地的土壤吸收殆盡，

直至一具未曾入土的屍身，

四處匍伏潛行，

填入高貴的新土。人類心靈相連，

在大地脈脈搏動的身軀中，

本能地感受正義和邪惡的瞬息電閃。

人類巨大的身軀，

被海洋四處分離。

無論有意還是無心，

都感受了歡樂和恥辱的噴流——

on the

thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace

shoots the

instantaneous throe,

When the travail of the Ages wrings

earth's

systems to and fro;

At the birth of each new Era. with a

recognizing start,

Nation wildly looks at nation,

standing with

mute lips apart,

And glad Truth's yet mightier

man-child leaps

beneath the Future's heart.

So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with

a terror and

a chill.

Under continent to continent, the

sense of

coming ill,

And the slave, where'er he cowers,

feels his

sympathies with God

In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward,

to be

drunk up by the sod,

一個民族的所得所失，  
都與其他民族均享平分。每一個人，每一  
一個民族，  
時代要你們作出抉擇：  
在真理和謬誤的搏擊中，  
歸於善還是歸於惡。  
一項偉大事業，上帝之新生的彌賽亞，  
讓我們選擇  
盛開的鮮花還是枯朽的枝條，  
左手的山羊還是右手的綿羊。  
這將永遠是黑暗和光明之間的選擇。啊，  
我的人民，  
死神破履飛舞，  
要在我們的大地揚起囂囂塵土。  
你們決心已定，在哪一邊立足。  
邪惡縱然飛黃橫行，  
但只有真理強大無邊。  
雖然她正流離失所，  
但我看到俊麗、偉岸的天使大軍，  
護衛著她免受邪惡的圍攻。回顧往日的  
航標燈火，  
如同水中的峰巔，

Till a corpse crawls round unburied,  
delving in  
the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and  
an instinct

bears along,

Round the earth's electric circle, the  
swift flash

of right or wrong;

Whether conscious or unconscious,  
yet

Humanity's vast frame

Through its ocean-sundered fibres  
feels the

gush of joy or shame;--

In the gain or loss of one race all the  
rest have

equal claim.

Once to every' man and nation  
comes the

moment to decide,

In the strife of Truth with  
Falsehood, for the

good or evil side;

Some great cause, God's new  
Messiah, offering

each the bloom or blight

Parts the goats upon the left hand,

在遺忘的海面星星點點。  
宮廷裏，市場中，  
沒人聽到危機四伏的呼喊。  
呼喊聲中，  
上帝手中揚起無情的簸箕，  
世上的渣滓被剔除，  
在審判之時，  
才讓我們看到留下的纍纍精華。  
偉大的復仇者顯得漫不經心，  
歷史篇章所記錄的，  
只是舊制度和《聖經》，  
在黑暗中你死我生的搏鬥。  
真理始終佔據絞架，  
邪惡卻登上了寶座王位——  
但絞架使未來震撼。  
在未知的暗影后邊，  
上帝高然屹立，目光眈眈，  
俯瞰他創造的一切。  
此刻今時，  
我們隱約看見，  
何物渺小，何事偉大。  
信念姍姍，

and the  
sheep upon the right  
And the choice goes by forever  
'twixt that  
darkness and that light.  
  
Hast thou chosen, O my people, on  
whose  
party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals  
shakes the  
dust against our land.  
Though the cause of Evil prosper,  
yet 't is  
Truth alone is strong,  
And, albeit she wander outcast now,  
I see  
around her throng  
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to  
enshield her  
from all wrong.  
  
Backward look across the ages and  
the beacon-  
moments see,  
That, like peaks of some sunk  
continent, jut  
through Oblivion's sea;  
Not an ear in court or market for the  
low

命運的鐵舵在軟弱的臂膀下緩緩挪動。

但靈魂是神奇隱奧的，

市聲嘈嘈，

從德爾斐的神洞裏，

還是傳來不祥的肅肅低語：

「誰奴役他們的子孫後代，

誰就是和罪孽握手歡語。」

奴隸制是一幫土生的庫克羅普斯，

巨人中的極恥敗類。

身為野蠻黑暗之子，

它們使大地血流成河。

在親手開解的荒漠上，

它們飢腸轆轆，

被我們真理之光刺瞎了眼睛。

它們尚在未淪落的地區，

搜尋著自己的獵物。

難道我們還要把它們的血腥手指

引向無助的兒童玩耍之所在。

站在真理一邊，

同分她寥寥的麵包，

高尚榮光。

而真理的歷程，

foreboding cry

Of those Crises, God's stern

winnowers, from

whose feet earth's chaff must fly;

Never shows the choice momentous

till the

judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger;

history's

pages but record

One death-grapple in the darkness

'twixt old

systems and the Word;

Truth forever on the scaffold,

Wrong forever

on the throne,--

Yet that scaffold sways the future,

and, behind

the dim unknown,

Standeth God within the shadow,

keeping

watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is

small and

what is great,

Slow of faith how weak an arm may

turn this

iron helm of fate,



終將帶來榮譽和豐饒。

正義會繁榮興旺，

這是勇士的選擇。

懦夫只能靠邊站開，

因為靈魂的卑瑣而疑慮重重，

直到他的主上了十字架。

而芸芸大眾，

終將使他們曾放棄過的信念，

放發出美德的光輝。

歷歷遍數世上造就之英雄，

他們獨往獨來，為眾人而吃苦。

當眾人扔來惡言惡語的石塊時，

他們泰然自若，

放眼前望，

看到了金色光芒投在了徹底的正義一  
邊。

正義由他們神聖的信念所掌握，

由個人對人性、對上帝的至上安排的

樸素真理所掌握。

就著焚燒異教徒的火光，

我目送耶穌鮮血流淌的腳步，

身負永不復返的十字架，

But the soul is still oracular; amid  
the market's

din,

List the ominous stern whisper from  
the

Delphic cave within;--

"They enslave their children's  
children who

make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops,  
fellest of the

giant brood,

Sons of brutish Force and Darkness,  
who have

drenched the earth with blood,

Famished in his self-made desert,  
blinded by

our purer day,

Gropes in yet unblasted regions for  
his

miserable prey;--

Shall we guide his gory fingers  
where our

helpless children play.

Then to side with Truth is noble  
when we

share her wretched crust,

Ere her cause bring fame and profit,

艱難地登上新卡爾瓦利斯山。

以往的艱辛攀登，

標誌著每一個時代的人們，

如何學會兩個偉大的字眼：

信念！

自從第一個上帝征服之人，

面朝蒼天以來，

「信念」二字在預言者心中，

早已熊熊燃燒。

人性向前飛奔：

今日烈士之立足所在，

明日卻見手持銀塊的猶大，

匍伏在地。

遠望前方，

十字架已豎立，柴火堆已點燃。

昨日喧鬧的人們，

今日心懷敬畏，

默默返回，收撿四散的餘灰，

將它們放入歷史的金甕。

傳統美德之遺訓，

鋪刻在我們先輩的墓碑上。

是作她的英雄。

and 't is

prosperous to be just;

Then it is the brave man chooses,

while the

coward stands aside,

Doubting in his abject spirit, till his

Lord is

crucified,

And the multitude make virtue of

the faith they

had denied.

Count me o'er the earth's chosen

heroes,--

they were souls that stood alone,

While the men they agonized for

hurled the

contumelious stone,

Stood serene, and down the future

saw the

golden beam incline

To the side of perfect justice,

mastered by their

faith divine,

By one man's plain truth to

manhood and to

God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics

Christ's

還是作她無爲的奴隸.

悉聽其便。

古風遺言的崇拜者們，

將當今的觀念視爲罪惡——

《五月花》號是由懦夫起航的嗎.

是由落伍過時者掌舵的嗎.

道路究竟通往過去還是將來，

才使普利茅斯的岩石燦爛輝煌的？

那些英雄心懷當今之勇氣，

身材魁梧，反對偶像；

斧頭和絞架不能使他們相信

一切美德僅屬過去。

然而

我們使他們的真理

變成了我們的謬誤；

我們把它珍存於霉爛的羊皮紙堆裏

以爲是它贏得了我們的自由。

而我們柔弱的心靈，

卻逃避那強勁的衝動！

恰是那種衝動，

激勵了英雄們揚帆過海！

誰能維護權利，

bleeding feet I track,

Toiling up new Calvaries ever with  
the cross

that turns not back,

And these mounts of anguish  
number how each  
generation learned

One new word of that grand Credo  
which in

prophet-hearts hath burned

Since the first man stood

God-conquered with

his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward:  
where to-day

the martyr stands,

On the morrow, crouches Judas with  
the silver

in his hands:

Far in front the cross stands ready  
and the

crackling fagots burn,

While the hooting mob of yesterday  
in silent

awe return

To glean up the scattered ashes into  
History's

golden urn.

誰就能擁有權利；  
而我們卻背叛了祖先，  
將自由新祭壇之火，  
窒息於祖先神聖的遺骨中。  
難道我們非要把他們的信條，  
變成我們的桎梏。  
當我們急不可待欲殺仇敵之際，  
難道非要從昔日先知的古墓中，  
攫取他們的長明燈，  
在今日的先知周圍，  
燃起殉道者的柴火堆。  
新時機託付以新責任，  
光陰已移，  
古風遺訓不再合宜。  
要與真理齊步並行，  
就須奮發向上，勇往直前  
看哪！  
真理的篝火召喚著我們！  
我們自己須為朝聖者，  
啟航我們的《五月花》號。  
在兇險寒冬的海面上，  
滿懷勇氣，穩操舵柄。

"Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the  
idle slaves  
Of a legendary virtue carved upon  
our father's  
graves,  
Worshippers of light ancestral make  
the  
present light a crime;--  
Was the Mayflower launched by  
cowards,  
steered by men behind their time.  
Turn those tracks toward Past or  
Future, that  
make Plymouth Rock sublime.  
  
They were men of present valor,  
stalwart old  
iconoclasts,  
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that  
all virtue  
was the Past's;  
But we make their truth our  
falsehood,  
thinking that hath made us free,  
Hoarding it in mouldy parchments,  
while our  
tender spirits flee  
"The rude grasp of that great  
Impulse which

讓我們再也不要

用昔日血漬鏽斑的鑰匙，

試圖打開未來的大門。

drove them across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain  
them; we

are traitors to our sires,

Smothering in their holy ashes

Freedom's new

lit altar-fires;

Shall we make their creed our jailer.

Shall we,

in our haste to slay,

From the tombs of the old prophets

steal the

funeral lamps away

To light up the martyr-fagots round  
the

prophets of to-day.

New occasions teach new duties;

Time makes

ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still, and  
onward, who

would keep abreast of Truth;

Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires!

we

ourselves must Pilgrims be,

Launch our Mayflower, and steer  
boldly

through the desperate winter sea,

Nor attempt the Future's portal with  
the Past's  
blood-rusted key.

弗雷德里克.道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

在羅切斯特的獨立日演說

**Independence Day Speech at Rochester**



費城反奴隸學會之執行委員會，1851

公民同胞們，對不起，請允許我問一聲：為什麼今天叫我在這裏發言.你們的國家獨立與我以及我所代表的人們有何相干.你們的 7 月 4 日對美國黑奴有何意義.

弗雷德里克.道格拉斯(1817—1895)是一名傑出的演說家、作家、人道主義者和政治活動家。在廢奴運動中他是一個巨人般的人物。他生為奴隸，從未見過生身父母，是在馬里蘭州的一個種植園中由祖母帶大的。八歲時他被送到巴爾的摩當家奴。在巴爾的摩，女主人教他讀書、雖然這是法律禁止的。他二十一歲時逃往紐約市和麻塞諸塞州的貝得福德，在那裏他將自己的姓氏改為道格拉斯(原先叫貝利)。

1841 年，他被邀請在南特克特的反奴隸制集會上演說。他雄辯的口才令人折服，被麻塞諸塞州反奴隸協會聘為代理人。他成了一名傑出的演說家。有的評論家對他的真實出身表示懷疑，針對於此他於 1845 年寫了自傳。但道格拉斯為了避免自己被認出是逃奴而被捉拿，跑到國外呆了兩年，四處演說。回國時

他掙了足夠的錢贖身為自由人，並於 1847 年在紐約的羅切斯特創辦了自己的廢奴報紙的《北極星》報。

從 1841 年起，道格拉斯成了美國最著名的黑人廢奴主義者。1852 年他被邀請在羅切斯特的美國獨立紀念日集會上演講。發言開始時他照老一套讚美了美國開國元勳們眾所周知的功績，但在演說中途，他話鋒一轉，提醒聽眾說美國黑人沒有享受獨立，由此可見這個國家的虛偽。聽眾舉座震驚。

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公民同胞們，對不起，請允許我問一聲：為什麼今天叫我在這裏發言。你們的國家獨立與我以及我所代表的人們有何相干。那個《獨立宣言》裏所體現的政治自由和天定公道的偉大原則也適用於我們嗎。所以，我是否被叫到這裏，向國家的祭壇奉獻上我們微不足道的犧牲貢品，然後，由於你們的獨立賜福了我們而要我連聲謝謝、感恩戴德嗎。

爲了你們也爲了我們，但願上帝真能聽到對這些問題的肯定回答。如真是這樣，我的任務就容易了，身上的擔子也就挑得輕鬆愉快了。有誰會如此鐵石心腸以至於一個國家的慰問都不能使之感動。有誰會如此頑固不化、缺乏感激之心而不感謝得到了這些無估價的恩惠呢？又有誰是如此淡漠和自私，以至於手腳上奴役的鎖鏈被解開時都不放開嗓門高唱這個國家歡樂的哈利路亞呢？我不是那樣的人。在這樣的情況下，啞巴都會開口雄辯，」瘸子會像鹿兒般歡躍」起來。

但情況並非如此。我這麼說，是因爲我痛切地感受到我們之間有著差異。今天輝煌的週年盛會是把我們排斥在外的。你們光榮的獨立僅僅表明我們之間存有不可逾越的鴻溝。並非所有人都享受到了你們爲之高歌歡唱的種種幸福。你們分享到了你們的先輩留下的正義、自由、繁榮和獨立的豐厚遺產，而我卻沒有。陽光帶給你們光明和撫慰，帶給我們的卻是鞭痕和死亡。7 月 4 日屬於你們，

而不屬於我，你們可歡欣雀躍，而我卻要傷心悲歎。將一個身著鐐銬的人拖過自由的雄偉光輝的聖殿，叫他和你們一起高唱歡樂的聖歌，不啻是慘無人道的嘲弄和褻瀆神明的諷刺。公民們，你們是否是爲了嘲弄我才請我發言的？要是這樣，你們要因自己的行爲自食其果的。我要警告你們，不要覆蹈這樣一個國家的前轍：在那裏，萬能的主一聲歎息，這個國家所犯的滔天罪行就傾覆而下，使其永世夷爲廢墟！今天，我要把一個皮肉活剝、飽受苦難的民族的悲歎之聲傳達給你們！

「在巴比倫河之濱，我們落坐。是啊！想起錫安山，我們哭泣著。我們把我們的豎琴懸掛在柳樹上，因爲就在此地，將我們淪爲俘虜的人要我們唱一支歌！蹂躪我們的人叫我們歡笑起來，他們說，唱一支錫安山的歌吧！但我們怎能在一塊陌生的土地上唱起主的讚美歌呢？噢，耶路撒冷，如果我竟忘掉了你就讓我的右手癱瘓吧！如果我忘掉了你，就讓我的舌頭粘在上齶頂吧！」

公民同胞們，在你們舉國喧囂的歡樂聲中，我聽到成百上千萬人的哀號！他們身上的鎖鏈，昨日已是沈重難忍了，而今日，你們的歡樂聲又使他們的苦痛愈發難熬。如果我真的忘記了，如果我不能切切牢記那些今日尚流淌著鮮血的孩子們，那麼，「就讓我的右手癱瘓吧，就讓我的舌頭粘在上齶頂吧！」如果忘了他們，如果對他們的屈辱置若罔聞，如果還在此與眾人一塊同聲鳴唱，就無異於最可恥、最聳人聽聞的背叛，就會使自己在上帝和世人面前受盡譴責。因此，公民同胞們，我發言的主題是美國的奴隸制。我要從奴隸的角度，來看今日此時，以及它對公眾的意義，我身同美國黑奴，他們的屈辱就是我的屈辱。我以自己的整個心靈，毫不猶豫地聲明：在我看來，今天這個 7 月 4 日裏，這個國家的黑暗德性和罪行，顯得從所未見地鮮明昭著！不論我們的回顧美國往日的



聲明，還是傾聽其今日的諾言，它的所作所爲都同樣顯駭人聽聞、令人作嘔。美國對過去是虛偽的，對現在是虛偽的，對未來也恣意虛偽。此時此地，我站在上帝和遍體鱗傷、鮮血淋淋的黑奴一邊，以慘遭凌辱的人性之名義，以身著桎梏的自由之名義，以受到拋棄和踐踏的《憲法》和《聖經》之名義，挺身而出，盡我具備的所有力量，對一切使奴隸制——深重的罪孽、美國的恥辱——永世永存的企圖發出我的抗議，發出我的譴責！「我不閃爍其辭，我不會客套！」：我要用的是我最激烈的言辭，而任何判斷力不受偏見所蒙蔽的人，任何內心裏不想繼續奴役黑人的人，都會承認我說的每句話都是正確的、公道的。然而，我沒想到我的有些聽眾會說：「正是現在，你和你的廢奴主義兄弟們沒給公眾以良好印象。如果你們能多說理少責難，多勸戒訓斥，你們事業成功的希望就大得多了。」但是，我認爲，當一切都顯而易見時，說什麼道理就是多餘的了。關於反奴隸制的綱領你們要我說明哪一點呢？這個問題在哪一個枝節上我們的國民還需要點撥呢？我還須著手證明奴隸也是人嗎？這點已屬公認，沒人有所懷疑。奴隸主們在實施他們政府的法律時都承認了這一點。當他們懲罰奴隸們的反抗時就承認了這一點。維吉尼亞州列出七十二項罪行，一黑人（無論他多麼不知情）犯了其中任何一項都要處以極刑，而其中只有兩項才能使一個白人受到同樣懲罰。這不正說明了奴隸是有道德、有理智、有責任的人嗎？奴隸具有人性，這也屬公認。事實證明了奴隸的人性：南方的法令條例都規定禁止教育奴隸讀書寫字，否則將受到高額罰款和嚴厲的處置。假如你們能指出有誰曾對田耕作的牛馬也規定過這樣的法律，那麼也許我會同意討論奴隸是否有人性。假如街上的小狗、空中的飛鳥、山上的牛羊、海裏的遊角、地上的爬蟲都分辨不出奴隸和野獸的區別，那麼我會和你們討論奴隸是不是人的！

此時此刻，只要肯定黑色人種同樣具備人性也就足夠了。我們耕耘、種植、收穫；我們使用各種器械工具，建房、修橋、造船；我們利用各種金屬，銅、鐵、金、銀；我們讀書、寫字、計算；我們當職員、商人、秘書；我們中間有律師、醫生、牧師、詩人、作家、編輯、演說家和教師；我們從事其他人所從事的一切活動，在加利福尼亞開金採礦、在太平洋裏捕鯨捉魚、在山坡上放養牛羊，我們生活著、奔忙著、行動著、思考著、計劃著；在家中我們是丈夫、妻子、兒女。最重要的是，我們承認和崇奉基督教的上帝，期求來世的洪福永生。而在此情況下，還要我們證明我們是人，豈不令人驚訝萬分！

難道你們要我證明人有自由的權利，證明人是自身的正當主人。你們早已聲明如此了。我還須證明奴隸制的邪惡嗎。這對共和主義者們還是個問題嗎。這個問題竟如此困難，需要推敲其道義原則的合適性，這樣深奧難解以至於要展開邏輯分析和辯論嗎。當著美國人的面，我要是在發言中對此問題條分縷析、又核對又實證、又否定又肯定地證明人生來享有自由，那麼我會給你們以什麼印象呢。這樣做我會顯得荒唐可笑，也是對你們的理解力的不尊不敬。在天穹底下無人不曉奴隸制對他是不公正的。

將人變為野獸、剝奪他們的自由、使他們勞無所獲、使他們對自己與他人的關係一無所知、對他們棍棒交加、用皮鞭抽打他們的肉體、將他們的四肢鎖上鐐銬、帶著狼犬追捕他們、把他們拍賣於集市、讓他們妻離子散、敲碎他們的牙齒、燎烙他們的皮膚、用飢餓迫使他們聽話而屈從於主人——還用得著我來證明這一切都是不公正的嗎。我還須證明一個血腥污臭的制度是邪惡的嗎。不！我不願。我的時間和精力要花在更值得於的事情上，而不是用來作此求證。

那麼，還剩下什麼需要論證呢。要證明奴隸制不是天意、上帝並沒有建立它嗎。

要證明我們的神學博士們是錯的嗎。這樣想本身就是褻瀆。非人道的東西不會是天意！有誰能夠以此為題作出論證。那些能做到這一點的人也許會這樣做，但我不能。現在已不是作此論證的時候了。

今日此刻，需要的是灼熱的鋼鐵，而非今人信服的論證。啊！要是我有此能力，要是我能讓全國都聽到我的呼聲，今天我就會以滾滾巨流之勢發出我尖刻無情的嘲笑、粉碎一切的譴責，摧枯拉朽的諷刺，聲色俱厲的訓斥。因為我們需要的不是光亮。而是火焰；我們需要的不是和風細雨，而是電閃雷鳴。我們要風暴，要颶風，要地震。國家的感情必須激勵，國家的良知必須喚醒，國家的溫良必須打破，國家的虛偽必須揭露。它對上帝和人類犯下的罪行必須公之於眾，加以迎頭痛擊。

你們的 7 月 4 日對美國黑奴有何意義。我的回答是：一年之中，沒有哪一天比今日更使他們感到讓自己無時不被淪為犧牲品的那種滔天的不公和殘忍了。對他們來說，你們的慶典是欺人之道；你們鼓吹的自由是放肆的褻瀆；你們的國家的偉大是虛榮的浮誇；你們的喜慶歡悅是空虛和無情的；你們對暴君的譴責是不要臉的厚顏無恥；你們自由平等的歡呼聲是空洞的冒牌貨；你們的祈禱和讚美詩，你們的佈道和感恩，加上所有的宗教遊行和儀式，不過是面對上帝的裝腔作態、虛假欺騙、不虔的褻瀆和虛偽的做作——不過是在野蠻人都會感到羞恥的罪行上覆蓋的一層薄薄的紗巾。此時此刻，世界上還沒有任何一個野蠻民族，沒有任何一個其他民族，像美國人那樣犯下了如此駭人聽聞、鮮血淋漓的罪惡勾當。

不論你們走到哪裡，不論你們在哪裡尋覓，遊遍舊大陸的所有君主國和專制國家，踏遍整個南美洲，收集所有殘忍的記錄直至窮盡；然後把你們的調查結果

與美國每天發生的事作個比較，你們就會與我一樣得出結論：在令人髮指的野蠻和厚顏無恥的偽善方面，美國的確是舉世無雙了。

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#### Independence Day Speech at Rochester

Fellow citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here today. What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence. Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us. and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us.

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him. Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits. Who so stolid and selfish that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs. I am not that man. In a case like that the dumb might eloquently speak and the 「lame man leap as an hart.」

But such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance

of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought light and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me by asking me to speak today. If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrevocable ruin! I can today take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people!

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can -we sing the Lord's song in a strange land. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions! whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, today, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth"! To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme would be treason most scandalous

and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow citizens, is American slavery. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine. I do not hesitate to declare with all my soul that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July! Whether we turn to the declarations of the past or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery--the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate, I will not excuse"; I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear someone of my audience say. "It is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed." But, I submit, where all is plain, there is nothing to be argued. What point in the antislavery creed would you have me argue. On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light. Must I undertake to

prove that the slave is a man. That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the state of Virginia which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgment that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that the Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write. When you can point to any such laws in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea and the reptiles that crawl shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that, while we are reading, writing, and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and

cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and, above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called upon to prove that we are men!

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty. That he is the rightful owner of his own body. You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery. Is that a question for republicans. Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood. How should I look today, in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom. speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively. To do so would be to make myself ridiculous and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven that does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What, am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters. Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is wrong. No! I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued. Is it that slavery is not divine;



that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken. There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine! Who can reason on such a proposition. They that can may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching iron, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would today pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July. I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy--a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the

monarchies and despotisms of the Old World, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of this nation, and you will say with me that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

亞伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

「分裂之家」演說詞

**The House Divided Speech**



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我認為這個政府不能在半奴隸制半自由的狀態下長存。

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亞伯拉罕·林肯(1809—1865)出生於肯塔基州霍金維爾附近。他自學成才，幹過多種職業——水手、店主、郵政站長、土地測量員和鐵匠，後來學習法律，成為伊利諾伊州一名最成功的律師，以聰明睿智、通情達理和坦誠正直而著稱。他在州立法機關和州議會幹過一些時候，於 1858 年與斯蒂芬·A.道格拉斯競選參議員。1858 年 6 月 16 日。在伊利諾伊州的斯普林菲爾德，林肯接受了共和黨的提名，他發表了一篇旨在分析國家面臨重大問題的演說。林肯引用《新約》，說道：「分裂之家無可持存。」

林肯運用這篇演說指責民主黨態意擴大奴隸制的範圍，並分析了近期發生的三

大事件。第一件事是 1854 年國會通過了《堪薩斯—內伯拉斯加法案》，允許西部新開發的準州的選民們自行決定是否實行奴隸制。這項法案撤消了禁止在這些準州內實行奴隸制的《密蘇裏妥協案》。林肯提醒他的聽眾說，參議員斯蒂芬·道格拉斯提出了《內伯拉斯加法案》；林肯還多次提及道格拉斯的話：他「不在乎奴隸制被通過還是被否決」。第二件事是最高法院 1857 年的德萊德·斯科特裁決，判定黑人不是(也不能是)美國公民；而國會也無權在自由州或準州禁止奴隸制，因為這意味著剝奪奴隸主的財產。第三件事是在堪薩斯發生的就《萊康普頓憲法》的合法性問題引起的激烈爭論。這是一部由親奴隸制的居民炮製的州憲法，他們企圖避開公民投票；而最終公民投票以壓倒多數否決了這一憲法。

林肯將這三起事件稱為「一部機器」，由「斯蒂芬、弗蘭克林、羅傑和詹姆斯」營造而成——即參議員道格拉斯、前總統弗蘭克林·皮爾斯、首席大法官羅傑·B. 泰尼和詹姆斯·布坎南總統——皆為民主黨人。

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如果我們首先知道我們的位置所在，也清楚我們的邁步所趨，就能更好地判斷該做什麼以及如何去做。自從制定了方針，目標明確、信誓旦旦地決心結束對奴隸制的鼓吹，五個年頭早已過去。這條方針不但沒有結束對奴隸制的鼓吹，而且還使它不斷地得以擴大。照我看來，對奴隸制的鼓吹直到一場危機的降臨和蔓延，才會了結。「分裂之家無可持存。」我認為這個政府不能在半奴隸制半自由的狀態下長存。我不希望這個國家分崩離析——我不希望這個家庭滅頂傾覆，但我確實希望它結束分裂的狀態。它將朝兩條回迥然相異的方向發展：要不就是奴隸制的反對者遏止其進一步的蔓延，讓公眾之心得以平靜，相信奴隸制將最終走向滅絕；要不就是奴隸制的鼓吹者將其傳播四方，直至奴隸制從北到南，在新舊各州都獲得合法地位。

難道我們沒有朝後一條路發展的跡像嗎。誰要是懷疑，就想想看那個現在幾乎

是完整無缺的法律結合體吧——權且稱它爲一部機器，它由內伯拉斯加主義和德萊德.斯科特裁決組合而成。不僅要考慮一下這部機器是用來幹什麼的和幹得怎麼樣，還要研究一下它的組造歷史，並且——不管有無可能——如果可能的話，從頭尋究一下它的主機部件是如何設計和協調運行起來的。

到 1854 年新年爲止，一半以上的州通過了州憲法禁止奴隸制，而國會也在大多數準州禁止奴隸制。四天以後，人們開始竭盡努力，結果是取消了國會的禁令，由此就在所有準州對奴隸制予以放行。這樣，他們得了第一分。

但在當時，僅是國會採取了行動，而人民的支援，不論是實在的還是表面上的，卻對保住取得的第一分並伺機進一步得分不可或缺。這種必要性並沒有被忽略：它或多或少地在著名的「人民主權論」的論點——也稱爲「自治的神聖權利」——中得以反映。「自治的神聖權利」的論點，雖然表明了任何政府的唯一合法基礎，但卻被曲解到如此地步而僅用來證明如果有人想奴役他人，不容許第三者站出來反對。這個論點被《內伯拉斯加法案》本身所採用。法案這樣寫道：「本法案真實目的和含義爲，在任一準州或任一州，既不立法推行也不禁止奴隸制的實行，而應讓那裏的人民在不違反《美國憲法》的前提下以自己的方式完全自由地形成和調整他們當地的組織機構和制度。」

接踵而來的是一片贊同「人民主權論」和「自治的神聖權利」喧鬧的附和聲。

「但是，」反對派們說，「讓我們修正這項法案以明確表明準州的人民可以禁止實行奴隸制吧！」

「咱們不幹。」法案的擁護者們說道，於是否決了修正案。當國會正著手討論《內伯拉斯加法案》時，美國密蘇裏地區巡迴法庭正在審理一樁牽涉一個黑人的自由的案子。他的主人自願地首先把他帶入一個自由州，爾後又帶入一個實

行國會禁奴方針的準州，在兩個地方都呆了許久，主人都將他以奴隸對待。與此同時，即 1854 年 5 月，《內伯拉斯加法案》和這樁案子都面臨裁決。那位黑人名叫「德萊德.斯科特」，法庭對此案的最後裁決就以此命名。

在當時的總統換屆大選前，此樁案子被提交美國最高法院審理，但拖到大選後才作出裁決。然而，在大選前，特朗布林參議員在參議院起身發言，要求《內伯拉斯加法案》的主要發起者闡明他的觀點：準州的人民是否能不違憲地在其地區內禁行奴隸制。後者答道：「這個問題應由最高法院回答。」

大選來臨，布坎南先生當選，似乎得到了人民的支援。這樣就贏得了第二分。然而，這種支援是在少贏得了近四十萬張選票而形成不了壓倒多數的情況下獲得的，因此，也許算不上是絕對可靠和令人滿意的。卸任總統在他的最後一次年度演說中，盡其可能印象深刻地對大眾提到這種支援所蘊含的份量和權威性。

最高法院再次開庭，沒有宣佈他們的裁決，而是要求再一次辯論。總統就職儀式進行過了，但法庭裁決遲遲未定。然而，新總統在就職演說中敦勸人民不論裁決怎樣都予以支援。隨後幾天內作出了裁決。

這是贏得的第三分。

《內伯拉加法案》聲名昭著的作者早些時候曾在國會大廈發表演說支援德萊德.斯科特裁決，並強烈譴責對它所有的異議。同樣，新總統也曾在早些時候支援並闡述過此項裁決，還表示說竟有人對此有不同的觀點，令他大為吃驚！最後，新總統和《內伯拉斯加法案》的作者之間挑起了一場爭鬥，僅僅旨在弄清《萊康普頓憲法》在任何正當的意義上是否由堪薩斯人民所制定的。爭吵中，後者聲明他所要求的不過是人民公平的投票，說他並不在乎奴隸制被通過還是

被否決。我不認為他所聲明的不在乎奴隸制被通過還是被否決是他本人的意向；這其實是他想施加於公眾之心的這種方針的恰切闡釋而已——他聲明為此如此原則他已吃了許多苦頭，並準備吃苦到底。

他不妨堅持他的原則吧。如果他對此原則尚存父愛之心，那麼還是好好堅持吧。這項原則是他的內伯拉斯加主義僅存的殘簡片段。在德萊德.斯科特裁決中，「人民主權」土崩瓦解，像臨時搭起的腳手架一般散了身骨——像鑄鐵廠翻砂模具，澆鑄過一次後就複為一盤散沙——它在一次選舉中起了點作用，然後就棄為廢物，隨風而去了。他近來和共和黨人協手合作反對《萊康普頓憲法》，這和他原本的內伯拉斯加主義毫無相干。那次鬥爭的要點是人民制定他們自己憲法的權利，在這方面他與共和黨人的觀點毫無二致。

德萊德.斯科特裁決的各個要點與道格拉斯參議員的「不在乎」方針，構成了以現狀運行的這部機器。它的工作要點諸如下列：

(1)所有從非洲進口的黑奴以及這些黑奴的後代都不能成為《美國憲法》規定意義上的任何州的公民。

這點是用來盡其可能地剝奪黑人享受《美國憲法》這項條款規定的利益，即「各州公民有權享受各州公民的優惠待遇和豁免權」。

(2)「根據《美國憲法》，不論是國會還是準州立法機關都不能在美國的任何準州裏禁止奴隸制。

這點是用來使人們可以在任何準州安置奴隸而無失去他們作為財產的危險，以便奴隸制長存於未來。

(3)在一個自由州使一個黑人實際上處於奴隸地位是否意味著他已脫離奴隸主而獲自由，這點美國法院將不作裁決，而由主人能迫使這個黑人進入的任何一

個蓄奴州的法庭來裁決。

這條要點並不求於立即實施，而是在獲得一段時期的默認並在一次選舉中獲得民眾表面支援後，確認其符合邏輯的結論：德萊德.斯科特的主人在伊利諾伊自由州合法的所作所為，任何另一奴隸主都能在伊利諾伊或任一其他自由州對所有的奴隸都合法地這樣做。

內伯拉斯加主義，或者說它的殘餘，是附屬於這一切的，與其共同發生效用。它被用來影響和建立輿論——至少是北方的輿論，使民眾對奴隸存在與否的投票結果漠不關心。這恰恰標誌著我們現在的處境，也部分標誌著我們正朝那條路上往前走。

回顧以往，在心頭想想我已敘述過的歷史事實，對瞭解我們的邁進所趨是有進一步的啟發的。有些事情與它們剛剛發生時相比現在看來已不顯得那麼模糊不清和神秘莫測了。人民的選擇應該「完全自由」，「僅僅受憲法的約束」。而當時不知情的人是看不出憲法與其有什麼相干的。現在很清楚了：它為隨後而至的德萊德.斯科特裁決提供了一個大小正合適的容身壁龕，並且聲明人民完全的自由意味著根本的不自由。為什麼那條明確表示人民有廢除奴隸制的權利的修正案遭到了否決。現在清楚了：如果通過了它，為德萊德.斯科特裁決準備的壁龕就垮臺了。為什麼法庭拖延判決。為什麼一個參議員的個人觀點被擱置不顧直至總統選舉之後。現在清楚了：如果當時就回答就會損害選舉賴以依據的「完全自由」的論點。為什麼卸任總統要對人民的支援巧言美語。為什麼延遲法庭的再度辯論。為什麼當選總統要提前對服從裁決提出勸告。這些事情看上去就像騎上一匹烈馬前小心翼翼地拍弄撫摸它一樣，免得它將騎手摔個四腳朝天。為什麼總統和其他人後來又急不可耐地對裁決表示支援呢。

我們無法絕對確認所有這些機巧天衣無縫的配合是預謀的結果。然而，當我們看到這許多木料組成的構架，它們不同的部件在不同的時間和地點由不同的工匠所造出——斯蒂芬、弗蘭克林、羅傑和詹姆斯等等——當我們看到這些木料拼在一起，看到它們天衣無縫地組成了一座房子或一間工作坊的構架，所有的掉頭和榫眼密切結合，一切構件的長度和大小都使其精確地各歸其位，一塊也不多，一塊也不少，甚至也沒忘了搭置腳手架——或者說如果構件少了一塊的話，構架上也留下了一處空位來補其所缺——在這種情況下，我們覺得不可能不相信斯蒂芬、弗蘭克林、羅傑和詹姆斯從一開始就心照不宣，共同制定出一個計劃或方案，然後打出第一拳……

在德萊德.斯科特案件中，首席大法官和所有其他看法一致的法官們都發表意見，明確宣佈《美國憲法》既不容許國會也不容許準州立法機關在任何美國準州裏禁止奴隸制，但他們都忘記宣佈同一部憲法是否容許一個州或一個州的人民禁行奴隸制。這僅僅是一個疏忽而已，但誰能肯定呢.……將這些拼合在一起，於是又形成一個小巧的壁龕；我們也許不久就會看到另一個最高法院的裁決鑲置其中，宣佈《美國憲法》不容許一個州在其範圍內禁行奴隸制。這種情況尤為可能發生，如果「不在乎奴隸制被通過或被否決」的信條取取得了民心而使他們答應當作出這樣的裁決時可以讓它保持下去。

奴隸制現在正缺乏這樣一個裁決而不能在各州都有合法地位。無論我們歡迎與否，這個裁決可能正處醞釀，不久就會強加於我們，除非我們面對並推翻當前這個政治王朝的勢力。我們可以舒心地躺下夢見密蘇裏州的人民即將使本地變為自由州了，但我們更應對現實保持清醒，因為最高法院已將伊利諾伊變為蓄奴州了。所有欲將阻止事態極端惡化的人們現在要做的就是推翻這個王朝的勢



力。這是我們必須做的。我們要怎樣盡力做好它呢。

有些人對他們自己的朋友公開地指責我們，可是卻悄悄對我們說我們要達到目標就應利用道格拉斯參議員這個最順手的工具。他們沒有告訴我們，道格拉斯參議員也沒有告訴過我們，說他希望達到這種目標。他們希望我們全然以這樣的密實作出推斷，即他現在正與當今王朝的頭目鬧小摩擦，而他對某個問題和我們的觀點從未相左，常是站在我們這邊表決的。他們提醒我們說他是一個非常偉大的人物，而我們之中的大多數則微不足道。就算是這樣吧。然而，「一條活著的狗勝過一頭死去的雄獅」。對於這項工作來說，道格拉斯法官即使不是一頭死獅，至少也是一頭身處樊籠、牙根脫落的獅子。他怎麼會反對奴隸制的發展呢。他根本就無所謂。他所信守的使命就是影響「民心」使其對此漠不關心。

因此，我們的事業必須託付於自己的肝膽朋友，由自己的肝膽朋友來完成。他們輕裝上陣，一心工作，他們確實關心事情的結果。兩年前，這個國家的共和黨人已壯大至一百三十多萬人之強大陣容。我們這樣做，懷著一股抵制共同的危險的蓬勃朝氣，面向周圍所有的敵對勢力。在陌生、嘈雜甚至敵意的環境中，我們召集於四面八方，聯合起來，在組織有序、飛揚拔扈、養尊處優的敵人燃起的不滅的烈焰中，戰鬥到底。當時我們英勇奮鬥，今天卻要畏縮不前嗎？——今天，畏縮於正在動搖、分裂而好戰的從前的敵人面前嗎。結局是無可懷疑的，我們不會失敗——只要我們立場堅定，我們就不會失敗。明智的思想會加速勝利而過失會延遲勝利，但是，或遲或早，勝利終將來臨。

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**The House Divided Speech**

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself can not stand." I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved--I do not expect the house to fall--but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition. Let any one who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination--piece of machinery, so to speak--compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief master-workers from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that

Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

But, so far, Congress only had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable to save the point already gained and give chance for more. This necessity had not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self-government," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: that if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska Bill itself, in the language which follows: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it there from; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "squatter sovereignty" and "sacred right of self-government."

"But," said opposition members, "let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska Bill was passing through Congress, a law case involving the question of a Negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free State and then a territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as

a slave for a long time in each, was passing through the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri and both the Nebraska Bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The Negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska Bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answered, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument. The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President in his Inaugural Address fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be. Then, in a few days came the decision.

This was the third point gained.

The reputed author of the Nebraska Bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes an early occasion to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained!

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska Bill. on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton Constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that quarrel the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind--the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding,--like the mould at the foundry, served through one blast and fell back into loose sand,--helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans against the Lecompton Constitution involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point--the right of a people to make their own Constitution--upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement. The working points of that machinery are:

(1) That no Negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave, can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the Negro in every possible event of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution which declares that, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

(2) That, "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can' exclude slavery from any United States Territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the Territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

(3) That whether the holding a Negro in actual slavery in a free State makes him free as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave it to be decided by the courts of any slave State the Negro may be forced into by the master.

This point is made not to be pressed immediately, but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one or

one thousand slaves in Illinois or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, not to care whether slavery is voted down or voted up. This shows exactly where we now are, and partially, also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left "perfectly free," "subject only to the Constitution." What the Constitution had to do with it outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche for the Dred Scott decision afterward to come in, and declare that perfect freedom of the people to be just no freedom at all. Why was the amendment expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery voted down. Plainly enough now, the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision. Why was the court decision held up. Why even a Senator's individual opinion withheld till after the Presidential election. Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the "perfectly free" argument upon which the election was to be carried. Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the indorsement. Why the delay of a re-argument. Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision. These things look like the cautious patting and petting of a spirited horse preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall. And why the hasty after-indorsement of the decision, by the President and others.

We cannot absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are

the result of pre-concert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen,--Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance,--and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding--or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in--in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck. . . .

While the opinion of the court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States Territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a State, or the people of a State, to exclude it. Possibly, this was a mere omission; but who can be quite sure . . . Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a State to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up" shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.



Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome, or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality instead that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it.

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected. They wish us to infer all from the facts that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But "a living dog is better than a dead lion." Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery. He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it. . . .

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends--those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who do care for the result. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a

common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now.--now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent. The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail--if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.

### 林肯 — 道格拉斯辯論

#### The Lincoln—Douglas Debates



#### 1860 選舉卡通顯示林肯與道格拉斯的比賽

斯蒂芬.A.道格拉斯：這個國家是建立在這樣的基礎上的，即每個州都有權根據自己的意願決定奴隸制的存亡。

亞伯拉罕.林肯：這場爭論的真正問題在於.....一派的觀點將奴隸制度視為邪惡，而另一派的觀點不把它視為邪惡。

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1858 年，林肯從伊利諾伊州和斯蒂芬.道格拉斯參議員競選美國參議院席位。他向道格拉斯挑戰，在整個州的範圍內展開了一系列的辯論。道格拉斯是民主黨全國性的風雲人物，而林肯出了本州則默默無聞。成千上萬人——農民、工人、職員等等——前來觀戰、提問、向自己的一方喝彩。辯論僅集中於一個問

題：奴隸制。

道格拉斯(1813—1861)生於佛蒙特州，二十歲時遷居伊利諾伊州。三十歲時入選眾議院。道格拉斯是一名天才演說家，雖然身材矮小，卻以「矮小的巨人」而聞名。1846年，道格拉斯入選參議院。他狂熱鼓吹領土擴張。由於西部領土擴張引起了在新的準州裏是否允許實行奴隸制的激烈爭論，道格拉斯於1854年領頭制定了《堪薩斯—內伯拉斯加法案》，此法案取消了《密蘇裏妥協案》，允許當地居民自行選擇。

道格拉斯認為各州或準州的人民應自行投票決定是否實行奴隸制，林肯則爭辯說奴隸制不該擴展到現存的奴隸州以外的地方去了。林肯堅持認為奴隸制是邪惡的，而道格拉斯也同樣堅決地堅持說國家的生存要求尊重民眾的主權，即便這會使奴隸制擴展也無妨。

林肯最終贏得了公眾投票，但競選卻失敗了(當時參議員由立法機關選舉產生而不由公眾投票產生)。這次辯論使他成為共和黨全國領袖人物，以及1860年總統大選的競爭者。

以下的交鋒於1858年10月15日在伊利諾伊州的阿爾頓展開。

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### 道格拉斯的開場白

自從林肯先生和我開始競選，近四個月時間已經過去。6月16日，共和黨代表大會在斯普林菲爾德召開，提名林肯先生作為他們的候選人競選美國參議員。當時他發表了一篇演說，提出了他所理解的共和黨的信條，以及在這場競爭中他要採取的立場。

林肯先生發言的要點是這樣的：首先，這個政府不能在有的州實行奴隸制有的州自由的分裂狀態下長存下去，儘管我們的祖先本來就是這樣安排的；它們要不都變為自由州，要不都變為奴隸州，要不全是這樣，要不全是那樣——不然這個國家就不能繼續生存。這裏我幾乎是原字原句向你們轉述他的觀點的。他提出的第二點是向美國最高法院的征戰，因為法院作出了德萊德·斯科特裁決。

他特別提出了他反對那項裁決的理由，即它剝奪了《美國憲法》規定的黑人的權利和利益，因為憲法條款規定必須保證每一個州的公民享有各州公民應有的權利、優惠待遇和豁免權。

7 月 10 日我回到了家鄉，對芝加哥的人民發表了演講。發言中我表明我的目的是呼籲伊利諾伊州的人民繼續進行我在國會一直從事的事業。在那次演說中，我就林肯先生提出的論點與他進行了爭論。這樣，我們之間的論題就非常清晰明確了。針對林肯先生在斯普林菲爾德提出的兩個主張，我在芝加哥的發言反駁了他。第二天，7 月 11 日，林肯先生在芝加哥回答了我，作了一定程度的解釋。並再次重申他在斯普林菲爾德演說中的立場。在芝加哥的演說中，他甚至比過去更進了一步，發表了關於黑人與白人平等的觀點。爲了佐證他的立場，他採用了洛夫喬伊、科丁和其他一些廢奴主義演說家提出的、在本州北部和中部眾所熟知的論點，這就是：既然《獨立宣言》宣稱人人天賦自由和平等，那麼黑人的平等也是不可剝奪的權利，因此他們應該享有這種權利。他在發言中堅持說《獨立宣言》在肯定人人生來平等的條款中包括了黑人；並且居然還說，要是允許一個人認爲本條款不包括黑人，那麼別人也就可以認爲它不包括其他人。他說應該摒棄所有這些人與人的區分、種族與種族的區分；我們應該採取《獨立宣言》的立場，宣告人人生來平等。

這樣，林肯先生和我本人之間就針對三個問題展開了爭論，本州人民對我們眾目以觀之。在接下來的七個星期裏，在芝加哥演說和我們第一次在奧塔華市相遇這段時間，他和我在許多中部的縣區裏都對大批的聽眾作了發言。在我的演說中，我將論題緊扣他採取的三個立場，反駁他關於這個國家不能照我們祖先原來的安排分爲一半自由州一半蓄奴州的方式存在下去的觀點；反駁他由於德

萊德.斯科特裁決而對最高法院的討伐；反駁他所說的《獨立宣言》關於人人  
生來平等的提法包括並也適用於黑人而不單單是白人的觀點。在我的每一場演  
說中，我分析林肯先生的三個主張，並指出我認為這些主張中包含的根本錯誤。  
第一，針對他的關於這個政府違反了上帝之規即分裂之家無可持存這種信條，  
我反駁道這是給我們憲法的不朽締造者臉上抹黑。我隨後說道，我經常重申、  
現在再次強調，照我看來我們的政府能夠按照我們祖先將國家分為部分自由州  
部分蓄奴州的方式永世長存——每一個州都有權根據自己的意願決定是禁止、  
廢除還是保存奴隸制。這個政府是建立在各州主權的堅實基礎上的，各州有權  
調整自己的地方體制以適應其具體情況。這項權利根據於這樣的理解和希望，  
即各地有其各自的利益，所以各地就必須有其不同和特殊的地方及當地的體制  
與它的需要和利益相一致。我們祖先創建這個政府時就知道，適合佛蒙特州格  
林山的法律制度並不適用於南卡羅來納州富饒的農場；他們當時就知道，正如  
我們現在很清楚一樣，適合伊利諾伊州美麗的草原的法律制度並不適用於加利  
福尼亞州的礦區。他們知道，在幅員如此遼闊的國家裏，由於土壤、氣候和利  
益如此多種多樣，就必須有相應多樣的地方法律、政策和制度使各州適應於自  
己的情況和需要。由於這個緣故，這個國家建立的基礎就是：每一個州都有權  
根據自己的意願對奴隸制及任何其他問題做出決定；而各州不應指責兄弟州的  
政策，更不應對此橫加干涉。

### 林肯的回答

道格拉斯法官設想我們的祖先要使我們政府處於半奴隸制半自由的狀態，這不  
是事實。應該弄清他所說的含義。他設想奴隸制本身是正義的——是由憲法的  
締造者所確立的。而事實的真相是，他們發現奴隸制存在於我們之中，卻對此

現實無可奈何。在創建政府的過程中，他們留下了這個制度和許多其他不盡如人意之處。他們發現了奴隸制的存在而又留下了它，是因為立即取消它很困難——這其實是絕無可能的。當道格拉斯法官問我為什麼我們不能按祖先安排的那樣使政府保持半奴隸制半自由的狀態時，他的問題是建立在一個本身就是錯誤的設想上的。現在我對他提一個問題：我們政府的祖先採取的與存在於我們中的這個因素有關的政策是世界上最好的政策、唯一明智的政策、唯一可由我們安全地繼承實施的政策、永遠給與我們和平的政策——除非我們讓這個危險的因素統治我們所有人並成為全國性的制度，——那麼我要問他為什麼他不願這個政策原樣保持。我要問他為什麼急於提出與它有關的一個新政策。他自己說過他提出了一個新政策好吧，先不論奴役黑人在道德上是公正還是邪惡的。我還是希望我們新的準州處於這樣的情況：白人能找到他們的家園——能找到一塊他們能改善處境的地方；在那裏他們能置身於一片新的土地上得以提高生活條件。我希望如此，並非僅僅是(正如我在其他地方說過的那樣，在這裏我還要說)對於生長於我們之間的自己的人民而言，同時也是對於不論身處何地的自由的白人而言——全世界的白人——在那裏不論是漢斯、貝普提斯特、帕特裏克還是世界上任何其他人都能找到新家園並過上更好的生活。

在過去的場合我曾提到過，而我不妨再提一下我所認為的道格拉斯法官和我之間的論題之究竟所在。說我要在自由州和蓄奴州之間挑起戰火，這一點我們之間沒什麼可爭的。他設想我要在白色種族和黑色種族之間建立一種完善的社會和政治平等，這也沒有什麼可爭的。這些都不是真正的論題，而道格拉斯法官卻企圖就它們挑起爭論。指責我持有這些主張是毫無事實根據的。這場爭論的真正問題在於——使人人心頭感到壓力的問題——一派的觀點將奴隸制度視

爲邪惡，而另一派的觀點不把它視爲邪惡。視這個國家的奴隸制度爲邪惡的觀點是共和黨的觀點。他們的一切行動、一切論點都圍繞這個觀點而展開，他們所有的主張都由這個觀點而延伸。他們將奴隸制度視爲道義、社會和政治上的邪惡；.但在持這種看法的同時，他們對這個制度在我們中的既成事實也有著正確的認識，知道以恰當的方式擺脫它有許多難處，還注意到這個問題牽涉的所有憲法上的責任。然而，由於對這些問題有正確的認識，他們渴望就此制定一條方針以確保奴隸制不會產生更大的危險。他們堅持認爲，奴隸制應在盡可能的程度上作爲邪惡來處理，而將它作爲邪惡來處理的一個方法是應規定它不能擴大了。他們還渴望制定一條方針確保邪惡的奴隸制將於某時用和平的方式予以終結。這些就是我所理解的他們關於這個問題的看法；他們所有的觀點、他們所有的論點和主張都不出這個範圍。我曾經說過、這裏還要重申的是，如果我們其中有誰不認爲奴隸制度在我提及的任何方面是邪惡的，他就站錯了位置而不應屬於我們這邊。如果我們其中有誰對奴隸制如此耐不住性子而無視它在我們中的既成事實，無視立即以恰當的方式擺脫它的困難，無視它所牽涉的憲法上的責任，他在我們的陣地上就站錯了位置。我們在實際行動中不予他以同情；他在我們之中是位置不當的。

關於將奴隸製作爲邪惡處理並遏制其蔓延這個問題我還有話要說。除開這個奴隸制度以外，還有什麼其他東西威脅過這個國家的生存嗎。在我們中間，什麼東西是視爲最可珍貴的呢。是我們自己的自由和繁榮。除開這個奴隸制度以外，還有什麼東西威脅過我們的自由和繁榮呢。如果這是事實的話，那你又怎能通過擴展奴隸制——使之蔓延，將其壯大——來改善事物的現狀呢。你身上長著一個囊腫毒瘤，但無法將它割除，因爲這樣做會使你流血致死；然而，治療的

方法卻肯定不是將毒瘤繁延、使其擴散於你的全身。這不是處理被你視為邪惡的東西的恰當方式。你再看看這種處理它的邪惡的和平的方式——抑制它的擴散，不讓它蔓延至原先它所不存在的新的準土裏去。這是一種和平的方式、傳統的方式。我們的先輩為這種方式的運用給我們樹立了典範。

在另一方面，我已說過有種觀點認為奴隸制度不是邪惡的，這是今天民主黨的觀點。我並不是想說凡持有這種觀點的人都明確主張奴隸制是正義的，這一派包括所有那些明確主張它是正義的人，以及所有像道格拉斯法官那樣將其視為無關緊要而不表示它是正義還是邪惡的人。這兩種人匯總成一派，不把奴隸制度視為邪惡。

對於這種制度，民主黨的方針不能容忍人們對其邪惡的一丁半點發表隻言片語或作出最微小的暗示。就拿道格拉斯法官的論點為例吧。他說他「不在乎奴隸制」在準州裏「被通過還是被否決」。對他的這種說法，我本人並不在乎這是用來表示他個人對這個問題的看法，還是僅用來表示他所希望建立的全國性的方針——這對解釋我的觀點同樣有價值。任何一個人都可以像他那樣說，只要這個人不認為奴隸制有什麼邪惡就行。然而，沒人能符合邏輯地說出這番話，如果他確實看到了奴隸制的邪惡，因為沒人能符合邏輯地說他對一種邪惡是被通過還是被否決滿不在乎。他可以說他不在乎一件無關緊要的事情被通過還是被否決，但他必須符合邏輯地在一件正義的事物和一件邪惡的事物之間做出選擇。道格拉斯法官爭辯說，只要一個地方需要奴隸，他們就有權擁有奴隸。要是奴隸制不是邪惡的，他們則可以擁有奴隸，但如果奴隸制是邪惡的，他就不能說人們有權作惡。他說，根據對等的道理，奴隸正像其他財產一樣允許進入一個新的準州。要是奴隸和其他財產毫無區別的話，這樣說是嚴格地符合邏輯



的；要是它和其它財產是對等的話，這個論點是完全符合邏輯的。但是如果你堅信一邊是邪惡的而另一邊是公正的，那麼公正和邪惡之間就沒有什麼可比性。你們可以從頭到尾將民主黨的方針細細地尋查一遍，不論是體現在其法令文書中，體現在德萊德.斯科特裁決中，體現在交談言論中，還是體現在其精悍的格言體的論點中——奴隸制有什麼邪惡這樣的觀點都被小心謹慎地排除在外。

這就是論題的真正所在。這就是道格拉斯法官和我的舌戰偃息旗鼓時將繼續存留於這個國家的問題。它是兩種原則——正義和邪惡——之間在世界範圍內永不休止的爭鬥。這兩種原則自太古以來就針鋒相對，並將永遠鬥爭下去。其中之一是人類共同的權利，另一個則是神授的君王的權利。這後一種原則不論以何種面目發展都本性不移。它懷著一如既往的精神說道：「你們工作吧、辛勞吧！你們掙回麵包供我享用吧！」它不管以何種形式出現，不論是出自一個恣意踐踏本國人民於腳下的君王之口，還是一個種族要奴役另一個種族的辯解，都出於那個專橫暴虐的原則……

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## The Lincoln—Douglas Debates

### Douglas』 Opening Speech

It is now nearly four months since the canvass between Mr. Lincoln and myself commenced. On the sixteenth of June the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield and nominated Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, and he, on that occasion, delivered a speech in which he laid down what he understood to be the Republican creed, and the platform on which

he proposed to stand during the contest.

The principal points in that speech of Mr. Lincoln's were; First, that this government could not endure permanently divided into free and slave States, as our fathers made it; that they must all become one thing or all become the other,--otherwise this Union could not continue to exist. I give you his opinions almost in the identical language he used. His second proposition was a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision, urging as an especial reason for his opposition to that decision that it deprived the Negroes of the rights and benefits of that clause in the Constitution of the United States which guarantees to the citizens of each State all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

On the tenth of July I returned home, and delivered a speech to the people of Chicago, in which I announced it to be my purpose to appeal to the people of Illinois to sustain the course I had pursued in Congress. In that speech I joined issue with Mr. Lincoln on the points which he had presented. Thus there was an issue clear and distinct made up between us on these two propositions laid down in the speech of Mr. Lincoln at Springfield, and controverted by me in my reply to him at Chicago. On the next day, the eleventh of July, Mr. Lincoln replied to me at Chicago, explaining at some length, and reaffirming the positions which he had taken in his Springfield speech. In that Chicago speech he even went further than he had before, and uttered sentiments in regard to the negro being on an equality with the white man. He adopted in support of this position the argument which Lovejoy and Coddington and other Abolition lecturers had made familiar in the northern and central portions of the State: to wit, that the Declaration of Independence having

declared all men free and equal, by divine law, also that negro equality was an inalienable right, of which they could not be deprived. He insisted, in that speech, that the Declaration of Independence included the negro in the clause asserting that all men were created equal, and went so far as to say that if one man was allowed to take the position that it did not include the negro, others might take the position that it did not include other men. He said that all these distinctions between this man and that man, this race and the other race, must be discarded, and we must all stand by the Declaration of Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.

The issue thus being made up between Mr. Lincoln and myself on three points, we went before the people of the State. During the following seven weeks, between the Chicago speeches and our first meeting at Ottawa, he and I addressed large assemblages of the people in many of the central counties. In my speeches I confined myself closely to those three positions which he had taken, controverting his proposition that this Union could not exist as our fathers made it, divided into free and slave States, controverting his proposition of a crusade against the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision, and controverting his proposition that the Declaration of Independence included and meant the negroes as well as the white men, when it declared all men to be created equal. . . . I took up Mr. Lincoln's three propositions in my several speeches, analyzed them, and pointed out what I believed to be the radical errors contained in them. First, in regard to his doctrine that this government was in violation of the law of God, which says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, I repudiated it as slander upon the immortal framers of our Constitution. I then said,

I have often repeated, and now again assert, that in my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,--each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. This government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the States, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself; and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that, inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew when they made the government that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate, and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws,--the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various states were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors.

#### Lincoln's Reply

It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within

itself,--was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty--the absolute impossibility--of its immediate removal. And when Judge Douglas asks me why we cannot let it remain part slave and part free, as the fathers of the government made it, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood; and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the government had adopted in relation to this element among us was the best policy in the world, the only wise policy, the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon, that will ever give us peace, unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution,--I turn upon him and ask him why he could not leave it alone. I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a new policy in regard to it. He has himself said he introduced a new policy. . . .

Now, irrespective of the moral aspect of this question as to whether there is a right or wrong in enslaving a Negro, I am still in favor of our new Territories being in such a condition that white men may find a home,--may find some spot where they can better their condition; where they can settle upon new soil and better their condition in life. I am in favor of this, not merely (I must say it here as I have elsewhere) for our own people who are born amongst us, but as an outlet for free white people everywhere--the world over--in which Hans, and Baptiste, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better their conditions in life.

I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. On the point of my wanting to make war between the free and the slave States, there has been no issue between us. So, too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. These are false issues, upon which Judge Douglas has tried to force the controversy. There is no foundation in truth for the charge that I maintain either of these propositions. The real issue in this controversy--the one pressing upon every mind--is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions, all their arguments, circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and, while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at sometime, as being wrong. These are the views they entertain in regard to it as I understand them; and all their sentiments, all their arguments and propositions, are brought within this range. I have said, and I

repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery. What is it that we hold most dear amongst us. Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery. If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery--by spreading it out and making it bigger. You may have a wen or cancer upon your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong,--restricting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.

On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as not being wrong. This is the Democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who

positively assert that it is right, and all who, like Judge Douglas, treat it as indifferent and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong. . . .

The Democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate the merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong about it. Try it by some of Judge Douglas' arguments. He says he "don't care whether it is voted up or voted down" in the Territories. I do not care myself, in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that who does not see anything wrong in slavery; but no man can logically say it who does see a wrong in it, because no man can logically say he does not care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say he does not care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down, but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have, if it is not a wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that upon the score of equality slaves should be allowed to go in a new Territory, like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. If it and other property are equal, this argument is entirely logical. But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. You may turn over everything in the Democratic policy from beginning to end, whether in the shape it takes on the statute book, in the shape it takes in the Dred Scott decision, in the shape it takes



in conversation, or the shape it takes in short maxim-like arguments,--it everywhere carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it.

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles--right and wrong--throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle....

約翰.布朗

(JOHN BROWN)

在法庭上的最後陳述

**Last Statement to the Court**

我相信：如我過去所做的那樣.....為那些受人鄙視的上帝的可憐的孩子們進行干預，不是錯誤而是正確的。

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約翰.布朗(1800—1859)是一位狂熱的廢奴主義者，他相信上帝選擇他來摧毀萬惡的奴隸制度。他生於康涅狄格州的托靈頓。布朗和他的大家庭(他是二十個孩子的父親)四處搬遷，尋找職業。他們到過俄亥俄、麻塞諸塞、紐約和賓夕法尼亞。在各不同時期，他當過農民、羊毛商、制革者和土地投機商。1855年布朗移居到堪薩斯與他的幾個兒子團聚，他們已經在那塊因爭吵而不

得安寧的土地上立界標佔有土地。那時堪薩斯正就以自由州加入聯邦還是以奴隸州加入聯邦的問題展開激烈的爭論。「自由州論者」和「邊境惡棍」(這是人們對贊成奴隸制的幫夥的稱呼)之間的武裝衝突產生出「流血的堪薩斯」這種說法。

1856 年，當布朗獲悉贊成奴隸制的人洗劫了堪薩斯的勞倫斯城，他非常憤慨。布朗和他的同伴將五個贊成奴隸制的殖民者從他們家中拖出來砍死，以作為對他們的報復。這個事件被稱為波塔沃托米大屠殺，它導致更多暴力事件發生，致使兩百多人喪生。兩年後，布朗在密蘇裏又指揮了一次襲擊。在那兒，他殺死一個奴隸主，解放十一個奴隸，並和奴隸一起逃到加拿大去。

1859 年 10 月，約翰·布朗佔領了在維吉尼亞(現為西維吉尼亞)哈潑斯渡的美國軍工廠。布朗的奇襲隊伍是由五個黑人和十七個白人組成，其中包括他的三個兒子。布朗想武裝當地的奴隸，然後他們就可參加他的起義，但他們中沒有一個這麼做。在與州及聯邦軍隊的一場血戰中，這些襲擊者被捕了。這次襲擊從戰術上講是失敗的，但就布朗更大的目標而言，他取得了輝煌的勝利。它引起全國的注意，加劇了地區間的緊張狀況。導致最後的衝突——戰爭。

布朗被判叛國罪、謀殺罪和煽動叛亂罪，他的五個同夥逃跑了，但其餘的或是在襲擊中被打死，或是被絞死。布朗於 1859 年 11 月 2 日被判決，12 月 2 日被絞死。布朗在法庭宣佈對他的判決時對法庭發表的陳述，第二天就在《紐約先驅報》上列出。在他被處決的那一天，整個北方把他當作聖人和英雄向他致敬。

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如果法庭允許，我想說幾句話：

首先，除了我所一直承認的，即我解放奴隸的計劃之外，我否認一切。我的確想把事情辦得乾淨利落，正如我去年冬天幹的那樣。當時我進入密蘇裏，在那裏雙方沒有開一槍便帶走奴隸，穿過這個國家，最後將他們留在加拿大。我計劃以更大的規模再做同樣的事。這就是我想做的一切。我從來就沒想過要去謀殺、叛國或破壞別人的財產，或訓練、鼓動奴隸反叛，或舉行暴動。

我還有一項抗議，那就是，我受到這樣的懲處是不公平的。如果我是以我所承認的方式進行過干預，而且我承認我所採取的方式已經被公正地核實了——因為我欽佩為本案作證的大部分證人的真誠和坦率，——如果我是為了富人、有權勢者、有才智者、所謂的大人物，或是為了他們的任何朋友，無論是其父母、兄弟、姐妹、妻子、兒女或任何一個這類人物，而進行這樣的干預，並且在這種干預中受到損害，犧牲了我所有的東西，那就沒事了。本法庭的每個人就會認為這是一個值得嘉獎的行動，而不是要給予懲處了。

我想本法庭也承認上帝的法規是有效的。我看到人們吻一本書，我想這本書是《聖經》或者至少是一本《新約全書》，它教導我，我希望人們怎樣待我，我也要怎樣待人。它還教導我說，要記住那些受奴役的人們，就像是和他們同受奴役一樣。我努力按照這一教誨行動。我說，我還是太年輕，無法理解上帝會待人有別。我相信：如我過去所做的那樣，——我總是直率地承認我幹過——為那些受人鄙視的上帝的可憐的孩子們進行干預，不是錯誤而是正確的。現在，如果認為有必要，為了推進正義的目標，我必須付出生命，必須把我的鮮血和我孩子們的血。以及在這個奴隸制國家裏，權利被邪惡、兇殘且不義的法律所便摒棄的千百萬人的血混合在一起，我說，那就這麼辦吧！

讓我再說一句。對於我在審判中所受到的對待，我感到完全滿意。考慮到各方面的情況，它比我所預料的要寬宏大量。但我並不覺得自己有罪。我一開始就陳述了什麼是我的意圖，什麼不是。我從未圖謀反對任何人的自由，從未有過叛國的企圖，從未鼓動奴隸反叛或舉行大暴動。我從未鼓勵任何人這麼做，我總是規勸人們打消這類想法的。

對於那些與我有關的人所作的陳述，我也想就此說幾句。我聽說他們中有些人

說我誘使他們入夥。但事實正相反。我說這話不是爲了傷害他們，而是對他們的軟弱感到遺憾。他們中沒有一個人不是出自自願加入我的隊伍，而且大部分人還自己承擔費用。許多人在他們來找我之前，我從未見過他們，也從未與他們談過話，而他們來找我，是爲了我所說的那個目的。

現在，我說完了。

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#### Last Statement to the Court

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say.

In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted: of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to exercise or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved--for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case--Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in

this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This Court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done.

Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or incite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say, also, in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me, I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary

is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now, I have done.

亞伯拉罕.林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

在庫珀學會的演說

**The Cooper Union Speech**

我們要堅信正義即力量，並且在這個信念指引下，敢於照我們所理解的那樣，把我們的責任履行到底。

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在 1860 年爭奪共和黨總統候選人的提名中，林肯只是個不知名的競爭者。在伊利諾伊州之外，幾乎沒人知道他這個人。他同道格拉斯的辯論引起人們對他的注意，然後在 1859 年，他在中西部幾個州發表演說，1860 年 2 月 27 日在紐約市的庫珀學會，他對一大群聽眾發表演說。這次演說使他打進了前紐約州長、共和黨總統候選人提名的主要競爭者威廉．H．蘇厄德家鄉。緊接著在紐約的勝利之後，林肯又去新英格蘭演說，這又使他引起美國東北部那些關鍵代表的注意。1860 年 5 月在芝加哥舉行的共和黨全國代表大會上，林肯在第三次投票中獲得提名。

六十年後，H.L.門肯還認為那次在庫珀學會的演說使林肯「得到了總統職位」。參議員斯蒂芬.A.道格拉斯(此人不久就成為民主黨提名的總統候選人，在總統大選中是林肯的對手)曾斷言創建這個國家的先輩們是故意要保留奴隸制的。林肯在庫珀學會的演說中則對他這種說法表示懷疑。在這篇受到廣泛注意的演說中就奴隸制這個問題，林肯仔細分析了那些制定憲法的人的意圖。其意義超過了對前人意圖的研究；一百多年後，法律學者還繼續辯論究竟那些憲法制定者們是否想結束奴隸制。

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……據《紐約時報》報導，去年秋天，參議員道格拉斯先生在俄亥俄州哥倫布所作的一篇演講中曾說：

「當我們的先輩組建管轄我們的這個政府時，他們跟我們一樣理解這個問題，甚至比我們現在理解得更好。」

我完全贊同這種說法，並以此作為我這篇演講的一個主題。我之所以這樣做是因為它為共和黨人和民主黨中以參議員道格拉斯先生為首的那一翼之間的討論提供了一個準確一致的出發點……

誰是我們制定憲法的先輩們呢。我以為在原始文件上簽名的那「三十九」位可以明確地稱為我們組建了現政府的那個部分的先輩……

根據引文說那些先輩們跟我們一樣理解這個問題，甚至比我們現在理解得更好。那麼這個問題是什麼呢。

這個問題是這樣的：地方權威和聯邦權威的適當分開或者憲法中有什麼條文是否能禁止聯邦政府在聯邦土地上控制奴隸制。

對於這個問題，道格拉斯認為答案是肯定的，而共和黨人認為是否定的。這種肯定與否定的對立就構成一個問題，這個問題正是那段引文所宣稱的我們的先輩比我們更理解的問題。

現在我們不妨問這樣一個問題：到底那「三十九」位或他們之中任何一位曾遵照這個問題行事，如果他們真這麼做了，那他們是怎麼做的——他們是怎麼表達出那種更好的理解的。

在 1874 年，即憲法產生前三年，當時美國只佔有西北地區的土地，沒有其他的領土，那時美國十三州邦聯議會就已經遇到了在那片土地上禁止奴隸制的問

題；後來參加制定憲法的那「三十九」位簽名人中的四人就是那個議會的成員，並參加了對禁奴問題的投票表決。這四個人中，羅傑.沙曼(Roger Sherman)、托馬斯.米夫林 (Thomas Mifflin)、休.威廉森 (Hugh Williamson) 都投票贊成禁止奴隸制，這就表明根據他們的理解，地方權威和聯邦權威的分離或任何別的什麼都沒有理由禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土內控制奴隸制。這四個人中的另一個人詹姆斯.麥克亨利 (James McHenry) 投票反對禁止奴隸制，這表明，由於某種原因，他認為投票贊成禁止奴隸制是不適當的。

在 1787 年，仍然是在憲法產生之前，但這時制憲會議正在開會制定憲法，而且這時西北地區的領土仍然是美國佔有的唯一領土，就在這個時候，禁止奴隸制的問題又一次提到十三州邦聯議會上，後來在憲法上簽名的那「三十九」人中又有兩人參加了那次邦聯議會，而且參加了禁奴問題的投票表決。他們是威廉.布朗特 (William Blount)和威廉.菲尤 (William Few)，兩人都投票贊成禁止奴隸制……

在 1789 年，根據憲法召開的第一次邦聯議會通過一個法案實施 1787 年的法令，其中包括在西北領土上禁止奴隸制，這個法案的議案是由那「三十九」位簽名人之一，托馬斯.菲茨西蒙斯 (Thomas Fitzsimmons) 向議會報告的，他當時是由賓夕法尼亞來的眾議院議員。議案通過各個階段沒有人說一句反對的話，最後沒有投贊成票和反對票就在兩院通過，這就等於是全體一致通過。在這次議會中，制定原始憲法的「三十九」位先輩中有十六位參加。他們是：約翰.蘭登 (John Langdon)，尼古拉斯.吉爾曼(Nicholas Gilman)，威廉.S.約翰森 (Wm. S. Johnson)，羅傑.捨曼 (Roger Sherman)，羅伯特.莫裏斯 (Robert Morris)，托馬斯.菲茨西蒙斯 (Thos. Fitzsimmons)，威廉.菲尤 (William Few)，亞伯拉罕.鮑德溫 (Abraham



Baldwin)，魯弗斯.金 (Rufus King)，威廉.帕滕森 (William Patterson)，喬治.克萊默 (George Clymer)，理查德.巴西特 (Richard Bassett)，喬治.裏德 (George Read)，皮爾斯.巴特勒 (Pierce Butler)，丹厄爾.卡羅爾 (Daniel Carroll)，詹姆斯.麥迪遜 (James Madison) ……

還有當時的美國總統喬治.華盛頓也是那「三十九」位簽名人之一，他以總統的名義批准了提案並在上面簽字，這樣就完成了使之作為法律而生效的程序，而且也表明，根據華盛頓的理解，聯邦權威與地方權威的分離或者憲法中的任何規定都無法禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制。

原來的憲法通過後不久，北卡羅來納州就把現在是田納西州的那塊地方割給聯邦政府，幾年後，喬治亞州也把現在是密西西比州和亞拉巴馬州的那片土地割給聯邦政府。在這兩個割地契約上，割地的州都規定了一個條件，即聯邦政府不能在割的土地上禁止奴隸制。除此之外，當時在被割的土地上實際已存在奴隸制。在這些情況下，國會為了管理這些地方，並沒在這些地方內絕對禁止奴隸制。但是國會實際上是干預了——對奴隸制進行控制——即使在那些地方，也控制到一定程度。1798 年，國會組建密西西比準州。在組織法案中，國會通過罰款和釋放帶進的奴隸來禁止從美國以外的任何地方將奴隸帶進這個準州。這個法案在兩院得到一致通過。制定原來憲法的那「三十九」位簽名人中有三人在那個議會裏。他們是：約翰.蘭登 (John Langdon)、喬治.裏德 (George Read) 和亞伯拉罕.鮑德溫 (Abraham Baldwin)……

在 1803 年，聯邦政府買下了路易斯安那那片土地。以前我們是從自己的某些州中獲取土地的；但這塊路易斯安那是向外國買來的。1804 年，國會將現在是路易斯安那州的那部分地方進行領土組織。位於那塊土地之中的新奧爾良是

一個相當大的舊城市，還有其他相當多的城鎮與居住地，在這些地方，奴隸制已廣泛徹底地與人民混合在一起。國會並沒有在領土法案中禁止奴隸制，但國會實際上是干預了——控制了奴隸制——而且比在密西西比做得更明顯、更廣泛。針對奴隸問題所制定的條款是：

(1)不能從外國進口奴隸到那地方。

(2)不能將 1798 年 5 月 1 日以來進口到美國的奴隸帶進那個地方。

(3)除非奴隸主將奴隸帶進來並供他自己作為居留者使用，任何奴隸都不準被帶進來。所有違反法律的情況，都將受到罰款處罰，並將奴隸釋放。

這個法案也得到一致通過，在通過這個法案的那次議會裏有兩人在「三十九」位簽名人之中。他們是：亞伯拉罕·鮑德溫 (Abraham Baldwin)和喬納森·戴頓 (Jonathan Dayton)……

在 1819 年至 1820 年之間提出了密蘇裏問題並得到通過。就這個總的問題的各個方面，國會兩院通過投贊成票和反對票進行了多次表決。「三十九」位簽名人中有兩人——魯弗斯·金 (Rufus King) 和查爾斯·平克尼 (Charles Pinckney)——是那次議會的成員。金先生堅定地投票贊成廢除奴隸制並反對任何妥協，而平克尼先生則投票反對禁止奴隸制而且也反對任何妥協……

我所提到的這些情況僅僅是這「三十九」人或者他們中的任何一個人就這個直接的問題所採取的行動，這就是我所能發現的……

那麼，在此，我們那「三十九」位組建了管轄我們的政府的先輩之中有二十三位，根據他們的公務職責和手按《聖經》所發的誓，就那個問題採取了行動，這個問題正是前面引文所肯定的「他們跟我們一樣理解，而且甚至比我們現在理解得更好」的問題。他們當中的二十三人——這顯然是「三十九」人中的多

數——對這個問題採取了這樣的行動，如果根據他們的理解，地方權威與聯邦權威的任何適當分離，或者他們親自製定並發誓支援的憲法中的任何規定，會禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制，那他們就犯有粗鄙的政治錯誤和故意偽証罪。因此這二十三人採取了行動，行動勝於空談，而根據這種責任所採取的行動就更勝於空談了……

那「三十九」位簽名人中剩下的十六人，就我所瞭解的，沒有留下任何記錄表明他們對聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制這個直接問題的理解。但是有理由相信，如果他們的理解曾得到表明，那麼他們對這個問題的理解也不會表現出與他們那二十三個同伴有什麼不同。

爲了嚴格信守引文，除了制定原來憲法的那「三十九」先輩之外，我有意略去了任何其他人所表示的理解，不管他們有多麼顯赫，而且爲了同樣理由，我也略去了這「三十九」人中的任何一位就奴隸制這個總的問題的其他方面所表示的理解。如果我們真的審查一下他就諸如對外奴隸買賣。以及奴隸制的道德和政策等其他方面的問題所採取的行動和發表的聲明，那麼在我們看來，就聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制這個直接問題，如果那十六人曾經採取行動的話，他們也許會和那二十三人採取同樣的行動。在那十六人有幾個人名列當時最著名的反奴隸制人士之中，——如佛蘭克林博士 (Dr. Franklin)、亞歷山大·漢密爾頓 (Alexander Hamilton) 和古維諾爾·莫裏斯 (Gouverneur Morris) ——據現在所知其中沒有一個人的態度是與此相反的，若有可能，除非是南卡羅來納的約翰·拉特利奇 (John Rutledge)。

我們那「三十九」位制定了原來憲法的先輩中總共有二十三人——這是明顯的多數——肯定認爲聯邦權威與地方權威的適當分離，或憲法中的任何條款都不

能禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制，而所有其餘的人也許是有同樣的理解。毫無疑問這就是我們那些制定了原來憲法的先輩們的理解，而且引文也肯定認為他們對這個問題的理解「比我們更好」。

我們完全可以假定那「三十九」位制定了原來憲法的先輩再加上七十六位制定了修正案的議員，加在一起，肯定包括了那些可以被恰當地稱為「組建了管轄我們的政府的先輩」。基於這種假定，我反對任何人表示他們其中任何一個人，在他的一生中曾宣佈根據他的理解，聯邦權威與地方權威的適當分離，或者憲法中的任何條款，可禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制。我還要進一步反對任何人表示在整個世界任何一個活著的人曾在本世紀初之前(我幾乎要說是在本世紀後半葉之前)曾宣佈過，根據他的理解，地方權威與聯邦權威的適當分離，或者憲法中的任何條款會禁止聯邦政府在聯邦領土上控制奴隸制。對於那些宣稱會禁止的人，我不僅可以拿出「我們那些組建了管轄我們的政府的先輩們」，而且在政府組建的那個世紀內所有其他活著的人也可拿出來與先輩們放在一起讓他們去尋找，他們將無法找出任何一個人同意他們看法的證據。

現在，在此，我得略為防備，以免誤解。我不是說我們一定要盲目照搬我們的先輩所做的任何事情，這樣做就要摒棄現今經驗中所有能幫助我們理解的事實，排斥一切進步和提高。我所真正要說的是，如果我們要在任何情況下取代我們先輩的意見和政策，我們就應當依據確鑿的證據、明確的論點，使其權威在經過相當的考慮和掂量之後還能站得住腳，而且肯定不是我們自己宣佈他們對這個問題的理解比我們更好，……

現在，如果他們願意聽的話——我想他們是不願意聽的——我想對南方人說幾句話。

我要對他們說：你們認為自己是通情達理和公正的人，而我認為在講道理和公正這些普通品質上，你們不比其他任何人差。可是，當你們說起我們共和黨人時，你們只會罵我們卑鄙，或者說最好也不比亡命之徒強……

你們說我們是地方主義的。我們否認。這就造成爭執，而你們有責任提出證據來。你們提出你們的證據，那是什麼證據呢。喏，我們黨在你們的地區是不存在的——在你們的地區得不到選票。這完全是事實，但它能說明問題嗎。如果能說明問題的話，那麼，假如我們不改變原則而開始在你們的地區獲得選票，我們就不再是地方主義了。這個結論你們不會看不到。可是，你們願意遵守這個結論嗎。如果願意，也許你們很快就會發現我們不再是地方主義的了，因為我們今年將在你們的地區獲得選票。那時你們就會發現，事實明擺著，你們的證據沒有觸及問題……

你們有些人喜歡當著我們的面賣弄華盛頓在他的告別演說中提出的對地方主義的警告。在華盛頓提出那個警告不到八年前，他作為合眾國總統，曾經贊同並簽署了一項國會法案，在西北準州禁止奴隸制，這項法案體現了直到他提出那個警告時和提出警告的那個時刻，政府對這個問題的政策；而在他提出警告大約一年之後，他寫信給拉斐葉特，說他認為在西北準州禁止奴隸制是個明智的措施，並且表示希望將來能由各自由州組成邦聯。

記住這一點，再來看一看自從那時以後在這同一問題上已經出現的地方主義，那麼，華盛頓的警告到底是你們手裏反對我們的武器呢，還是我們手裏反對你們的武器。要是華盛頓本人還能說話，他究竟會指責我們這些支援他政策的人犯有地方主義呢，還是指責你們這些反對他的政策的人犯有地方主義？……

就算你們能夠……破壞共和黨的組織，這對你們又有多大益處呢。人的行為可

以在某種程度上改變，可是人的天性卻是改變不了的。在這個國家有一種反對奴隸制的意見和感情，至少可以投一百五十萬張票。我們的政治組織就是靠這種意見和感情——這種情感而聚集起來的，你們即使把這個組織破壞掉，也摧毀不了這種情感。一支在你們猛烈炮火下建立起來的紀律嚴明的軍隊，你們是很難打垮的。但是，即便你們能打垮它，用武力使造就那支軍隊的情感越出投票箱的和平軌道而進入其他軌道，這對你們又有什麼好處呢。那另一種軌道大概會是什麼呢。像約翰·布朗（John Browns）那樣的人會因為這個行動減少還是增加呢。

然而，你們寧可使聯邦分裂也不甘心讓人剝奪憲法賦予你們的權利。

這聽起來有點草率，但是，如果我們提議僅靠人數多的力量來剝奪憲法明文規定給你們的權利，情況就會緩和，即使這種做法不完全正當。但我們不會提出這種建議。

當你們作這些聲明時，你們明明是暗示憲法給你們權利把奴隸帶進聯邦各準州，並把他們留在那裏作為你們的財產。可是憲法裏並沒有專門規定這種權利。在那個文件裏，根本沒有提到這種權利。相反地，我們就不認為憲法裏規定了這樣一種權利，甚至連言外之意都沒有。

那麼，你們的目的，說穿了就是要搞垮政府，除非允許你們在你們和我們之間有爭議的各點上隨心所欲地解釋和強制實施憲法。不管怎樣，你們要麼掌權，要麼覆滅。

這說穿了就是你們要對我們說的話。也許你們會說，對於這個有爭議的憲法問題，最高法院正作出對你們有利的判決。不見得吧。但是，撇開法學家關於「法官的意見」和「判決」兩者之間的區別不談，最高法院已經多少對這個問題給

你們作出了決定。法院實質上是說你們享有憲法規定的權利，把奴隸帶進聯邦各準州，並且把他們留在那裏作為你們的財產。

我說多少作出了決定，意思是說決定是在一個分裂為兩派的法院，由法官的微弱多數作出的。他們對於作出決定的理由，看法各不相同。由於這個判決是這樣作出的，致使那些自認是這個判決的支持者們對其意義也有不同的看法。而且它主要是依據一個不實之詞，即那個意見中所說的：「對奴隸的財產權是憲法專門地和明確地規定的。」

把憲法仔細研究一下，就可以看到它裏面對奴隸的財產權並沒有作專門的和明確的規定……

如果他們只是用法官的見解說這種權利在文件裏是含蓄地獲得肯定的，這樣別人就會說憲法裏既找不到「奴隸」，也找，不到「奴隸制」這個詞，甚至與暗指奴隸或奴隸制這類東西有關的「財產」這個詞也沒有；文件中凡暗指奴隸的地方，都稱他為「人」；凡是指奴隸主對他的合法權利的地方，都稱為「應得的勞役或勞力」——稱為可用勞役或勞力償付的「債務」。同樣也可以用當時的歷史來證明，用這種暗指奴隸和奴隸制的方法，而不是明說出來，是有目的的，就是不讓憲法裏有一種可以把人當財產的想法……

在所有這些情況下，你是不是真以為自己有理由搞垮這個政府，除非大家馬上服從像你們那樣的法院判決，把它作為政治行動的結論性的和最後的準則。但是，你們不能容忍一個共和黨入當選為總統！你們說，如果發生那種情況，你們就要搞垮聯邦；你們說，那時，搞垮聯邦的嚴重罪名就會落在我們頭上！妙極了。一個攔路強盜用手槍指住我的腦袋，咬牙切齒地說，「留下買路錢，不然我就打死你，那時你將是一個殺人犯！」……

現在再來向共和黨人說幾句話。讓這個偉大聯邦所有各部分都太太平平，彼此和睦相處，這是最合乎理想的。我們共和黨人應該盡力做到這一點。儘管我們受到很大挑釁，也不要意氣用事。即使南方人不願意聽我們的話，我們還是要冷靜地考慮他們的要求，如果審慎地考慮到我們的職責，可能的話應當接受他們的要求。我們要根據他們所說和所做的一切，以及他們和我們爭端的原因和性質，盡可能決定哪些事情可以使他們滿意。

如果使各準州無條件服從他們，他們會滿意嗎。我們知道他們是不會滿意的。在他們目前對我們的一切責難中，幾乎沒有提到準州。目前叫得最起勁的是入侵和造反。如果今後證明我們同入侵和造反毫無牽連，他們會滿意嗎。我們知道他們是不會滿意的。我們之所以知道是因為我們從來沒有同入侵和造反有過牽連。可是儘管我們毫無牽連，還是免不了受到攻擊和責難。

問題又來了：究竟什麼才能使他們滿意呢。……這個，只有這個：不再說奴隸制是錯誤的。要和他們一起說奴隸制是正確的。而且這必須做得徹底——不但在口頭而且在行動上都要做到。他們是不會容忍我們沈默的——我們必須公開宣佈和他們站在一起。道格拉斯參議員的新煽動叛亂法必須得到通過和實施，一切有關奴隸制是錯誤的言論，無論是在政綱裏、在報刊上、在講壇上，或是在私下發表的，都必須禁止。我們必須歡歡喜喜地把他們逃亡的奴隸抓住，送回原主。我們必須取消各自由州的憲法。整個氣氛必須肅清一切反對奴隸制的影響，只有這樣做以後，他們才不再認為他們的一切麻煩都是從我們這裏來的……

他們既然認為奴隸制在道德上是正確的，而且在社會上是高尚的，他們就不會停止要求全國把奴隸制當作一種合法權利和社會幸福加以承認。



我們也只有堅信奴隸制是錯誤的這個立場才能正當地制止這種情況。如果奴隸制是正確的，一切反對奴隸制的言語、行爲、法律和憲法本身就是錯誤的，必須加以制止和肅清。如果奴隸制是正確的，我們反對它推行到全國推行到全世界，就不合理；如果奴隸制是錯誤的，他們硬要將之推廣——擴大，那就不合理。如果我們認爲奴隸制是正確的，他們的一切要求我們都願意答應；如果他們認爲奴隸制是錯誤的，我們的一切要求他們也都願意答應。他們認爲奴隸制是正確的，我們認爲奴隸制是錯誤的，這就是整個爭端的癥結。他們認爲奴隸制是正確的，這就難怪他們希望把奴隸制當作正確的東西予以充分肯定。但是，我們認爲奴隸制是錯誤的，我們能向他們屈服嗎。我們能根據他們的觀點來投票反對我們自己的觀點嗎。鑒於我們在道德上、社會上和政治上的責任，我們能這樣做嗎。

雖然我們認爲奴隸制是錯誤的，但是在實行奴隸制的地方，我們還是可以隨它去，因爲那是出於它在國內實際存在的需要。可是，投票可以制止奴隸制時，難道我們能容許它擴展到各準州，並且到這些自由州來侵擾我們嗎。

如果我們的責任感不允許這樣，那麼就讓我們無畏地和有效地堅持我們的責任吧。決不要被那些一直困擾著我們的精心策劃的詭計轉移我們的方向，這些詭計多得很，例如在是和非之間找一個中間立場，這就像找一個既不是死人也不是活人的人一樣枉費心機；就好像對一個所有正直的人都要關心的問題採取「不在乎」的政策；就像是以聯邦的名義呼籲真正擁護聯邦的人服從分裂主義者，把神聖的原則顛倒過來，不是叫有罪的人悔改，反而叫正直的人悔改；就像是要召請華盛頓的亡靈，懇求人們收回他所說的話，取消他所做的事。

同樣不要讓不實的指責使我們偏離我們的責任，也不要被搞垮政府或把我們送

入地牢的威脅嚇得不敢履行我們的責任。我們要堅信正義即力量，並且在這個信念指引下，敢於像我們所理解的那樣，把我們的責任履行到底。

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### The Cooper Union Speech

In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York Times, Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for the discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. ...

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution. I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. ...

What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood just as well, and even better, than we do now.

It is this: Does the proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government control as to slavery in our Federal Territories.

Upon this, Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmative and denial form an issue; and this issue--this question--is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we.

Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it--how they expressed that better understanding.

In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine" who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government control as to Slavery in federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause he thought it improper to vote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the Convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only territory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine," who afterward signed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount and William Few; and they both voted for the prohibition . . .

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine"--Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and

finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Oilman, Wm. S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Patterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, James Madison. . . .

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and as such approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in federal territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances. Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it--take control of it--even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States by fine and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress

were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. ...

In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it--take control of it--in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was:

(1) That no slave should be imported into the territory from foreign parts.

(2) That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

(3) That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

This act also was passed without yeas and nays. In the Congress which passed it there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. . . .

In 1819-20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine"--Rufus King and Charles Pinckney--were members of

that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. . . .

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover. ...

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the Government under which we live, who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them--a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine"--so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and willful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the federal territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder. . . .

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any

person, however distinguished, other than the "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times,--as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris,--while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is, that of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one--a clear majority of the whole--certainly understood that no proper division of local from federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest probably had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."...

It is surely safe to assume that the "thirty-nine" framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that,

in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience, to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we. . . .

And now, if they would listen,--as I suppose they will not,--I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you



speaking of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws ....

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it. Why, that our party has no existence in your section--gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue. If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it. If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. . . .

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you. Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon

us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it. . . .

And how much would it avail you, if you could. . . break up the Republican organization. Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling--that sentiment--by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot box into some other channel. What would that other channel probably be. Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation.

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional rights. That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed Constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories and hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the

Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed Constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the Court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court has substantially said, it is your Constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided Court, by a bare majority of the Judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact--the statement in the opinion that 「the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution.」

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in it....

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word 「slave」 nor 「slavery」 is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word 「property」 even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a 「person」; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as 「service or labor which may be due, 「as a 「debt」 payable in service or labor. Also it would be

open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man....

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this Government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action. But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, 「Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!」 ....

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though the southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them. We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections. We know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us

from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them. ...This, and this only; Cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly--done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated--we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free-State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us...

Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong> If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality--its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension--its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them. Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own. In view of our moral, social, and political

responsibilities, can we do this.

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States.

If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored--contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong; vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the Divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

去吧，摩西

**Go Down, Moses**

那些在田野裏，在莊園上勞動的奴隸們的歌在美國文學中佔有顯著的地位。正如黑人詩人詹姆斯.韋爾登.約翰遜所說的，黑人聖歌是由「黑皮膚並且無名

的詩人」所創作的。這些美麗而感人肺腑的歌流傳甚廣，遠遠超出歌曲創作地  
界限，並且進入了美國人的意識，成為民族文化的一個基本部分。詹姆斯.韋  
爾登.約翰遜在 1925 年認為黑人聖歌是「美國唯一的民間音樂，而且是到現  
有為止，美國為世界貢獻的最優秀最有特色的藝術」。他還帶點諷刺地說：「這  
真怪！」

黑人聖歌將非洲音樂的特點和《舊約》的基本內容融合在一起，使之成為對信  
仰的莊嚴而富有節奏的表達。大部分是為小組唱或合唱而寫的。黑奴得到解放  
後，受過教育的黑人立刻反對唱黑人聖歌，使人想起奴隸制；但是，這些老歌  
在黑人教堂裏還是很受歡迎，而且很快得到公眾的廣泛承認。1871 年，菲斯  
克大學的黑人歌手們在全國巡迴演唱時，將這些黑人聖歌介紹給廣大聽眾。沒  
多久，像《搖低點，可愛的戰車》、《還我古時的宗教》及《沒人知道我遇到的  
麻煩》這樣的歌就成為美國的標準歌曲了。

約翰遜在他編的歌集《美國黑人聖歌集》中說到《去吧，摩西》。他說：「在整  
個世界音樂文學中，沒有一首歌的主題比它更崇高。如果黑人僅在那一首歌裏  
表達自己的心聲，那就會成為他們靈魂高尚的證據。」

去吧，摩西，  
去那遠方的埃及  
告訴老法老，  
「讓我的人民離去。」以色列在埃及時，  
讓我的人民離去，  
他們無法忍受殘酷的壓迫，  
讓我的人民走吧。去吧，摩西，  
去那遠方的埃及  
告訴老法老，  
「讓我的人民離去。」主是這麼說的，

Go down, Moses,  
Way down in Egyptland  
Tell old Pharaoh  
To let my people go.  
When Israel was in Egyptland  
Let my people go  
Oppressed so hard they could  
not stand  
Let my people go.  
Go down, Moses,  
Way down in Egyptland  
Tell old Pharaoh

勇敢的摩西說，

「讓我的人民離去；

如果不肯，我就將你頭胎孩子打死

讓我的人民走吧。」去吧，摩西，

去那遠方的埃及，

告訴老法老，

「讓我的人民離去！」

"Let my people go."

"Thus saith the Lord," bold

Moses said,

"Let my people go;

If not I'll smite your first-born  
dead

Let my people go."

Go down, Moses,

Way down in Egyptland,

Tell old Pharaoh,

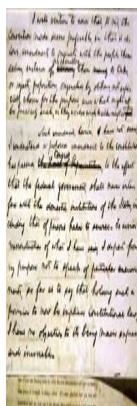
"Let my people go!"

亞伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

## 第一任就職演說

## First Inaugural Address



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

一根根不可思議的回憶之弦，從每個戰場和每個愛國志士的墳墓，伸展到這片遼闊土地上每一顆充滿活力的心房和每一個家庭，只要我們本性中的善念再度，而且一定會，加以撥動，它們終會重新奏出響亮的聯邦協奏曲。



在 1860 年的總統選舉中，民主黨內的南北分裂，為林肯和共和黨的勝利掃清了道路。雖然林肯被挑選出來作候選人，部分是由於他有溫和主義者的名聲，但是南方人還是警告說，如果林肯獲勝，他們將脫離聯邦。無論在南方還是北方，林肯的當選都被看作是對奴隸制和奴隸主政治權力的排斥。就在林肯當選之後，美國七個州(南卡羅來納、密西西比、佛羅裏達、亞拉巴馬、喬治亞、路易斯安那、德克薩斯)脫離了聯邦，並於 1861 年 2 月 4 日，在亞拉巴馬州的蒙哥馬利組成美國南部邦聯。幾週後，國會提出了一項在美國禁止奴隸制的憲法修正案。(這項修正案於 1865 年被批准為第十三修正案。)

1861 年 3 月 4 日，林肯在華盛頓特區國會大廈前的臺階上宣誓就職時，向處於分裂和內戰邊沿的國民發表演說。他呼籲理智和冷靜。他的演說是為維護聯邦和避免戰爭所作的最後一次努力。不過，林肯明確表示，聯邦將保衛自己，脫離聯邦是不合法的，以暴力反對聯邦政府將被看作是叛亂。林肯的祈求沒有人聽。南方邦聯的軍隊於 1861 年 4 月 12 日炮擊南卡羅來納州查爾斯頓的薩姆特堡，內戰由此開始。在薩姆特堡陷落之後，維吉尼亞州、阿肯色州、北卡羅來納州和田納西州都加入了美國南部邦聯。

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……在南方各州的人民中似乎存在著一種憂慮，即由共和黨執政，他們的財產、安定的生活和個人安全將會遭到危險。這種憂慮從來就沒有任何理由。說實在的，無須憂慮的最充足的證據一直都是客觀存在的，而且公開接受他們檢查。這可以在這位現在向你們致辭的人的幾乎所有發表過的演講裏找到。我現在僅引用那些演說辭中的一篇來聲明：

我無意直接或間接地在有蓄奴制的州裏干預蓄奴制度。我相信我沒有這樣做的合法權利，而且我也沒有這樣做的意願。……

自從一位總統依照國家憲法第一次就職以來已經過了 72 年。72 年裏，15 位出類拔萃的公民相繼管理了這個政府的行政部門。他們領導這個政府經歷了許多危險，而且一般都取得很大成功。可是。儘管有這種先例，我卻是在巨大而特

別困難的情況下，擔負起同樣的任務，履行短暫的四年總統任期。分裂聯邦，以前還只是一種威脅，現在卻已變成令人生畏的行動。

考慮到一般的法律和我們的憲法，我認為這些州所組成的聯邦是永久性的。在所有國家政府的基本大法中，即使沒有明文規定其永久性，也總是含有此意的。我們可以斷言，沒有一個正式政府曾經在其組織法中，規定一個使自己壽終正寢的條款。只要我們繼續執行國家憲法中所有的明文規定，這個聯邦就會永久存在，——除非採取憲法法規以外的某種行動，我們是無法摧毀聯邦的。

再說，即使合眾國不是一個正式政府，而僅是各州之間一種契約性的組合，那麼，作為一份契約，難道就可以由少數人而不是全體訂約人，不經爭執，心安理得地予以取消嗎？契約的一方可以違反它——或者說是破壞它，但難道不需要通過全體訂約人就能合法地解除它嗎……

從這些觀點可以推定，任何州均不得僅由自己動議，即可合法脫離聯邦；有關這方面的決議和法令在法律上都是無效的；對於任何一州或數州境內反抗美國政府的暴動，應依據情況來確定其為叛亂還是革命。

因此，我認為依照憲法與法律，聯邦是不可分裂的；我將盡我所能，務使聯邦法律在所有各州得到忠實貫徹，這是憲法本身明文規定責成我這樣做的。我認為這樣做僅是我本身的一種責任；而且我將在可行的範圍內去履行這責任，除非我的合法主人，即美國人民，制止使用這些必要的手段，或者通過某種權威性方式，作出相反的指示。我相信這種說法應該不會被認為是一種威脅，而只是把它看作是聯邦所明確宣佈的目標，即它要依照憲法保護和維繫自身。

要這樣做，就必須沒有流血和暴力發生，而且只要不是強加於國家權威頭上的，哪怕有一點都不行。所賦予我的權力將用來保存、佔領和掌握屬於政府的財產

和地盤，並徵集稅收和關稅，但是，超出為達到這些目標所必需的手段，就不能去侵犯任何地方的人民，不能使用武力反對任何地方的人民，或在任何地方的人民中使用武力……

據說在這個或那個地區裏，有一些人千方百計地企圖摧毀聯邦，甚至不惜利用一切藉口非達此目的不可。對此，我不加肯定也不給予否定。但若事情果真如此，我無須對這幫人致辭。可是，對於那些真正熱愛聯邦的人們，我難道能夠緘默不言嗎。

在事情還沒嚴重到破壞我們的國家組織，連同它的一切利益，全部歷史和希望之前，把我們這樣做的意圖準確地弄清楚，難道不是明智的嗎。如果你們要躲避的災難可能實際上並不存在，在這種情況下，你們難道還要鋌而走險嗎。如果你即將遇到的災難比你們想逃避的所有實際的災難更為深重，難道你們還要冒險赴難，鑄成可怕的錯誤嗎。

如果憲法規定的一切權利能夠得到維護，則人人都會以身在聯邦而感到滿足的。那麼，憲法裏明文規定的權利究竟有哪一項真的被否定了。我認為沒有……迄今還不曾有過一部根本大法，對於一切實際行政管理中可能出現的任何問題都有專門條款來規範；沒有先知可以預見會發生什麼，也沒有任何繁簡適度的文件所明文規定的條款足以應付一切可能發生的問題。聯邦和州政府要交出逃亡的奴隸嗎。憲法中沒有明文規定。國會可以在准州地區禁止奴隸制度嗎。憲法裏沒有明文規定。國會必須在準州地區維護奴隸制度嗎？憲法也沒有明文規定。

就從這類問題中觸發出我們一切有關憲法的爭論，我們可把爭論者分為多數派和少數派。即使少數派不願支援政府，多數派也必須支援，否則政府就必須停

止工作。其他的替代辦法是沒有的；要使政府繼續存在下去，必須得有一方的支援。在這種情況下，如果有一個少數派不支援政府而要脫離聯邦，那麼他們就開了一個先例，這必然會導致他們內部分裂並毀了他們，因為他們自己內部的多數派拒受這種少數派控制時，這個少數派又會脫離他們。舉例來說，正如目前聯邦中的一些州宣佈脫離聯邦那樣，一兩年後南部新邦聯中的一部分難道就不會蠻橫地再行脫離嗎。一切醉心於分裂的人們目前所接受的正是這種思想。

在這些要組成新聯邦的州之間，難道真的具有完全一致的利益，足以使彼此和睦共處，並避免重新分裂嗎。

顯然，脫離聯邦的核心思想正是無政府狀態的實質所在。一個被憲法的強制力和規範所約束，並能順應公眾輿論和公眾感情的審慎的變化而變化的多數派，才是自由人民唯一真正的治理者。誰否認它，誰就必然走向無政府或專制。完全一致是不可能的。少數人的統治，作為一項永久性的安排，是完全不能接受的。因此，如果否認多數原則，剩下來的僅有某種形式的無政府狀態或專制而已……

我國有一部分人相信奴隸制是對的，應當予以延續，而另外一部分人則相信它是錯的，不應予以延續。這是唯一的實質性爭執……

從地理環境上說，我們是無法分離的。我們不能把各地區從彼此的位置上挪開，也不能在它們之間築起不可逾越的城牆。夫妻可以離婚，以後彼此不相見，也無法找到對方，但是，我國的不同地區之間不能這麼做。它們不得不面面相對，彼此往來，不管是友好的還是敵對的，這情形一定會在它們之間繼續下去。那麼，分裂以後是否有可能使彼此來往比以前更有利或者更令人滿意呢。與外人

簽約會比與朋友共訂法律更容易嗎.條約在異邦人之間會比法律在朋友之間得到更忠實的執行嗎.假如你們要打仗，你們也不能一直打下去，在雙方都傷亡慘重，誰也沒有收穫之後，你們停止作戰時，關於交往條件的一些與以前完全相同的問題又會擺在你們面前……

爲什麼不能滿懷信心，耐心等待人民的最終裁決呢.難道還有更好的或能與此相匹的希望嗎.在我們目前的分歧中，難道雙方都沒有信心認爲自己是站在正確的一邊嗎.如果代表永恆真理和正義的萬能上帝站在你們北方一邊或者站在你們南方一邊，那麼經過美國人民這個大法庭的裁決，真理和正義定將普照天下。

從管理我們的政府的組織結構來看，聰明的人民沒有給他們的公僕多少權力去胡鬧，而且他們還以同樣的智慧爲在短期內將那一點點權力收回到他們自己手中作了準備。只要人民保持他們的道德和警惕，任何行政管理人員，不管他們是多麼邪惡或多麼愚蠢，都不可能在短短四年內給這個政府造成嚴重傷害。

同胞們，你們每個人都應冷靜地好好思考這整個問題。花點時間是不會使任何有價值的東西遭到損失的。如果真有一件東西驅使你們之中任何一個人十萬火急地去採取一個你們在審慎沈著的情況下所決不會採取的步驟，那麼花點時間去思考就可以挫敗這東西。任何好的東西是不會因爲你這樣做而遭到挫敗的。就好像你們現在都心懷不滿，可你們還有一部未受損害的老憲法可依，在敏感問題上，你們還有你們自己根據憲法所制定的法律可依，而新的行政當局即便想，也沒有改變憲法或這些法律的直接權力。就算大家公認你們這些心懷不滿的人是站在爭執的正確一邊，那也沒有任何充足的理由去採取草率的行動。以我們的聰明才智、愛國精神、基督教信仰以及對至今從未據棄過這片沐浴聖恩

的土地的上帝的堅定信賴，我們還是有足夠的能力用最好的方武來解決我們目前所遇到的一切困難。

各位心懷不滿的同胞們，內戰這一重大問題，不繫於我的手裏，而繫於你們的手裏。政府不會攻擊你們。只要你們自己不當侵略者，你們就不會遇到衝突。你們沒有對天發誓要摧毀政府，但我們卻要立下最莊嚴的誓言來「保存、保護和保衛它」。

我真不願結束我的演講。我們不是敵人。我們之間感情的紐帶，或會因情緒激動而繃緊，但決不可折斷。那一根根不可思議的回憶之弦，從每個戰場和愛國志士的墳墓，伸展到這片遼闊土地上每一顆充滿活力的心房和每一個家庭，只要我們本性中的善念再度，而且一定會，加以撥動，它們終會重新奏出響亮的聯邦協奏曲。

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### **First Inaugural Address**

. . . Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that--

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so....

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished

citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it. One party to a contract may violate it--break it, so to speak--but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it. . . .

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none

unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. ...

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak.

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it. Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence. Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake.

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied. I think not. . . .

No organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority. The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories. The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories. The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority



in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it. All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession.

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left. . . .

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. ...

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws. Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends. Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the

identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you. . . .

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people. Is there any better or equal hope in the world. In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right. If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which -we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellows-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

哈裏.麥卡錫

(HARRY MACARTHY)

### 美麗的藍旗 **The Bonnie Blue Flag**

1860 年 12 月 20 日，南卡羅來納州脫離聯邦時，它的旗幟是藍色的，中心有一顆星。五週後，該州採用新旗以代表它作為南部邦聯一員的地位，旗是藍色的，左上角有一棵矮棕櫚樹和一輪新月。但是就在那五週裏，出現了一支歌唱第一面南卡羅來納州旗的歌，這支歌很快風靡南方，並成為南方邦聯的國歌。

哈裏.麥卡錫是阿肯色出生的喜劇演員和雜耍演員，他寫了《美麗的藍旗》這支歌並套用著名的愛爾蘭歌曲《愛爾蘭雙輪馬車》的曲調。麥卡錫的《美麗的藍旗》曾在傑克遜召開的密西西比會議上演唱，1861 年 1 月 9 日，在這裏通過了脫離聯邦的法案。這裏印出的第一、第二和最後一節是原版，其餘的都是新加入南部邦聯的各州即時加上的。

我們是一群兄弟、我們是土裏生土  
裏長，  
為誠實勞動而得的財產，我們共同  
奮戰；  
我們的權利受威脅時，吶喊便從遠

The Bonnie Blue Flag

We are a band of brothers, and  
native to the soil,  
Fighting for the property we gained  
by honest toil;  
And when our rights were  
threatened, the cry rose near and

近升起，

萬歲！爲了飾有一顆星的美麗的藍旗。(合唱)

萬歲！萬歲！爲了南方的權利！萬歲！

萬歲！爲了飾有一顆星的美麗的藍旗。只要聯邦信守她的職責，

我們就會像朋友兄弟一般友好公平；

但是，北方現在背信棄義想損害我們的權利，

我們要高高升起飾有一顆星的美麗的藍旗。首先是勇敢的南卡羅來納表明崇高的立場，

然後是亞拉巴馬來和她手聯手，

緊接著是密西西比、喬治亞和佛羅里達，

我們都高舉起飾有一顆星的美麗的藍旗。你們是勇敢的人，聚集在正義的旗幟下，

德克薩斯和美麗的路易斯安那都參加我們的戰鬥，

戴維斯是我們敬愛的總統，史蒂文

far;

Hurrah! for the bonnie blue flag  
that bears a Single star

CHORUS:

Hurrah! hurrah! for Southern  
rights! hurrah!

Hurrah! for the bonnie blue flag  
that bears a single star

As long as the Union was faithful to  
her trust,

Like friends and like brothers, kind  
were we and just;

But now, when Northern treachery  
attempts our rights to mar,

We hoist, on high, the bonnie blue  
flag that bears a single star.

First gallant South Carolina nobly  
made the stand,

Then came Alabama who took her  
by the hand;

Next, quickly Mississippi, Georgia  
and Florida,

All raised, on high, the bonnie blue  
flag that bears a single star.

Ye men of valor, gather 'round the  
banner of the right,

Texas and fair Louisiana join us in  
the fight

斯是難得的政治家，  
現在都聚集在飾有一顆星的美麗的  
藍旗下。勇敢的維吉尼亞，老資格  
的自治領，讓我們為她歡呼，  
她終於將自己的命運和年輕的邦聯  
連在一起，  
現在其他州受到她榜樣的鼓舞，  
也準備高舉起飾有一顆星的美麗的  
藍旗。那麼歡呼吧，孩子們，歡呼，  
痛快地喊吧，  
阿肯色州和北卡羅來納現在都出來  
啦；  
我們還要為田納西州高聲歡呼，  
美麗的藍旗上一顆星已增到十一  
顆。  
為我們的邦聯歡呼吧，我們強壯又  
勇敢，  
就像古時的愛國者，我們為拯救傳  
統而戰，  
我們寧死也不甘屈服受辱，  
為飾有一顆星的美麗的藍旗歡呼  
吧。

Davis, our loved President, and  
Stevens, statesman rare,  
Now rally 'round the bonnie blue  
flag that bears a single star.  
  
And here's to brave Virginia, the  
old Dominion State,  
With the young Confederacy, at  
length, has linked her fate;  
Impelled by her example now  
other States prepare  
To hoist, on high, the bonnie blue  
flag that bears a single star.  
  
Then cheer, boys, cheer, raise the  
joyous shout--  
For Arkansas and North Carolina  
now have both gone out;  
And let another rousing cheer for  
Tennessee be given--  
The single star of the bonnie blue  
flag has grown to be eleven.  
  
Then here's to our  
Confederacy--strong we are and  
brave,  
Like patriots of old, we'll fight our  
heritage to save;  
And rather than submit to shame,  
to die we would prefer--  
So cheer for the bonnie blue flag

that bears a single star.

詹姆斯.賴德.蘭德爾

(JAMES RYDER RANDAULL)

馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭

**Maryland, My Maryland**



林肯總統在 1862 年 10 月 1 日校閱陸軍總部

《馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭》的作者是詹姆斯.賴德.蘭德爾。他是路易斯安那一所學院的英語教授。蘭德爾是巴爾的摩人，他看到 1861 年 4 月 19 日在巴爾的摩發生戰鬥的消息，那一天，一支麻塞諸塞團隊經過該市時受到憤怒的當地居民的攻擊。士兵和平民都在戰鬥中喪了命。這個事件激發他寫一首歌頌南方抵抗的歌，並呼籲馬里蘭州加入南方邦聯(這事從來沒發生)。

這首詩第一次發表在《新奧爾良三角洲報》上，大大鼓舞了南方的士氣。當它被傳到巴爾的摩時，人們給它配上《唐仁包姆，哦，唐仁包姆》的曲調，並由一個支援邦聯的音樂出版商將它印出，封面印有馬裏蘭州的盾形紋徽。就像那個時期的許多流行歌曲所發生的情況一樣，《馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭》很快就以好幾種版本被傳開，包括一些寫來支援聯邦事業的版本。有一支聯邦的歌是這樣開頭的「叛軍已在你岸上，馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！起來把他趕出你家門……」馬裡蘭以壓倒優勢投票贊成留在聯邦裏。不過，被聯邦軍佔領的巴爾的摩城是堅定的親邦聯的。

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暴君的鐵蹄已踩到你的岸上，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
他的火把已燒到你的廟門上，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
愛國者的血已染紅巴爾的摩的大街，  
讓我們為他們報仇雪恨，  
願你做古時善戰的女王，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！請聽一個遊子的呼籲，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
你是我的母親州，我願跪在你面前，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
不論是生是死，是禍是福，  
願你顯出舉世無雙的勇士本色，  
給你美麗的肢體披上盔甲。  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！你不會含屈忍辱畏縮不前，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
你閃光的劍決不會生鏽，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
記住卡羅爾神聖的囑託，

Maryland, My Maryland  
The despot's heel is on thy shore,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
His torch is at thy temple door,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Avenge the patriotic gore  
That flecked the streets of Baltimore,  
And be the battle queen of yore,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Hark to an exiled son's appeal,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
My mother state, to thee I kneel,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
For life or death, for woe or weal,  
Thy peerless chivalry reveal,  
And gird thy beauteous limbs with steel,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Thou wilt not cower in the dust,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Thy beaming sword shall never rust,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Remember Carroll's sacred trust,  
Remember Howard's warlike thrust,  
And all thy slumberers with the just,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Come! 'Tis the red dawn of the day,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Come with thy panoplied array,  
Maryland, my Maryland!

記住霍華德勇武的一戳，  
記住所有為正義躺下的人，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！來呀！這是血紅  
的黎明，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
披上你的盔甲來，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
帶著林戈爾德的鬥爭精神來，  
帶著蒙特雷沃森灑下的血來，  
帶上無畏的洛和勇敢的梅來，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！親愛的母親，  
掙開暴君的鎖鏈，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
願維吉尼亞的呼喊沒白費，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
她會在平原上和姐妹相會，  
是那自豪的疊句「Sic temper」，  
立即阻止了走狗向前，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！來呀！你的盾  
又亮又堅，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
來呀！浪費時間就壞了你的事，

With Ringgold's spirit for the fray,  
With Watson's blood at Monterey,  
With fearless Lowe and dashing May,  
Maryland, my Maryland!

Dear mother, burst the tyrant's  
chain,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Virginia should not call in vain,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
She meets her sisters on the plain  
"Sic temper," 'tis the proud  
refrain  
That baffles minion's back  
again,  
Maryland, my Maryland!

Come! for thy shield is bright and  
strong,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Come! for thy dalliance does thee  
wrong,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Come to thine own heroic throng,  
Stalking with liberty along,  
And chant thy dauntless  
slogan-song,  
Maryland, my Maryland!



馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
來到你自己的英雄群眾裏，  
與自由一起闊步向前，  
並唱起你英勇的戰歌，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！我看到你兩頰  
緋紅，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
但你雖一向溫和卻很勇敢，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
聽呀！山山水水  
都發出了尖厲的吶喊，  
喊聲從波托馬克傳到了切薩皮克，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
你不會讓野蠻人隨意破壞，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
你不會屈從他的控制，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
寧可讓烈火燒燬房屋，  
寧可讓槍擊，刀劈，箭戳，  
也不讓靈魂被釘在十字架上，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
我聽到遠處的雷鳴聲，

I see the blush upon thy cheek,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
But thou wast ever bravely meek,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
But lo! there surges forth a  
shriek,  
From hill to hill, from creek to  
creek,  
Potomac calls to Chesapeake,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Thou wilt not yield the vandal toll,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Thou wilt not crook to his control,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
Better the fire upon the roll,  
Better the shot, the blade, the  
bowl,  
Than crucifixion of the soul,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
I hear the distant thunder-hum,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
The "Old Line's" bugle, fife and drum,  
Maryland, my Maryland!  
She is not dead, nor deaf nor dumb,  
Huzza! she spurns the Northern scum--  
She breathes! She burns! She'll come!  
She'll come!  
Maryland, my Maryland!

馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
我聽到「老隊伍的」軍號和軍樂，  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭！  
她沒有死，不聾也不啞，  
萬歲！她一腳踢開了北方流氓，  
她在呼氣！她怒火中燒！她就來了  
她就來了！  
馬裡蘭，我的馬裡蘭。

喬治.F.魯特

(GEORGE F. ROOT)

為自由而戰的吶喊

**Battle Cry of Freedom**

《為自由而戰的吶喊》又叫《集合到國旗下，男兒們》，是喬治.F.魯特創作於1861年。這首歌是套用一支激動人心的愛國曲調，而且可能是人們最喜愛的一文聯邦歌曲。魯特創作了兩個不同的版本，一首是為平民寫的「集合」歌，另一首是為戰士寫的「戰鬥」歌。第一個版本是在愛國集會、徵兵大會和軍營裏唱，第二個版本是進行曲。

魯特(1820—1895)創作了流行的聯邦行羅歌《走！走！走》以及那個時期的其他歌曲。其個包括《就在戰鬥之前，媽媽》和《四面有音樂，男兒們》。他後來寫聖歌和大合唱。他最成功的一首抒情歌謠是《羅莎莉，草原之花》。1891年，他出版自傳《一個音樂生命的故事》。

**集 合 歌**是的，我們將集合到國旗下，  
男兒們，我們將再次集合，

**Rallying Song**

Yes, we'll rally 'round the flag,  
boys, we'll rally once again,

發出爲自由而戰的吶喊，

我們將從山岡來集合，

我們將從平原來集合，

發出爲自由而戰的吶喊，(合唱)

聯邦永存，萬歲！男兒們，萬歲！

打倒賣國賊，舉起星條旗；

我們集合到國旗下，

男兒們，我們再次集合，

發出爲自由而戰的吶喊。我們踴躍回應

在我們前面犧牲的兄弟的號召，

我們要千百萬自由人來填補他們空下的隊伍。我們歡迎忠貞、誠實和勇敢的人加入我們的隊伍，

雖然他們很窮，但沒有一個人要做奴隸。所以我們從東部和西部來踴躍回應號召，

我們要把叛軍從我們最可愛的土地上趕走。**戰歌**

我們行軍上戰場，男兒們，我們去打仗，  
發出爲自由而戰的吶喊。

爲了聯邦和正義，我們扛起光榮的星條旗，

Shouting the battle-cry of  
freedom;

We will rally from the hillside,  
we'll gather from the plain,  
Shouting the battle-cry of  
freedom.

CHORUS:

The Union forever, Hurrah!  
boys, hurrah!

Down with the traitor and up  
with the star;

While we rally 'round the flag,  
boys, rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of  
freedom.

We are springing to the call of  
our Brothers gone before,  
And we'll fill the vacant ranks  
with a million freemen more.  
We will welcome to our  
numbers the loyal, true and  
brave,

And altho' they may be poor,  
not a man shall be a slave.

So we're springing to the call  
from the East and from the  
West,

And we'll hurl the rebel crew  
from the land we love the

發出爲自由而戰的吶喊。

(合唱)

聯邦永存，萬歲！男兒們，萬歲！

打倒賣國賊，舉起星條旗；

我們行軍上戰場，男兒們，我們去打仗，

發出爲自由而戰的吶喊。

男兒們，我們要忠貞無畏迎戰叛軍，

我們要幹出山姆大叔要忠誠的男兒幹

的事。

如果我們陷入衝突，男兒們，我們將與

他們拚搏到底，

我們勇敢的同志從我們身邊衝突時將

聽到我們的聲音。

是的，爲了自由和聯邦，我們將踴躍投

入戰鬥，

勝利是屬於我們的，因爲我們正奮力而

起。

best.

### **Battle Song**

We are marching to the field, boys,  
we're going to the fight,

Shouting the battle-cry of  
freedom;

And we bear the glorious stars for the  
Union and the right,

Shouting the battle-cry of  
freedom.

### **CHORUS:**

The Union forever, Hurrah! boys,  
hurrah!

Down with the traitor, up with the  
star;

For we're marching to the field, boys,  
going to the fight

Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

We will meet the rebel host, boys,  
with fearless hearts and true,

And we'll show what Uncle Sam has  
for loyal boys to do.

If we fall amid the fray, boys, we'll  
face them to the last,

And our comrades brave shall hear  
us, as they go rushing past.

Yes, for Liberty and Union we're  
springing to the fight,

And the vict'ry shall be ours, for

we're rising in our might.

## 約翰.布朗之歌

### The John Brown Song

雖然，這支歌是歌唱哈潑斯.費裏熱烈士約翰.布朗的，但它本來不是為他而作的。很雖然，這支歌本來是由駐在波士頓沃倫堡的第十二麻塞諸塞團的「猛虎」管的官兵寫的，用以與他們自己的中士約翰.布朗開玩笑。其曲調是套用一支流行的軍管歌的曲調，這支歌是由南卡羅來納的威廉.斯特弗所作，歌中原來的疊句是：「說呀，弟兄們，你們要和我們在迦南的樂土上相會嗎？」1861年夏，這支歌以《光榮的哈利路亞！》為題在波士頓發表，立刻就風靡起來而且成為一支流行的行軍歌。由於廢除奴隸製成了內戰的一個目標，這支歌就成為士兵和平民唱的一支主要歌曲。歌名變成《約翰.布朗的遺體》或《約翰.布朗之歌》。

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約翰.布朗的屍體躺在墓裏腐爛，(重覆三遍)

他的英魂在前進。

(合唱)

光榮！光榮，哈利路亞！光榮，光榮，哈利路亞！

光榮！光榮，哈利路亞！他的英魂在前進。

天上的星星正慈祥地往下看，

看到老約翰.布朗的墳地上。

他已成為上帝軍隊裏的一個兵，

他的英魂在前進。

約翰.布朗的背包還背在他背上，

他的英魂在前進。

他寵愛的羔羊將在路上迎接他，

它們將跟向前進。

他們將把傑夫.戴維斯吊死在酸蘋果樹上，

他們向前進。

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### The John Brown Song

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave [Repeat 3 times],  
His soul is marching on.

#### CHORUS:

Glory, glory, Hallelujah! Glory, glory, Hallelujah!

Glory, glory, Hallelujah! His soul is marching on

The stars of heaven are looking kindly down

On the grave of old John Brown.

He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord

His soul is marching on.

John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back

His soul is marching on.

His pet lambs will meet him on the way

And they'll go marching on.

They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree

As they go marching on.

朱莉婭.沃德.豪

(JULIA WARD HOWE)

### 共和國戰歌

#### **Battle Hymn of the Republic**

朱莉婭.沃德.豪(1819—1910)於 1861 年 11 月 18 日凌晨寫出《共和國戰歌》。她是一位著名的廢奴論者、詩人、婦女參政主義者和人道主義者。那天，

她和她的丈夫、著名的麻塞諸塞改革家塞謝爾.格裏德利.豪博士到華盛頓特區訪問。而在前一天，豪夫婦看到波托馬克河南面軍隊的調遣，並和士兵們一起唱流行的歌曲《約翰.布朗的遺體》。一個朋友建議她為這支行軍歌寫新歌詞。據她自己說，她在黎明前起床，找到筆和紙，就寫下了《共和國戰歌》，而這時她的幼小的女兒還在旁邊睡著。1862年2月，這支歌發表(沒有署她名字)在《大西洋月刊》上，贏得像拉爾夫.沃爾多.愛默生、威廉.卡倫.布賴恩特和亨利.華茲沃思.朗費羅這樣傑出文學家的高度讚揚，但更重要的是，聯邦軍立即把它作為自己的行軍歌。這是唯一的一首最終能超越地方偏見而成為真正全國性歌曲的內戰歌曲。在西一美戰爭、第一次和第二次世界大戰期間，美軍都是唱這支歌。它作為全國性歌曲的持久性不僅是由於它有活潑高昂的曲調，而且是由於它的歌詞兼備愛國、宗教和慶賀自由的特點。

我的眼睛已看到主降臨的榮光，

他正要踏平存有憤怒葡萄的地方，

他可怕的快劍已發出致命的閃光：

他的真理在前進。我已在上百個環形軍營的篝火裏看見主；  
他披著夜間的露水為他建了一座神壇，

我能憑昏暗搖曳的燈光讀出他公正的判決：

他的勝利在前進。我已在一排

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:

His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;

They have builded Him altar in the evening dews and damps;

I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:

His day is marching on.

排磨光的利劍裏讀到一篇熾  
熱的福音書；

「因為你在對付輕侮我的人，  
所以我要為你祝福；

讓人間的英雄用他的腳跟踩  
死毒蛇，

因為上帝在前進。」他已吹響  
那決不召喚退卻的號角；

他把人心擺在他的法庭面前  
審查：

哦，我的靈魂快點回應主的號  
召！

我的腳要歡快奔跑！

我們的上帝在前進。基督生在  
大海彼岸美麗的百合花中，

他懷裏的榮光使你我成為神  
聖；

正如他為使人類神聖而死，讓  
我們為使人類自由而獻身，

這時上帝在前進。

I have read a fiery gospel writ in  
burnished rows of steel:

"As ye deal with my contemners, so with  
you my grace shall deal;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent  
with his heel,

Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that  
shall never call retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before  
His judgment-seat:

Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him!  
be jubilant, my feet!

Our God is marching on

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was  
born across the sea.

With a glory in his bosom that transfigures  
you and me:

As he died to men holy, let us die to make men  
free

While God is marching on

約翰·格林利夫·惠蒂埃

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)



巴巴拉.弗裏徹

**Barbara Frietchie**

《巴巴拉.弗裏徹》是一首著名的愛國詩歌，作於 1863 年，經常被編進詩集並被人深情地背誦下來。一個多世紀以來，「她說，『如果你必須開槍，那就朝我這頭髮灰白的老人打吧，但請別打你們的國旗。』」造句詩在民族文化的語彙裏一直佔有特殊的位置。惠蒂埃堅持說這個故事是真實的，而且在華盛頓和馬裡蘭都很聞名，他沒有理由懷疑它的準確性。不管是不是真的，這首詩已經為幾代美國人所喜愛。

涼爽的九月早晨，氣清天朗，  
在那盛產玉米的草地上，矗立著一群群弗雷  
德裏克城的塔尖，  
馬裡蘭的山岡就像綠牆把它們圍在中間。在  
它們周圍到處是果園，  
蘋果和桃樹碩果結滿園。在那些飢餓的叛軍  
眼裏，  
就像主的花園一樣美麗。在那個涼爽的初秋  
早晨，  
李將軍的隊伍踏過山城。他們騎馬步行遍佈  
山峰。  
迤邐走向弗雷德裏克城。四十面飾著銀色五  
星的旗。  
四十面飾著深紅條紋的旗。

Up from the meadows rich with  
corn,  
Clear in the cool September  
morn,  
  
The clustered spires of  
Frederick stand  
Green-walled by the hills of  
Maryland.  
  
Round about them orchards  
sweep,  
Apple and peach tree fruited  
deep,  
  
Fair as the garden of the Lord  
To the eyes of the famished  
rebel horde.  
  
On that pleasant morn of the  
early fall

晨風中飄動星條旗四十面，  
晌午的太陽卻看不到一面。  
這時老巴巴拉·弗裏徹站起來，  
她高齡九十腰都直不起來。  
她是弗雷德里克城最勇敢的人，  
她拿起了士兵們降下的星條旗。  
她把旗竿插在她家頂樓的窗上，  
以表明有一顆心還是忠貞無上。  
叛軍的隊伍從大街上走過來，  
斯通沃爾·傑克遜騎馬走在前頭。  
他戴著垂邊軟帽左看右視，  
看到了那面破舊的星條旗。  
「停！」——風塵僕僕的隊伍立定不前，  
「開火！」——來福槍噴發出烈火烈焰。  
窗戶、玻璃和窗框都在顫動，  
子彈將星條旗撕成條條洞洞。  
當旗從斷竿上迅速落下時，  
巴巴拉老人趕緊抓住絲質的旗面。  
她將身體遠遠傾出窗臺，  
以極大的毅力把旗搖擺。  
她說，「如果你們必須開槍，就朝我這頭髮  
灰白人打吧，

When Lee marched over the  
mountain-wall;  
Over the mountains winding  
down,  
Horse and foot, into Frederick  
town.  
Forty flags with their silver  
stars,  
Forty flags with their crimson  
bars,  
Flapped in the morning wind:  
the sun  
Of noon looked down, and saw  
not one.  
Up rose old Barbara Frietchie  
then,  
Bowed with her fourscore years  
and ten;  
Bravest of all in Frederick  
town,  
She took up the flag the men  
hailed down;  
In her attic window the staff she  
set,  
To show that one heart was  
loyal yet.

但請別打你們的國旗。」  
指揮官的臉上露出一點悲哀，  
他差愧得滿臉通紅；  
那個女人的言行，  
激發出他心中更高尚的天性；  
他說，「誰碰那位白髮老人一根毛，  
就會跟狗一樣死去！前進！」  
整個弗雷德里克城的街上，  
一整天都響著他們行軍的腳步聲；  
那面自由的旗幟，  
一整天都飄揚在叛軍頭上。  
就連它被撕破的褶條也在上下起伏，  
飄動在熱愛它的忠誠的清風中。  
夕陽的光輝透過山間的縫隙，  
照耀在旗上致以熱情的晚安。  
巴巴拉·弗裏徹的工作已完畢，  
叛軍再也沒有來襲擊。  
向她致敬！而且爲了她，  
讓我們灑滴淚在斯通沃爾的靈柩上。  
在巴巴拉·弗裏徹的墳墓上，  
飄揚著自由和聯邦的旗幟！  
你是光明和法律的象徵，

Up the street came the rebel  
tread,  
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat left and  
right  
He glanced; the old flag met his  
sight.

"Halt!" — the dust-brown ranks  
stood fast  
"Fire!" — out blazed the  
rifle-blast.

It shivered the window, pane  
and sash;  
It rent the banner with seam and  
gash.

Quick, as it fell, from the  
broken staff  
Dame Barbara snatched the  
silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the  
window-sill,  
And shook it forth -with a royal  
will.

"Shoot, if you must, this old

你引來和平，秩序和美；

天上的星星朝下看星星，

永遠會看到弗雷德裏克城上你的五星！

gray head,

But spare your country's flag,"  
she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of  
shame,

Over the face of the leader  
came;

The nobler nature within him  
stirred

To life at that -woman's deed  
and word;

"Who touches a hair on yon  
gray head

Dies like a dog! March on!" he  
said.

All day long through Frederick  
street

Sounded the tread of marching  
feet:

All day long that free flag tost  
Over the heads of the rebel  
host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell  
On the loyal winds that loved it

well;

And through the hill-gaps  
sunset light

Shone over it with a warm  
good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,  
And the Rebel rides on his raids  
no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear  
Fall, for her sake, on  
Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave  
Flag of Freedom and Union,  
wave!

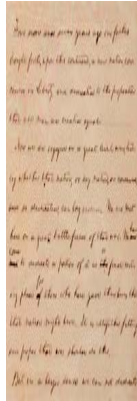
Peace and order and beauty  
draw  
Round thy symbol of light and  
law;

And ever the stars above look  
down  
On thy stars below in Frederick  
town!

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

## 葛底斯堡演說

### The Gettysburg Address



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

八十七年以前，我們的祖先在這塊大陸上創立了一個孕育於自由的新國家。他們主張人人生而平等，並為此而獻身。

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1863 年 7 月 3 日。聯邦軍在賓夕法尼亞州葛底斯堡的勝利標誌著美國內戰的關鍵轉捩點。羅伯特·更·李將軍侵佔賓夕法尼亞，曾希望以此來分割北方並打擊北方的士氣，以便迅速結束這場戰爭。葛底斯堡戰役是一場流血最多的戰爭。聯邦軍損失二萬三千人，而南方邦聯傷亡失蹤的士兵達二萬八千人。北方對葛底斯堡的勝利歡欣鼓舞。四個月後林肯總統到葛底斯堡戰場訪問，為這場偉大戰役的陣亡將士墓舉行落成儀式。這篇演說是在 1863 年 11 月 19 日發表的。

林肯的葛底斯堡演說是美國文學中最漂亮、最富有詩意的文章之一。雖然這是一篇慶祝軍事勝利的演說，但它沒有好戰之氣；相反地，這是一篇感人肺腑的頌辭，讚美那些作出最後犧牲的人，以及他們為之獻身的那些理想。

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八十七年以前，我們的祖先在這塊大陸上創立了一個孕育於自由的新國家。他們主張人人生而平等，並為此而獻身。現在我們正進行一場偉大的內戰，這是一場檢驗這一國家或者任何一個像我們這樣孕育於自由並信守其主張的國家

是否能長久存在的戰爭。我們聚集在這場戰爭中的一個偉大戰場上，將這個戰場上的一塊土地奉獻給那些在此地爲了這個國家的生存而犧牲了自己生命的人，作爲他們的最終安息之所。我們這樣做是完全適當和正確的。

可是，從更廣的意義上說，我們並不能奉獻這塊土地——我們不能使之神聖——我們也不能使之光榮。因爲那些在此地奮戰過的勇士們，不論是還活著的或是已死去的，已經使這塊土地神聖了，遠非我們微薄的力量所能予以增減的。世人將不大會注意，更不會長久記住我們在這裏所說的話，然而，他們將永遠不會忘記這些勇士們在這裏所做的工作。相反地，我們活著的人，應該獻身於勇士們未竟的工作，那些曾在此地戰鬥過的人們已經把這項工作英勇地向前推進了。我們應該獻身於留在我們面前的偉大任務——由於他們的光榮犧牲，我們會更加獻身於他們爲之奉獻了最後一切的事業——我們要下定決心使那些死去的人不致白白犧牲——我們要使這個國家在上帝的庇佑下，獲得自由的新生——我們要使這個民有、民治、民享的政府不致從地球上消失。

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Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not

hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

瓦爾特·惠特曼

(WALT WHITMAN)

亞伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

## 第二任就職演說

### Second Inaugural Address

我們對任何人都不懷惡意，我們對任何人都抱好感。上帝讓我們看到哪一邊是正確的，我們就堅信那是正確的一邊。讓我們繼續奮鬥，以完成我們正在進行的工作，去治療國家的創傷，去照顧艱苦作戰的戰士和他們的遺孀遺孤，盡一切努力實現並維護我們自己之間以及我國與他國之間的公正和持久的和平。

直至 1864 年夏末，林肯還沒想到他會在總統選舉中獲勝。他以為民主黨候選人喬治·B·麥克萊倫將贏得勝利。民主黨想結束這場戰爭，並準備通過談判放棄林肯對解放黑奴所承擔的義務以換取和平。然而，1864 年秋，聯邦軍的節節勝利，



尤其是攻陷了亞特蘭大，不但使戰局扭轉，而且也改變了總統選舉的投票結果。

1865 年 3 月 4 日，林肯在華盛頓發表第二任就職演說。這是處於全盛時期的林肯：誠實，樸素，雄辯。他知道戰爭就要結束。他也知道現在應該是反省這個國家的痛苦經歷並展望未來的時候了。

在這第二任的就職宣誓典禮中，並不需要像第一任就職時那樣發表長篇演說。那時，對當時所要採取的方針政策多少作一些詳細說明，似乎是適當的。現在四年任期屆滿，在這期間於戰爭的每個重要時刻和階段——這場戰爭至今仍為舉國所關注、並且佔用了國家的大部分力量——我都經常發佈文告，所以現在也提不出什麼新的主張。我們的軍事進展，是一切其他問題的關鍵所在，大家對其情形和我一樣明瞭，而且我相信進展的情況可以使我們全體人民有理由感到滿意和鼓舞。既然將來很有希望，那麼我也無須在這方面作什麼預言了。

四年前，在與此相同的時刻，所有人的思想都焦慮地集中在一場即將來臨的內戰上。誰都害怕內戰，都想盡辦法去避免它。當我在這個地方作就職演說時，我曾想儘量不訴諸戰爭而保存聯邦，然而反叛分子的代理人卻設法在這個城市裏以不打仗的方式(推毀聯邦——他們力圖以談判的方式來瓦解聯邦，分享財物。雙方都聲稱反對戰爭，可是有一方寧願打仗而不願讓國家生存，另一方則寧可接受戰爭而不願讓國家滅亡，於是戰爭就來臨了。

我們全國人口的八分之一是黑奴，他們並不是遍佈於全國，而是局部地分佈於南方。這些奴隸形成一種特殊而重大的利益。大家都知道這種利益可說是這場戰爭的原因。為了加強、永久保持並擴大這種利益，反叛分子會不惜以戰爭來分裂

聯邦，而政府只不過要限制這種利益的地區擴張。當初，任何一方都沒有想到戰爭會發展到 目前這麼大的範圍，持續這麼長的時間，也沒有料到衝突的原因會隨衝突本身終止而終止，甚至會在衝突本身終止以前而終止。雙方都在尋求一個較輕易的勝利，都 不期盼有什麼帶根本性的或驚人的結果。雙方都誦讀同樣的聖經，向同一個上帝祈禱，甚至每一方都祈求同一個上帝的幫助以反對另一方。人們竟敢要求公正的上帝 來幫助他們奪取他人以血汗換來的麵包，這看來似乎很奇怪。可是，我們還是別評判人家，以免別人來評判我們。雙方的祈禱都無法如願，而且從沒全部如願以償。 萬能的上帝自有他自己的意旨：「世界由於罪惡而受苦難，因為世界總是有罪惡的，然而那個作惡的人，要受苦難。」假如我們認為美國的奴隸制是這種罪惡之一， 而這些罪惡按上帝的意志又在所不免，但既經持續了他所指定的一段時間，他現在便要消除這些罪惡。假如我們認為上帝把這場慘烈的戰爭加在南北雙方的頭上，作 為對那些作惡的人的責罰，難道我們可以由此認為這有悖於虔奉上帝的信徒們所歸諸上帝的那些聖德嗎。我們殷切地希望，熱忱地祈禱，但願這戰爭的重罰會很快過 去。可是，假使上帝要讓戰爭再繼續下去，直到二百五十年來奴隸無償勞動所積聚的財富化為烏有，並像三千年前人們所說的那樣，直至被鞭苔所流的每一滴血為刀 劍下流的每一滴血所償付為止，那麼，我也只好說：「主的裁判是完全正確而公道的。」

我們對任何人都不懷惡意，我們對任何人都抱好感。上帝讓我們看到哪一邊是正確的，我們就堅信那正確的一邊。讓我們繼續奮鬥，以完成我們正在進行的工作，去 治療國家的創傷，去照顧艱苦作戰的戰士和他們的遺孀遺孤，盡一切努力實現並維護我們自己之間以及我國與他國之間的公正和持久的和平。

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

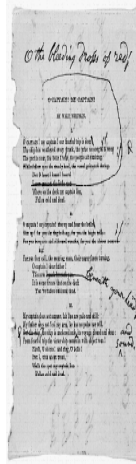
One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes

His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

《我聽見美洲在歌唱》和《啊，船長！我的船長！》

**I Hear America Singing and O Captain! My Captain !**



作者修改《啊，船長！我的船長！》

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

瓦爾特·惠特曼(1819—1892)生於紐約長島，在紐約市布魯克林區長大。他當過印刷工、記者、教師和政府職員，主編過好幾份報紙，其中包括《布魯克林鷹報》。

1855 年，惠特曼自費出版《草葉集》，只印了九百本左右，其中大部分都送給他的朋友。這本薄薄的詩集共收了十二首無題詩另加一篇前言，起初並沒引起多少人注意。然而它終究還是影響了幾代美國詩人。惠特曼創新的自由詩——不押韻腳，不拘音步——以及他現實主義的形象和個人風格都表明他與因循守舊的詩歌斷然決裂。惠特曼一生中都定期擴充和修訂《草葉集》。

《我聽見美洲在歌唱》發表於 1860 年。《啊，船長！我的船長》寫於林肯被刺後不久；發表在惠特曼的《桴鼓集續篇》(1865—66)裏。

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### 我聽見美洲在歌唱

我聽見美洲在歌唱，我聽見各種不問的頌歌，

技工在歌唱，歌唱他們愉快而強健的歌，

木匠在歌唱，同時量著他的木板或衍木，

泥瓦匠在歌唱，唱在準備上工或下工的時候，

船工在歌唱，唱他船裏的一切，水手也站在汽艇的甲板上歌唱、

鞋匠坐在船上歌唱，帽匠站著歌唱，  
伐木工在歌唱，犁田青年也在歌唱，  
他們唱在早晨的路上，或唱在午間休息時，或唱在日落時分，  
我還聽見母親的美妙歌聲，或者年輕的妻子一邊工  
作一邊歌唱，或者姑娘們一邊縫一邊歌唱或一邊洗一邊歌唱，  
人人都在唱屬於他或她而不屬於別人的歌，  
白天唱屬於白天的歌——晚間，年輕人聚在一起，他們強壯而友好，  
放聲歌唱他們強健而和諧的歌。

**啊，船長！我的船長！**

啊，船長！我的船長！我們可怕的航程已經終了，  
我們的船已安然渡過所有的難關，我們所追求的錦標也已經得到，  
港口就在前面，我已聽見鐘聲，聽到了人們的歡呼，  
千萬隻眼睛都在望著我們的船安穩前進，它是那樣威嚴和勇敢；  
可是，啊，心喲！心喲！心喲！

啊，鮮紅的血滴，  
就在那甲板上，我的船長躺下了，  
他已渾身冰冷，心臟停止了跳動。

啊，船長！我的船長！起來聽聽這鐘聲，  
起來吧，——旌旗為你招展，——號角為你長鳴，  
為你，岸上擠滿了人群——為你，人們準備了無數的花束和花環，  
為你。這雀躍的人群在歡呼，他們殷切的臉正對著你看；  
這裏，船長，親愛的父親！

讓你的頭枕著我的手臂！

真像是夢，躺在甲板上，

你已渾身冰冷，心臟停止了跳動。

我的船長沒有回答，他的嘴唇慘白，」一動不動，

我的父親沒有感覺到我的手臂，他已經沒有脈搏，也沒有意志，

我們的船已安全地下錨了，它的航程已經終了，

從可怕的航程歸來，這勝利的船，目的已經達到；

啊，海岸歡呼，鐘聲長鳴！

可我卻以悲痛的步履，

漫步在甲板上，那裏躺著我的船長

他已渾身冰冷，心臟停止了跳動。

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### I Hear America Singing

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,

Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be blithe and strong,

The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,

The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,

The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat, the deckhand singing on the steamboat deck,

The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, the hatter singing as he stands,

The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his way in the morning,

or at noon intermission or at sundown,  
The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or  
of the girl sewing or washing,  
Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else,  
The day what belongs to the day—at night the party of young  
fellows, robust, friendly,  
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs.

O Captain! My Captain!

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,  
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,  
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,  
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;  
But O heart! heart! heart!

O the bleeding drops of red,  
Where on the deck my Captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;  
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,  
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,  
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;

    Flere Captain! dear father!

    This arm beneath your head!

        It is some dream that on the deck,

        You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,  
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,  
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,



From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;

Exult O shores, and ring O bells!

But I with mournful tread,

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead.

弗雷德里克·道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

對美國反對奴隸制協會的演說

**Speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society**

只有在黑人有投票權時，奴隸制才會被禁止。

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在北方戰勝南方已成定局時，反對奴隸制的鬥爭似乎也取得勝利。1865年2月1日，國會批准了禁止奴隸制的《憲法第十三修正案》，一週之內八個州批准了修正案。只有幾個月時間，該修正案就被正式通過。但是，對於新獲得自由的黑人會是怎樣呢。有哪些法律保護可以保證他們的權利呢。誰也無法預計將來會是什麼情況。美國反奴隸制協會在波士頓開會討論既然奴隸制已成為歷史，那麼該協會有沒有必要存在。1865年5月10日，弗雷德里克·道格拉斯發表演說，敦促該協會不要解散，而要繼續向種族歧視作鬥爭。由於過去的艱難經歷，他肯定在黑人能夠無所畏懼地行使公民權並接受法律的完全保護之前，他們的從屬地位(不管把這種情況叫作什麼都一樣)就將繼續下去。

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……我不想在這兒吹毛求疵，或者指責那些認為現在到了解散這個協會的時候的人的動機。我沒有懷疑那些促使本協會主席(威廉·勞埃德·加裏森)和其他贊成解散本協會的先生們的動機之純潔和美好。我堅持這樣的一種觀點，即不管這個憲法修正案(第十三)是否已成為法律，不管是否有足夠數量的州已批准該修

正案作為法律，我認為廢除奴隸制的工作並沒有結束。即使聯邦每個州都批准了那個修正案，當南方立法裏黑人還與「白」這個詞相對時，在我看來，我們作為廢奴主義者的工作還沒有結束。昨晚，我堅持認為南方通過不友好的立法可以使我們的自由按照那個規定成為一種幻想，一個嘲弄和一個陷阱，我現在還是持這種觀點。如果任何一個州的議會可以在明天宣佈法院不能接受黑人的證詞，那麼像這個修正案這樣一個規定對黑人來說又有什麼好處。那麼我們現在在哪裡。任何一個壞蛋都可以進入一個黑人的房子隨意施暴，如果剛好他施暴時只有黑人在場，那他便可追逐法外。[好哇!好哇!]不要對我說南方那些人已經一下子變得那麼公正誠實，以致他們不會通過那些剝奪黑人在法庭上提供反對白人的證詞的權利的法律。喔，我們北方各州已經幹了。伊利諾伊、印地安納和俄亥俄已經幹了。這裏，在普利茅斯巖發佈的法規中，黑人就已被排除在外，不讓他們在法庭作證，如果每一個南方州的議會明天通過一項法律，宣佈黑人不能在任何法庭作證，那麼他們也不會違反憲法的那個條款。這樣的法律現在在南方還存在，而且根據憲法的這個條款，即在聯邦的任何一個州都不應有奴隸制和非自願勞役的存在，這些法律還可能存在……

只有在黑人有投票權時，奴隸制才會被禁止。只要南方各州議會還保留通過在白人與黑人之間製造歧視的法律的權利，那麼奴隸制仍然還會在那兒存在。[鼓掌]正如埃德蒙·昆西說過的那樣，「只要在麻塞諸塞的法令全書上還有『白』這個詞，麻塞諸塞就是一個蓄奴州。只要在麻塞諸塞可以把一個黑人從汽車裏推出去，馬薩諸塞就是一個蓄奴州。只要你可以從舊麻塞諸塞得到一個奴隸，麻塞諸塞就是一個蓄奴州」。那是我在二十三年或二十四年以前聽到埃德蒙·昆西這麼說的。我從來沒有忘記這件事。現在，只要黑人的投票權可以被剝奪，只

要南方各州議會可以剝奪黑人保留和攜帶武器的權利——在我那個地方，他們不讓黑人拿手杖走路，他們不讓五個以上的黑人聚集在一起——那麼我們廢奴主義者的工作就沒有結束。雖然美國憲法的條款規定保留和攜帶武器的權利不應被剝奪，但黑人從來沒有保留或攜帶武器的權利，根據這個修正案，各州議會仍然還有權力禁止這個權利。他們可以繼續推行不友好的立法制度，他們會不這麼做嗎。他們在那兒這麼幹時就不帶偏見嗎。難道你們以為因為此刻他們是處於我們光榮的鷹爪和鷹嘴之下，而不是像以前那樣處在奴隸之中，他們就會改弦易轍了嗎。我在威爾明頓聽說過忠誠守法，我在南卡羅來納也聽說過忠誠守法——可那能值幾個錢。

[「不如一根稻草。」]

不如一根稻草。我感謝我的朋友承認這一點。當他們看到二十萬黑色士兵帶著閃亮的刺刀從他們當中走過時，他們就忠誠守法。[鼓掌]但是，如果讓南方恢復政府權力，那麼對黑人的舊偏見和敵視又會重現。是的，正是黑人被利用來擊敗這次叛亂並摧毀了邦聯的道德倫理標準這個事實將刺激他們所有的仇恨，所有的惡意，並導致他們對這個階級制定出比以往任何時候都更苛刻的立法。

[鼓掌]美國人民有義務——出於他們的榮譽感有義務(我希望能出於榮譽感，至少出於公正的榮譽感)給予黑人選舉權，我本想說美國反奴隸制協會的廢奴主義者應當有義務「站著不動，期待上帝的拯救」直至那項工作完成為止。[鼓掌]朋友們，如果美國反奴隸制協會不支援黑人，那麼他們去哪裡尋求支援！

[「好哇，好哇。」]當這個老資格的廢奴先驅，這個經過暴民攻擊、英勇犧牲以及牧師和政客的聯合鎮壓之後仍倖存下來的協會突然消逝，僅僅宣佈說憲法已經得到修正，所以在這個國家裏自此以後既不允許有奴隸制也不允許有非自

願的奴役，那麼我們還能從何處期望得到自由喇叭的一個肯定的聲音呢。裡士滿的奴隸主對那些以武裝黑人將使他成為自由人為由而反對武裝黑人的人說了什麼呢。哼，他們說：「這個論點很荒唐。我們應當使這些黑人為我們作戰，但是，當我們獲得南方的政治權力時，我們仍可將他們保留在從屬地位。」這就是他們的論點，而且他們是對的。他們本可以僱傭黑人為他們作戰，而且當他們手中獲得剝奪黑人政治權利的權力時，他們就可以將黑人降低到與奴隸一樣的狀況中。他們將不會把這種情況叫作奴隸制，而是叫作別的什麼名字。在給自家起名字方面，奴隸制一直是很有成果的。它曾被叫作「特別制度」、「社會制度」和「障礙」，正如衛理聖公會的全體大會所稱的那樣。它已經有過許多名字。而且將給它自己再起一個名字，你，我，我們大家最好拭目以待，看看這個老妖怪將以什麼形式，這隻老毒蛇將以什麼新皮出現。

[熱烈鼓掌]

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I do not wish to appear here in any fault finding spirit, or as an impugner of the motives of those who believe that the time has come for this Society to disband. I am conscious of no suspicion of the purity and excellence of the motives that animate the President of this Society [William Lloyd Garrison], and other gentlemen who are in favor of its disbandment. I take this ground; whether this Constitutional Amendment [the thirteenth] is law or not, whether it has been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it law or not, I hold that the work of Abolitionists is not done. Even if every State in the Union had ratified that Amendment, while the black man is confronted in the legislation of the South by the word

"white," our work as Abolitionists, as I conceive it, is not done. I took the ground, last night, that the South, by unfriendly legislation, could make our liberty, under that provision, a delusion, a mockery, and a snare, and I hold that ground now. What advantage is a provision like this Amendment to the black man, if the Legislature of any State can to-morrow declare that no black man's testimony shall be received in a court of law. Where are we then. Any wretch may enter the house of a black man, and commit any violence he pleases; if he happens to do it only in the presence of black persons, he goes unwhipt of justice. ["Hear, hear."] And don't tell me that those people down there have become so just and honest all at once that they will not pass laws denying to black men the right to testify against white men in the courts of law. Why, our Northern States have done it. Illinois, Indiana and Ohio have done it. Here, in the midst of institutions that have gone forth from old Plymouth Rock, the black man has been excluded from testifying in the courts of law; and if the Legislature of every Southern State to-morrow pass a law, declaring that no Negro shall testify in any courts of law, they will not violate that provision of the Constitution. Such laws exist now at the South, and they might exist under this provision of the Constitution, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of the Union. . . .

Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot. While the Legislatures of the South retain the right to pass laws making any discrimination between black and white, slavery still lives there. [Applause.] As Edmund Quincy once said, "While the word 'white' is on the statute-book of Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a black man can be turned out of a car in Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a slave can be

taken from old Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State." That is what I heard Edmund Quincy say twenty-three or twenty-four years ago. I never forget such a thing. Now, while the black man can be denied a vote, while the Legislatures of the South can take from him the right to keep and bear arms, as they can—they would not allow a Negro to walk with a cane where I came from, they would not allow five of them to assemble together—the work of the Abolitionists is not finished. Notwithstanding the provision in the Constitution of the United States, that the right to keep and bear arms shall not be abridged, the black man has never had the right either to keep or bear arms; and the Legislatures of the States will still have the power to forbid it, under this Amendment. They can carry on a system of unfriendly legislation, and will they not do it. Have they not got prejudice there to do it with. Think you, that because they are for the moment in the talons and beak of our glorious eagle, instead of the slave being there, as formerly, that they are converted. I hear of the loyalty at Wilmington, the loyalty at South Carolina—what is it worth.

["Not a straw."]

Not a straw. I thank my friend for admitting it. They are loyal while they see 200,000 sable soldiers, with glistening bayonets, walking in their midst. [Applause.] But let the civil power of the South be restored, and the old prejudices and hostility to the Negro will revive. Aye, the very fact that the Negro has been used to defeat this rebellion and strike down the standards of the Confederacy will be a stimulus to all their hatred, to all their malice, and lead them to legislate with greater stringency towards this class than ever before. [Applause.] The American people are bound—bound by their sense of honor (I hope by their sense of honor, at

least, by a just sense of honor), to extend the franchise to the Negro; and I was going to say, that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society were bound to "stand still, and see the salvation of God," until that work is done. [Applause.] Where shall the black man look for support, my friends, if the American Anti-Slavery Society fails him. ["Hear, hear."] From whence shall we expect a certain sound from the trumpet of freedom, when the old pioneer, when this Society that has survived mobs, and martyrdom, and the combined efforts of priest-craft and state-craft to suppress it, shall all at once subside, on the mere intimation that the Constitution has been amended, so that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be allowed in this land. What did the slaveholders of Richmond say to those who objected to arming the Negro, on the ground that it would make him a freeman. Why, they said, "The argument is absurd. We may make these Negroes fight for us; but while we retain the political power of the South, we can keep them in their subordinate positions." That was the argument; and they were right. They might have employed the Negro to fight for them, and while they retained in their hands power to exclude him from political rights, they could have reduced him to a condition similar to slavery. They would not call it slavery, but some other name. Slavery has been fruitful in giving itself names. It has been called "the peculiar institution," "the social system," and the "impediment," as it was called by the General conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been called by a great many names, and it will call itself by yet another name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth. [Loud applause. ]

弗朗西斯.邁爾斯.芬奇  
(FRANCIS MILES FINCH)

### 南北軍將士

#### The Blue And The Gray

弗朗西斯.邁爾斯.芬奇(1827－1902)原為紐約上訴法庭法官，後於康奈爾大學教授法律。他的《南北軍將士》一詩最早見於 1867 年《大西洋月刊》，後因編入 大獲成功的《馬夏菲讀本》1897 年版，而膾炙人口於千百萬小學生之間。該詩常在陣亡將士紀念日集會上誦讀。據傳作者因有感於密西西比州哥倫布的婦女們於戰死在南北戰爭中的聯邦政府軍和聯盟政府軍的將士墓前獻花而作此詩。

白浪滔滔大河邊，  
曾走隊隊鋼軍艦。  
昔日行行將士勇，  
今臥唸唸草芥間。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
東埋北軍將士屍，  
西葬南軍兵勇骨。爾奏告捷凱  
旋曲，  
吾鳴敗陣退兵鼓。  
你我都染沙場血，  
待等來世再相逢。

By the flow of the inland river,  
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,  
Where the blades of the grave grass  
quiver,  
Asleep are the ranks of the dead; —  
    Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day; —  
    Under the one, the Blue;  
Under the other, the Gray.  
These in the robings of glory,  
Those in the gloom of defeat,  
All with the battle blood gory,  
In the dusk of eternity meet; —  
    Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day; —  
    Under the laurel, the Blue;



餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
花開月桂撫藍將，  
婆娑楊柳慰灰卒。楚楚淒淒哀  
痛人，  
紛至沓來默無聲。  
攜來朵朵至誠花，  
同獻仇敵與友朋。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
玫瑰撒向北軍鬼，  
百合獻給南軍魂。千縷朝霞共  
燦爛，  
萬丈陽光同輝煌。  
溫柔愛憐無彼此，  
普照都爲百花開。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
金光倍添北軍美，  
金光更秀南軍姿。芒芒初夏到  
山野，  
綿綿森林綠田邊。

Under the willow, the Gray.  
From the silence of sorrowful hours  
The desolate mourners go,  
Lovingly laden with flowers  
Alike for the friend and the foe, —  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day; —  
Under the roses, the Blue;  
Under the lilies, the Gray.  
So with an equal splendor  
The morning sun rays fall,  
With a touch, impartially tender,  
On the blossoms blooming for all; —  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day; —  
'Broidered with gold, the Blue;  
Mellowed with gold, the Gray.  
So, when the summer calleth,  
On forest and field of grain  
With an equal murmur falleth  
The cooling drip of the rain; —  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day; —  
Wet with the rain, the Blue;  
Wet with the rain, the Gray.  
Sadly, but not with upbraiding  
The generous deed "was done;  
In the storm of the years that are fading,  
No braver battle was won; —

濛濛細雨卷寒意，  
漸漸瀝瀝低語聲。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
細雨淋透藍軍服，  
細雨也濕灰軍衣。可悲卻也不  
可責，  
英雄業績已譜就。  
硝煙歲月雖遠去，  
輝煌戰鬥留青史。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
花簇叢中約翰尼，  
花環底下比利楊。青山已絕衝  
鋒曲，  
長河不再血染紅。  
戰士墳前已載譽，  
填鷹義憤盡掃除。  
餐風宿露墓穴裏，  
指待末日公正臨。  
可歌可泣北軍將，  
可泣可歌南軍士。

Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day;—  
Under the blossoms, the Blue;  
Under the garlands, the Gray.  
No more shall the war cry sever,  
Or the winding rivers be red:  
They banish our anger forever  
When they laurel the graves of our dead!  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day;—  
Love and tears for the Blue,  
Tears and love for the Gray.

蘇珊.B. 安東尼

(SUSAN B. ANTHONY)

婦女的選舉權

**Women's Right to Vote**



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

是我們人民，但不是我們男性白人公民，也不是我們男性公民，而是我們全體人民，在當時成立了這個聯邦。

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蘇珊.B.安東尼(1820－1906)生長在馬薩諸塞州的一個開明的公誼會教徒家庭。她曾經教過小學。身為一個獨身婦女，她強烈地意識到婦女需要個人和經濟上的獨立。她曾積極投身於紐約的禁酒運動和廢奴運動。1851年，她見到正在撫養一大群孩子的伊利莎白.凱蒂.斯坦頓。在很長一段時間裏，安東尼能夠到外地進行演講和組織工作，而斯坦頓卻只好呆在家裏照看孩子。她們代表婦女的權利，成了工作中的夥伴。她們終身保持這一關係，而她們的這種關係決定了美國女權主義運動的進程。在1872年的總統大選中，安東尼帶了一群紐約州羅徹斯特的婦女到那些投票地點參加投票。因為當時婦女投票是非法的，所以她被逮捕並遭到起訴。安東尼於1873年6月被傳訊。在此之前，她前往紐約北部的大部分地區進行以下的演講，說明剝奪婦女的選舉權是不合理的。她最終被判有罪並加以罰款。但她拒付罰金，而且也沒有人向她索款。

她在演講中爭辯說根本就不需要憲法修正案「給」婦女以選舉權，因為 1868 年通過的第十四條修正案中就講到：「凡在合眾國出生或歸化合眾國者」均為合眾國之公民，且享有一切公民權。她堅持認為，既然婦女是這裏提到的人們和公民，她們就完全有權投票選舉。

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我因犯有所謂的沒有合法選舉權而擅自參加本屆總統選舉的罪名而遭到起訴。我今天晚上所要說的就是要向你們證明，我這樣做不僅沒有犯任何罪，而僅僅是履行了我的公民權。這些權利是國家憲法保證給我和所有美國公民的，也是哪一個州政府都無權加以剝奪的。

我們的民主共和政府是以它的每個成員在立法和執法中享有發言權和選舉權這一自然權利觀念為基礎的。我們認為政府的職權是保證它的人民享有他們的不可剝奪的權利。我們不再相信政府能夠賦予人民以權利的那一套老教條。誰都不會否認在組織政府之前，每個人都有權保護自己的生命、自由和財產。如果有一百到一百萬人加入了一個自由政府，他們的目的並不是爲了要出賣自己的自然權利，他們只是希望通過所規定的立法和司法機構以互相保證捍衛他們對這些權利的享有。他們一致同意不再使用野蠻的手段，而是通過文明的辦法來調解他們之間的矛盾。《獨立宣言》、《合眾國憲法》以及許多州的憲法和準州的基本法都一致提出要「保護」人民行使上帝所賦予的各種權利。這些章法都沒有裝出自己能給人們帶來什麼權利的樣子。

人人生而平等，造物者賦予他們若幹不可剝奪的權利，其中包括生命權、自由權和追求幸福的權利。爲了保障這些權利，人類才在他們之間建立政府，而政府之正當權力，是經被治理者的同意而產生的。

這裏並沒有暗示政府的權力可以凌駕於人民的權利之上，或者哪一部分人所享

有的全部平等權利可以被剝奪。這裏明確指出的是所有的人，如那位公誼會牧師所言，「所以也是所有的女人」在政府中的發言權。《獨立宣言》在第一段這裏肯定了每個人參加投票選舉的自然權利；理由是如果選舉權被剝奪，「被治理者的同意」又何以產生……婦女們對這種形式的政府感到不滿，因為她們被課以捐稅而不准選舉代表；她們被迫遵行她們從未表示同意的法律；她們被判處徒刑和處決卻沒有一個由她們同等地位的公民所組成的陪審團；她們在婚姻中被剝奪了人身自由、勞動收入及對孩子的監護權——她們這一半人口完全聽憑另一半人口的任意擺佈。這直接違背了這個政府的締造者們在宣言中所體現的精神和文字要求。宣言中的每一項都是基於人人享有平等權利這一不可更改的原則之上。在這些宣言面前，所有的國王、教皇、牧師和貴族全都降為平民百姓，全都在政治上與出身最低賤的臣民和農奴同站在一樣的地位；在這些宣言面前，男人們也同樣失去神賦的治理權，而在政治上同婦女們站在一樣的位置上。通過宣言的實施，各階層等級間的界限將被取消，所有的奴隸、農奴、庶民百姓、妻子、女人全都從被奴役的地位站起來，登上平等的政治大舞臺。聯邦政府的憲法在序言中寫道：

我們，合眾國的人民，爲了組織一個更完善的聯邦，樹立正義，保障國內的安寧，建立共同的國防，增進全民福利和確保我們自己及我們的後代能安享自由帶來的幸福，爲美利堅合眾因制定和確立這一部憲法。

是我們人民，但不是我們男性白人公民，也不是我們男性公民，而是我們全體人民，在當時成立了這個聯邦。我們組織這個聯邦，目的不是給什麼人以自由的幸福，而是保證人們安享這些幸福：不是僅僅向我們中間的一半人和我們後

代的一半人，而是向全體人民——男人和女人，確保這些幸福。如果一方面向婦女們宣傳她們所享有的自由帶來的幸福，而另一方面卻拒不讓她們得到選舉權——這個民主共和政府所提供的唯一能夠獲得幸福的途徑，那麼，這就是地地道道的嘲弄。……

當我在 1871 年要求(查爾斯.薩姆納參議員)就像他為黑人所做過的那件事一樣，宣佈合眾國憲法有權保護婦女的選舉權的時候，他遞給我一份他在戰後重建時期的全部演說稿，並且還說：

凡是在我寫有「種族」和「膚色」的地方，你都寫上「性別」，這樣，你就可以得到我為婦女們所能作出的最好的也是最有力的辯護。毫無疑問，婦女享有憲法所規定的選舉權，我也絕不投票要求第十六條修正案向她們保證這一權利。我曾經不得已投票贊同第十四條和第十五條修正案；若不是因為當時的情況緊急，我是絕不會這樣做的；我會堅決要求通過法律上的程序，對原憲法保護全體公民享有平等權利的權力加以證實。然而，當時那些剛獲得自由的奴隸不能理解，也沒有金錢和時間去等候這些緩慢的法律程序。婦女明顯在很大程度上具備這些條件，所以我認為她們還是應該訴諸於法庭，並通過它們成立美國大憲章以保護共和國的每個公民。

但是，朋友們，當我根據薩姆納議員的意見於去年 11 月到投票點履行我的公民選舉權的時候，法庭不等我上訴就先把我給告了，告我犯了非法投票罪……如果一個州把性別規定為一種限制條件，它將勢必造成整整一半的人民被剝奪公權。這樣做就等於通過一項剝奪逃犯或死囚的政治權利的議案，即一項溯及

既往的法律，所以它就是違背國家的最高法律。根據這一性別規定，婦女和她們的女性後代都將永遠得不到自由所帶來的幸福。對她們而言，這個政府根本就沒有經被治理者同意而產生的任何合法權力，因此，這個政府也就不是一個民主政體，也不是一個共和政體。它是世界上所有政府中最醜惡的貴族政府。人們也許可以容忍由富人治理窮人的富翁寡頭政權，由有學問的人治理沒有學問的人的文人寡頭政權，乃至由英國人治理非洲人的種族寡頭政權；但是，這種性別寡頭政權卻使得每家每戶中的父親、兄弟、丈夫和兒子成為騎在母親、姊妹、妻子和女兒頭上的寡頭；它注定所有的男人為君主，所有的女人為臣民；它使全國上下家家戶戶中的成員變得不和睦甚至反目為仇。……

請大家注意，在所有的章法中都使用男性代詞「他」和「他的」，它表明這些規定和條款本來只是針對男人而言的。如果你們堅持法律文字的這一表達方式，那麼，我們就要求你們一定做到前後一致，正視問題的另一個方面，這就是要求你們免去婦女為政府交納的捐稅，婦女犯法而不治其罪。因為稅法中沒有「她」和「她的」，所有刑法中的情況也一樣。

就拿我被指控所違反的民權法來說，它所用的代詞都是男性的，而且大家也知道它是專門為了限制那些圖謀不軌的男人參加選舉而制定的。其中寫道：「如果有人明知他自己沒有合法的權利而故意參加投票，」……我堅決認為如果政府官可以像這樣竄改這些代詞而對婦女課以捐稅、加以罰款、關押和處決，那麼他們就有責任變動這些代詞以保護我們的選舉權。……

雖然在國家和州憲法中不偏不倚地用了「人們、人民、居民、選民、公民」這些字眼，但是在戰前人們對這些字眼是否屬同義詞還一直持有不同的見解。然而，不論在舊制度下，這方面有哪些值得懷疑的地方，在已經通過的第十四條

修正案中的第一個句子徹底解決了這個問題：

任何人，幾在合眾國發生或歸化合眾國並受其管轄者，均為合眾國及其所居住之州的公民。

其中的第二個句子解決了全體公民的平等地位問題：

任何州不得制定或執行任何剝奪合眾國公民特權或豁免權的法律。任何州，如未經適當法律程式，均不得剝奪任何人的生命、自由或財產；亦不得對任何在其管轄下的人拒絕給予平等的法律保護。

現在剩下唯一要解決的問題是：婦女是人們嗎。我不相信任何反對我們的人有膽量說她們不是人們。既然是人們，那麼婦女就是公民，任何州都無權制定或執行任何剝奪她們的公民特權或豁免權的法律。因此，如今許多州的憲法和法律中歧視婦女的規定和條款就像每一項歧視黑人的規定和條款一樣都已經被廢除了。

選舉權是公民的一種特權嗎。我相信所有被剝奪公民權的前叛亂分子和前州的犯人都會贊同說，它不僅是一種特權或豁免權，而且還是一種捨此別無他權的權利。先要享有選舉權，其他東西自然全。這是政治訓諭。……

無論法律博士們對於「人民」和「公民」在原有憲法中是否同指一種人的問題，以及在第十四條修正案中的特權與豁免權是否包括選舉權的問題上存在多麼嚴重的分歧，公民選舉權的問題已經在第十五條修正案中得到徹底解決：「合眾國政府或任何州政府」，不得因種族、膚色，或以前曾服勞役而拒絕給予或剝奪合眾國公民的選舉權。」倘若公民不曾享有公民權，州政府又何以拒絕或



剝奪之？結論只有一個：選舉是公民的權利；而且種族、膚色和以前曾服勞役等具體情況一點也不影響「不得拒絕給予或剝奪公民選舉權」這一著重強調句的份量。……

但是，如果你們一定堅持認為第十五條修正案強調製止「因種族、膚色及以前曾服勞役」而剝奪合眾國公民的選舉權這句話是承認合眾國或任何一個州政府有權根據任何其他理由剝奪這些人的選舉權，那麼，我可以向你們證明根據我們政府的本義和各州政府的許多法律，我正為之辯護的那一階層的公民是包括在「以前曾服過勞役」這一條款之下的。

先來討論已婚婦女和她們的合法地位。何謂奴役。「奴隸的身份。」何謂奴隸。「一個被剝奪勞動所得的人；一個服從他人意志的人。」根據喬治亞州、南卡羅來納州以及南方諸州的法律，黑人無自身監護權和支配權。他隸屬他的主人。他若不順從，其主人有權對他施加管教；這黑人若不願接受管教而逃走，其主人有權採取強制手段將其追回。根據這個聯邦南部和北部幾乎每一個州的現行法律規定，已婚婦女無自身監護權和支配權。妻子隸屬丈夫；她若不順從，他可以適當施加管教；她若不願接受這一適當管教而跟他「散夥」出走，丈夫可以使用適當的強制手段將其帶回。你們瞧，這個小字眼「適當的」就是妻子的保留條款。而且一旦受氣的丈夫用「九尾鞭」對她施加管教或者派大獵犬執行他的強制手段時，這一保留條款無疑要受到僭越。

再說奴隸無權享有自己的勞動所得，它屬於他的主人；奴隸無權監護自己的子女，他們也屬於他的主人；奴隸無權起訴和被起訴，也無權上法庭作證。他若是犯了罪，要起訴或被起訴的卻是他的主人。有幾個州設有專門的法規，允許已婚婦女有權享有遺產、遺贈財物、以及在外工作所得，也允許她們有權就這

些財產的問題起訴或被起訴。但是，沒有哪一個州保證妻子享有夫妻雙方共同創造的財富的平等權利。從道理上說，既然絕大多數已婚婦女不曾出外工作賺得分文，也不曾從父親的遺產中分得半個子兒，那麼可以說，她們自從結婚的第一天起直到丈夫死去的那一天為止，身上從無一文半子，除非丈夫爲了尋開心才讓她帶上一點點。……

難道還要別的什麼來證明婦女們低下的奴役地位才能讓她們得到第十五條修正案中的那些保證嗎。我認爲沒有選舉權而侈談自由是對這個共和國的婦女們的嘲弄，這與新英格蘭的演說家溫德爾·菲力普斯在前一次戰爭結束時宣告說沒有選舉權而侈談自由對剛獲得解放的黑人來說是一種嘲弄是完全一樣的。有哪一位男的敢反對我的這種看法嗎。我承認在內戰以前，使出生在國內和國外的人成爲奴隸以及剝奪他們公權的那種權利經一致同意已經交給州政府，但是，由內戰和重建法規所定下來的一個重大原則是，國家政府擁有最高權力，它將克服來自幾個州政府的干預而保護合衆國公民的自由權和選舉權。而且美國人民還一次又一次地肯定絕大多數支援林肯和格蘭特的人民所贏得的這一原則。

在前兩屆總統選舉中的一個問題是：第十四條和第十五條修正案是否應該被看成爲不可動搖的民心。結論是必須這樣看待它們，同時國家政府不僅有權而且還有責任保證全體美國公民充分享受並自由行使他們的各種特權，並且在任何州政府企圖對此加以拒絕和剝奪時能夠對它們加以保護。

自從這兩條修正案得到通過以來，我們全美婦女選舉權協會所提出的每一個論點和所進行的第一項行動都是基於合衆國憲法的這——正確闡述。我們還將於明年五月在紐約舉行慶祝女權運動二十五週年的活動。我們不再請求立法部門

和國會給我們以選舉權，但我們要呼籲各地婦女行使起她們個被遺忘的「公民權」。我們請求選舉檢票員收點每個美國公民的選票，因為這是他們的職責。我們呼籲美國政府特派員和法警逮捕那些拒絕收點美國公民選票的檢票員而留用那些履行職責收點選票的檢票員，因為這是特派員和法警的責任。我們要求陪審團在審案時對那些遵紀守法投票的美國公民和那些在選舉時收點這些選票的檢票員作出「無罪」的判決。

我們要求法官作出公正無私的法律裁決。凡是在有可能的地方，請記住薩姆納說過：「根據國家憲法，尤其是根據修正以後的憲法，闡釋的真正標準是：凡是有益於人權的就是符合憲法的；凡是違反人權的就是不符合憲法的。」我們就是按照這一方法為選舉權而鬥爭的。我們的鬥爭是和平的，然而又是堅持不懈的。我們將一直鬥爭到我們獲得全勝，鬥爭到全體美國公民，男的和女的，都同樣被承認為這個政府中平等的一員。

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I stand before you under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus doing, I not only committed no crime, but instead simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution beyond the power of any State to deny.

Our democratic-republican government is based on the idea of the natural right of every individual member thereof to a voice and a vote in making and executing the laws. We assert the province of government to be to secure the people in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights. We throw to the winds the old dogma that

government can give rights. No one denies that before governments were organized each individual possessed the right to protect his own life, liberty and property. When 100 to 1,000,000 people enter into a free government, they do not barter away their natural rights; they simply pledge themselves to protect each other in the enjoyment of them through prescribed judicial and legislative tribunals. They agree to abandon the methods of brute force in the adjustment of their differences and adopt those of civilization. . . . The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, the constitutions of the several States and the organic laws of the Territories, all alike propose to protect the people in the exercise of their Godgiven rights. Not one of them pretends to bestow rights.

All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Here is no shadow of government authority over rights, or exclusion of any class from their full and equal enjoyment. Here is pronounced the right of all men, and "consequently," as the Quaker preacher said, "of all women," to a voice in the government. And here, in this first paragraph of the Declaration, is the assertion of the natural right of all to the ballot; for how can "the consent of the governed" be given, if the right to vote be denied. . . . The women, dissatisfied as they are with this form of government, that enforces taxation without representation—that compels them to obey laws to which they never have given their consent—that imprisons and hangs them without a trial by a jury of their peers—that robs them,

in marriage, of the custody of their own persons, wages, and children—are this half of the people who are left wholly at the mercy of the other half, in direct violation of the spirit and letter of the declarations of the framers of this government, every one of which was based on the immutable principle of equal rights to all. By these declarations, kings, popes, priests, aristocrats, all were alike dethroned and placed on a common level, politically, with the lowliest born subject or serf. By them, too, men, as such, were deprived of their divine right to rule and placed on a political level with women. By the practice of these declarations all class and caste distinctions would be abolished, and slave, serf, plebeian, wife, woman, all alike rise from their subject position to the broader platform of equality.

The preamble of the Federal Constitution says:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It was we, the people, not we, the white male citizens, nor we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed this Union. We formed it not to give the blessings of liberty but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men. It is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the only means of securing them provided by this

democratic-republican government—the ballot....

When, in 1871, I asked [Senator Charles Sumner] to declare the power of the United States Constitution to protect women in their right to vote—as he had done for black men—he handed me a copy of all his speeches during that reconstruction period, and said:

Put "sex" where I have "race" or "color," and you have here the best and strongest argument I can make for woman. There is not a doubt but women have the constitutional right to vote, and I will never vote for a Sixteenth Amendment to guarantee it to them. I voted for both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth under protest; would never have done it but for the pressing emergency of that hour; would have insisted that the power of the original Constitution to protect all citizens in the equal enjoyment of their rights should have been vindicated through the courts. But the newly made freedmen had neither the intelligence, wealth nor time to await that slow process. Women do possess all these in an eminent degree, and I insist that they shall appeal to the courts and through them establish the powers of our American magna charta to protect every citizen of the republic.

But, friends, when in accordance with Senator Sumner's counsel I went to the ballot-box, last November, and exercised my citizen's right to vote, the courts did not wait for me to appeal to them—they appealed to me, and indicted me on the charge of having voted illegally. . . .

For any State to make sex a qualification, which must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people, is to pass a bill of attainder, an ex post facto law, and is therefore a violation of

the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity. For them, this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. For them this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic. It is the most odious aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe. An oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor; an oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant; or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household; which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects—carries discord and rebellion into every home of the nation....

It is urged that the use of the masculine pronouns he, his and him in all the constitutions and laws, is proof that only men were meant to be included in their provisions. If you insist on this version of the letter of the law, we shall insist that you be consistent and accept the other horn of the dilemma, which would compel you to exempt women from taxation for the support of the government and from penalties for the violation of laws. There is no she or her or hers in the tax laws, and this is equally true of all the criminal laws.

Take for example, the civil rights law which I am charged with having violated; not only are all the pronouns in it masculine, but everybody knows that it was intended expressly to hinder the rebel men from voting. It reads, "If any person shall knowingly vote without his having a lawful right." . . . I insist if government officials may thus manipulate the pronouns to tax, fine, imprison and hang women, it is their duty to thus change them in order to protect us in our right to vote. . . .

Though the words persons, people, inhabitants, electors, citizens, are all used indiscriminately in the national and State constitutions, there was always a conflict of opinion, prior to the war, as to whether they were synonymous terms, but whatever room there was for doubt, under the old regime, the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment settled that question forever in its first sentence:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

The second settles the equal status of all citizens:

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons. I scarcely believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens, and no State has a right to make any new law, or to enforce any old law, which shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several States is today null and void, precisely as is every one against negroes.

Is the right to vote one of the privileges or immunities of citizens. I think the disfranchised ex-rebels and ex-State prisoners all will



agree that it is not only one of them, but the one without which all the others are nothing. Seek first the kingdom of the ballot and all things else shall be added, is the political injunction. . . .

However much the doctors of the law may disagree as to whether people and citizens, in the original Constitution, were one and the same, or whether the privileges and immunities in the Fourteenth Amendment include the right of suffrage, the question of the citizen's right to vote is forever settled by the Fifteenth Amendment. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." How can the State deny or abridge the right of the citizen, if the citizen does not possess it. There is no escape from the conclusion that to vote is the citizen's right, and the specifications of race, color or previous condition of servitude can in no way impair the force of that emphatic assertion that the citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged. . . .

If, however, you will insist that the Fifteenth Amendment's emphatic interdiction against robbing United States citizens of their suffrage "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," is a recognition of the right of either the United States or any State to deprive them of the ballot for any or all other reasons, I will prove to you that the class of citizens for whom I now plead are, by all the principles of our government and many of the laws of the States, included under the term "previous conditions of servitude."

Consider first married women and their legal status. What is servitude. "The condition of a slave." What is a slave. "A person who is robbed of the proceeds of his labor; a person who is subject to the

will of another." By the laws of Georgia, South Carolina and all the States of the South, the negro had no right to the custody and control of his person. He belonged to his master. If he were disobedient, the master had the right to use correction. If the negro did not like the correction and ran away, the master had the right to use coercion to bring him back. By the laws of almost every State in this Union today, North as well as South, the married woman has no right to the custody and control of her person. The wife belongs to the husband; and if she refuse obedience he may use moderate correction, and if she do not like his moderate correction and leave his "bed and board," the husband may use moderate coercion to bring her back. The little word "moderate," you see, is the saving clause for the wife, and would doubtless be overstepped should her offended husband administer his correction with the "cat o'-nine-tails," or accomplish his coercion with blood-hounds.

Again the slave had no right to the earnings of his hands, they belonged to his master; no right to the custody of his children, they belonged to his master; no right to sue or be sued, or to testify in the courts. If he committed a crime, it was the master who must sue or be sued. In many of the States there has been special legislation, giving married women the right to property inherited or received by bequest, or earned by the pursuit of any avocation outside the home; also giving them the right to sue and be sued in matters pertaining to such separate property; but not a single State of this Union has ever secured the wife in the enjoyment of her right to equal ownership of the joint earnings of the marriage copartnership. And since, in the nature of things, the vast majority of married women never earn a dollar by work outside their families, or inherit a dollar from their fathers, it follows that from the day of their

marriage to the day of the death of their husbands not one of them ever has a dollar, except it shall please her husband to let her have it. . . .

Is anything further needed to prove woman's condition of servitude sufficient to entitle her to the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment. Is there a man who will not agree with me that to talk of freedom without the ballot is mockery to the women of this republic, precisely as New England's orator, Wendell Phillips, at the close of the late war declared it to be to the newly emancipated black man. I admit that, prior to the rebellion, by common consent, the right to enslave, as well as to disfranchise both native and foreign born persons, was conceded to the States. But the one grand principle settled by the war and the reconstruction legislation, is the supremacy of the national government to protect the citizens of the United States in their right to freedom and the elective franchise, against any and every interference on the part of the several States; and again and again have the American people asserted the triumph of this principle by their overwhelming majorities for Lincoln and Grant.

The one issue of the last two presidential elections was whether the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be considered the irrevocable will of the people; and the decision was that they should be, and that it is not only the right, but the duty of the national government to protect all United States citizens in the full enjoyment and free exercise of their privileges and immunities against the attempt of any State to deny or abridge. . . .

It is upon this just interpretation of the United States Constitution that our National Woman Suffrage Association, which celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the woman's rights

movement next May in New York City, has based all its arguments and action since the passage of these amendments. We no longer petition legislature or Congress to give us the right to vote, but appeal to women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected "citizen's right." We appeal to the inspectors of election to receive the votes of all United States citizens, as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest, as is their duty, the inspectors who reject the votes of United States citizens, and leave alone those who perform their duties and accept these votes. We ask the juries to return verdicts of "not guilty" in the cases of law-abiding United States citizens who cast their votes, and inspectors of election who receive and count them.

We ask the judges to render unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for doubt to give the benefit to the side of liberty and equal rights for women, remembering that, as Sumner says, "The true rule of interpretation under our National Constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything/or human rights is constitutional, everything against human rights unconstitutional." It is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot—peaceably but nevertheless persistently—until we achieve complete triumph and all United States citizens, men and women alike, are recognized as equals in the government.

### 約翰.亨利之歌

**The Ballad of John Henry** 南北戰爭之後，全國各地的鐵路越修越多，最後鐵路貫穿了整個大陸。鐵路工人們譜寫了一支支難忘的歌謠和韻律詩在鑿隧道、鋪鐵軌和架橋樑的繁重勞動中吟唱。1870 年，從乞沙比克到俄亥俄的鐵道線開始了在西維吉尼亞州的阿利很尼山脈開鑿大彎隧道的工程。當時的工人多是

以前的奴隸。鋼鑽工人所幹的活是用長長的鋼鐵在岩石上打炮眼。隧道還在開鑿的過程中，公司弄來了一台自動氣鑽機。根據故事傳說，有一位名叫約翰·亨利的黑人鋼鑽工，他奮力與氣鑽機競賽。最後他贏得了勝利，可是也把自己給累死了。《約翰·亨利之歌》成了美國傳奇頌歌中的一個固定主題，而約翰·亨利也成了美國民間傳說中黑人保羅·班楊式的人物，因為班楊寧死也不向機器屈服。這首歌成了歌頌人類在與機器拚搏中的英雄氣概的一支讚歌，因此它深受人們的喜愛。這首歌有許多不同的版本，但其中的主要內容都是一樣的。

亨利是一個小男孩，  
他可站立你手掌中。  
他的哭聲長又細：  
「我要當名鋼鑽工。哇啦，哇啦！  
我要當名鋼鑽工。」大夥兒帶他進  
坑道，  
讓他在頭裏打炮眼。  
岩石高，他個子矮，  
扔下鐵錘他哭喪臉：「哇啦，哇啦！」  
扔下鐵錘他哭喪臉。左邊亨利掄大  
錘，  
右邊氣鑽響霍霍。  
「氣鑽若要我低頭，  
先得累倒我莽漢。哇啦，哇啦！  
先得累倒我莽漢。」他向隊長立誓

John Henry was a little baby boy  
You could hold him in the palm of your  
hand.  
He gave a long and lonesome cry,  
"Gonna be a steel-drivin' man, Lawd,  
Lawd,  
Gonna be a steel-drivin' man."  
  
They took John Henry to the tunnel,  
Put him in the lead to drive,  
The rock was so tall, John Henry so small,  
That he laid down his hammer and he  
cried,  
"Lawd, Lawd,"  
Laid down his hammer and he cried.  
  
John Henry started on the right hand,  
The steam drill started on the left,  
"Fo' I'd let that steamdrill beat me down,  
I'd hammer my fool self to death, Lawd,  
Lawd,

言：

「硬漢雖說只是人，  
若要氣鑽勝過我，  
除非我死把錘扔。哇啦，哇啦！  
除非我死把錘扔。」隊長告訴亨利

說：

「隧道也許要塌崩。」  
「隊長讓開，別害怕，  
那是鐵錘招來風。哇啦，哇啦！  
那是鐵錘招來風。」亨利告訴隊長

說：

「你看，朋友，我見到啥。  
你的氣鑽裂，炮眼堵，  
哪能像我把鋼鐵打。哇啦，哇啦  
哪能像我把鋼鐵打。」亨利掄錘打進  
山，  
磨得錘柄如冒火。  
累得自己斷了氣，  
鐵錘離手命被奪。哇啦，哇啦！  
鐵錘離手命被奪。  
大家抬他進了洞，  
深沙底下築起墳。

Hammer my fool self to death."

John Henry told his captain,  
"A man ain't nothin' but a man,  
Fo' I let your steamdrill beat me down  
I'll die with this hammer in my hand,  
Lawd,

Lawd,  
Die with this hammer in my hand."

Now the Captain told John Henry,  
"I believe my tunnel's sinkin' in."  
"Stand back, Captain, and doncha be  
afraid,

That's nothin' but my hammer catchin'  
wind,

Lawd, Lawd,  
That's nothin' but my hammer catchin'  
wind."

John Henry told his Cap'n,  
"Look yonder, boy, what do I see.  
Your drill's done broke and your hole's  
done

choke,  
And you can't drive steel like me, Lawd,  
Lawd,  
You can't drive steel like me."  
John Henry hammerin' in the mountain,  
Til the handle of his hammer caught on  
fire,

列車呼嘯似在說：

這裏埋著鋼鑽工。哇啦，哇啦！

這裏埋著鋼鑽工。

He drove so hard till he broke his po'  
heart,

Then he laid down his hammer and he  
died,

Lawd, Lawd,

He laid down his hammer and he died.

They took John Henry to the tunnel,

And they buried him in the sand,

An' every locomotive come rollin' by

Say, "There lies a steel-drivin' man, Lawd,

Lawd

There lies a steel-drivin' man."

## 牧場是我家

### Home on the Range

關於《牧場是我家》這首詩歌的來歷有兩種不同的說法。一種認為它是由堪薩斯州的布魯斯特·希利博士和丹·凱利所作；另一種則認為它是由哪位不知名的作者創作的一首牧童曲。據傳，堪薩斯州哈欽森的希利博士於 1873 年寫下它的歌詞，而他在堪薩斯州史密斯縣開一家商棧的一位朋友丹·凱利為它譜了曲。該詩沒有取得版權，所以長期以來有不少人冒稱詩作者，但均未遂心願。弗蘭克林·D·羅斯福總統曾經說過這是一首他最喜歡的詩。因此，它便廣泛流傳開來。

哦、給我一個家，

那裏牛群信步走，

山鹿羚羊戲玩耍；

沒有遮天蔽日雲，

只有激勵人心話。(合唱)

Oh, give me a home,

Where the buffalo roam,

Where the deer and the antelope play;

Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,

And the skies are not cloudy all day. CHORUS:

Home, home on the range,

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>家，牧場是我家，<br/>         山鹿羚羊戲玩耍；<br/>         沒有遮天蔽日雲，<br/>         只有激勵人心話。多少夜<br/>         晚星光閃，<br/>         翹首舉目星空望，<br/>         驚歎星斗比我美，<br/>         顆顆銀釘真燦爛。哦，給<br/>         我一片地，<br/>         鑽石金沙順流走；<br/>         雪白天鵝水中嬉，<br/>         可是仙女下凡舞。空氣清<br/>         新萬里風，<br/>         微風輕輕千里香。<br/>         縱有都市百樣美，<br/>         豈能換我牧場家。</p> | <p>Where the deer and the antelope play;<br/>         Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,<br/>         And the skies are not cloudy all day. How often at<br/>         night when the heavens are<br/>             bright<br/>         With the lights of the glittering stars,<br/>         Have I stood there amazed and asked as I gazed<br/>         If their glory exceeds that of ours.</p> <p>Oh, give me a land where the bright diamond<br/>             sand<br/>         Flows leisurely down the stream;<br/>         Where the graceful white swan goes gliding<br/>             along<br/>         Like a maid in a heavenly dream.</p> <p>Where the air is so pure, the zephyrs so free,<br/>         The breezes so balmy and light,<br/>         That I would not exchange my home on the<br/>             range,<br/>         For all the cities so bright.</p> |
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### 一直工作在鐵道上

#### Been Working on the Railroad

《我一直工作在鐵道上》是最流行的美國民歌之一。它的由來不詳。顯然它最早是十九世紀三、四十年代路易斯安娜州密西西比河南部修築河堤的黑人工人們唱的《大堤曲》。隨著築大堤變為建鐵路，這首歌強有力的曲調被填上新詞，成了密西西比州西部大多數愛爾蘭鐵路工人唱的一支歌。到 1880 年為止，各民族以及來自各國的工人們已經鋪設了近十萬英里的鐵道，《我一直工作在鐵



道上》這支歌也已經傳遍了三十八個州。這首歌的另一翻版(《德克薩斯州的眼睛》)被成立於 1883 年的德克薩斯州大學用作為它的正式校歌。其中以「黛娜，你別吹」開始的第二段是後來加進去的。以前各大學經常刊印歌本，而《我一直工作在鐵道上》這首歌總是不列其外。當時好像人人都知道這首歌，而且它是每次團體唱必選的歌曲。

我一直工作在鐵道上，  
整天從早幹到晚。  
我一直工作在鐵道上，  
只是爲了度時光。  
難道你沒聽見哨聲響。  
清晨一大早就得起身；  
難道你沒聽見隊長叫。  
「黛娜，快吹響你的號！」黛娜，  
你別吹，  
黛娜，你別吹，  
黛娜，你別吹號。  
黛娜，你別吹，  
黛娜，你別吹，  
黛娜，你別吹號。  
有人同黛娜在伙房，  
我知道有人在伙房。  
有人同黛娜在伙房，

I've been working on the railroad,  
All the live-long day,  
I've been working on the railroad,  
Just to pass the time away.  
Don't you hear the whistle blowing,  
Rise up so early in the morn;  
Don't you hear the captain shouting,  
"Dinah, blow your horn!" Dinah, won't  
you blow,  
Dinah, won't you blow,  
Dinah, won't you blow your horn  
Dinah, won't you blow  
Dinah, won't you blow,  
Dinah, won't you blow your horn.  
Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah,  
Someone's in the kitchen I know,  
Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah,  
Strummin' on the old banjo, and singin'  
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,  
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,  
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,  
Strummin' on the old banjo.

撥響老班卓又歌唱：

菲——費費德——利——伊——

喲，

菲——費費德——利——伊——

喲，

撥響老班卓。

海倫.亨特.傑克遜

(HELEN HUNT JACKSON)

百年恥辱

**A Century of Dishonor**

在過去的三十年中，太平洋大陸架上的印第安人所遭受的欺凌、壓榨和殺戮.....可怕得難以令人置信。

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海倫. (費斯克.) 亨特. 傑克遜(1830—1885)出生在麻薩諸塞州的亞姆赫斯特。她長大成為一個普通的妻子和母親。她的父親於亞姆赫斯特大學教她學習拉丁文和哲學。她是埃米莉.狄金森的鄰居和終身朋友。海倫小的時候 於易蔔斯威治和紐約讀私塾，1852 年嫁給一個名叫愛德華.B.亨特的軍官。當她的丈夫被重新分配到外地時，她盡婦道隨他而去，並生下兩個兒子。其中的一個兒子幼年 夭折。婚後的第十一年，她的丈夫在一次事故中喪身，兩年以後，她的第二個兒子也死去。喪失親人以後，她開始為幾家雜誌寫詩和文章。1875年，她再嫁威廉.S.傑克遜，並定居於科羅拉多泉。由於聽了一次講座，她開始關心起印地安人的悲慘遭遇，並著手開展廣泛的調查研究，以揭露政府對印地安人所施行的苛政。她於 1881 年發表了《百年恥辱》，並將它分送給每個議員。以下為該文節選。

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在這三百群(美國的)印地安人中，沒有一人不曾遭受政府或白人殖民者的殘酷

欺壓。這些人越窮、越是沒有身份、越是無依無靠，就越有可能遭到他們一直遭受的這種殘酷欺凌。生活在太平洋大陸架上的那些印地安人的情況尤其是這樣。他們突然發現自己被蜂擁而至的淘金殖民者團團包圍，活像岸上無可奈何的動物被捲入潮水一樣被他們吞沒。政府沒能夠來得及與殖民者們簽訂合約；甚至連公眾社會也沒能夠來得及制定有關的法律。在過去的 30 年中，太平洋大陸架上的印地安人所遭受的欺凌、壓榨和殺戮可以編成一整部書，它可怕得令人難以置信。

然而，無論翻開印地安人歷史的哪一部分，其中的每一頁和每一年都可以見到斑斑血跡。發生在一個部落的事就是發生在全體印地安人身上的事，其中所不同的僅僅是時間和地點而已；而不同的時間和地點卻反映了相同的事實。科羅拉多州的今天就跟 1880 年的喬治亞州和 1795 年的俄亥俄州一樣貪得無厭並且無法無天。美國政府違背諾言，其手法不亞於當年，手段越演越高明。

他們之所以這樣的一個主要原因是，人們討厭印地安人，不能容忍這塊「文明的絆腳石」的存在，以及懷疑他們的存在是一種潛在的危險的這種情緒普遍蔓延。那些充滿印地安戰爭恐怖情節的古老拓荒生活的故事經過兩三代人的傳說，使它在一般人的心裏產生一種似乎是遺傳下來的不容置疑又不可理喻的嫌惡本能，這種嫌惡幾乎到了不可消除或減緩的地步。

在印地安人方面有幾百頁無懈可擊的證詞，但毫無用處；它們被看成是感傷主義的東西和黨派的偏見而置之不理。一任接一任的總統委派一個又一個的委員會調查彙報印地安人的問題，並要求它們提出處理這些問題的最佳方案。他們的那些彙報都雄辯地描述了印地安人所遭受的凌辱和政府方面的種種背信棄義；他們用最誠懇的語言建議試用簡單明瞭的權宜辦法，做到說實話、講信義、

辦事公平合理。這些彙報被訂進了政府的年度報告，但僅此而已。在每一萬名美國公民中見到或聽說過這些彙報的人還不到一個，這樣說也許一點兒也不過分。然而，在全國的那些思維正常情感健全的男人們和女人們中間傳閱的每一份彙報，其本身就是一份「遊說公文」，它將引起一場革命，這樣的革命只有在印地安人得到現在尚不可能獲得的平冤昭雪之後才能平息下來。

格蘭特總統於 1869 年委派一個九人委員會代表六個主要州政府的權力和關懷到訪幾個不同的印地安人居留地「檢查有關印地安人的所有問題」。

在這個委員會的彙報中有這樣幾段話：「認為『印地安人不願意勞動』的斷言就像說白人不願意勞動一樣，純屬謊言。」「經驗告訴印地安人他們的勞動產品明天將被白人搶走，可他們為什麼除了每日餬口以外還得種糧食、圍田地、建房屋和做其他的活呢。在同樣的情況下，最勤勞的白人也會變懶，而許多印地安人(那些委員們該更令人信服地說明是十三萬印地安人)都已經在勞動。這足以駁斥『印地安人不願意勞動』的這一論點。無情的事實是迴避不了的。

「政府與印地安人之間的關係史是一部記載不光彩的背信棄義的案卷；邊界白人與印地安人之間的關係史是一部記載多半是白人對印地安人的摧殘、蹂躪、掠奪和凌辱，以及偶爾印地安人的猛烈暴動和難以形容的野蠻行為的不堪入目的案卷。

「政府說過他們有權受人尊敬，而他們的這些權利卻一直遭到貪得無厭的白人的破壞，所以，他們本來該舉起來保護自己的手臂卻一直只能準備用來擋架別人的攻擊。

「有一些美國最高層軍官的證詞還記錄在案。其中大致上是說，在我們的每次印地安戰爭中幾乎毫無例外地是由白人首先挑起，而每一位研究這個問題的非

軍方知名人士都證實了這一點，除了那些在未開發地區肆意搜刮而不受懲罰的強盜匪徒之外，還有一大批爲了從戰爭中派來的軍隊和政府的經費開支中漁利的假冒正人君子，他們不擇一切權力手段挑起印地安戰爭。他們隨時用口頭或書面形式向印地安人報告死亡人數，而對死者是否有罪不作任何區別。他們激起社會最底層的人們犯下最不光彩的罪行，而且身爲法官和陪審員，他們庇護這些人而使他們免遭他們所犯罪行應得的懲罰。白人對印地安人所犯下的每一個罪行都得到包庇和辯解；而印地安人對白人的每一點冒犯卻馬上被戴上事實上存在的或莫須有的罪名，通過報紙或電訊傳遍全國的各個角落。美國人民必須警惕這一類影響。

如果認爲消除以往長期以來的損害和醫治精神上的創傷，糾正這個國家今後對印地安人的政策，並立刻保證印地安人的安全和幸福是一件很容易的事或只要通過某一個突然可能的立法原則就能得實現，那是一種草率而且愚昧的判斷錯誤。認爲只要使所有的印地安人立刻成爲美國公民便是醫治他們一切創傷和政府心病的靈丹妙藥的那種似乎被越來越多人接受的想法是極欠考慮的。如果突然讓所有粗俗或文明的印地安人一下子都變成完全的公民，那就像給他們所有的人同一種藥而不考慮他們不同的症狀和需要那樣是一個荒唐的錯誤。受它傷害的人要比被它治好的人更多。然而，1857 年調查印地安人問題的一位負責人所做的具體分析是沒有錯的：「只要他們還不是美國公民，他們所擁有的財產權就無法保證不受侵犯。既然聯邦法庭的大門是向他們連同受他們監護和贍養的人緊閉著，那麼他們就只能行使自由政府的部分權利，或只好把那種足以使他們受到尊敬的尊嚴交給制定、行使並解釋少有的幾條法律的那些人。在他們繼續單獨地檢驗合眾國桌上掉下的麵包屑的時候，遊手好閒、浪費、負債將

成爲司空見慣，而勤勞、節儉和不欠債的現象將成爲鳳毛麟角。他們對土地完全沒有擁有權，這使他們每個人都失去了勞動與奮鬥的主要動力——一個民族的財富賴以存在的主要動因。」

一切爲了保證他們的安全和出路的審慎的規劃和措施都必須包含使他們儘早成爲公民的各項條例，而且必須在此之前保護他們的第一項權利，尤其是我們的法律藉以保護其他那些非公民「人們」的權利。

在某一階層人的心裏存在一種討厭反對橫行霸道的傾向，它不適應於迅速嚴厲的除惡大計。這種傾向是說不通的。當一個新國家的拓荒者們發現有一片有毒的沼澤荒野需要開墾的時候，他們在清楚地看到條條道路該通往何處、清新的泉水該從哪裡冒出、還有在這片開墾出來的土地上最好種哪些莊稼之前，決不會放下手中燒荒的火和劈山的斧。他們首先清理沼澤地。因此，在我們國家的這個影響極壞而又十分棘手的問題上，也讓我們首先來「清理這片沼澤地」。

無論我們在這麼晚的時候在處理類似替印地安人伸張正義這樣的每一項計劃的細節中會遇到多麼複雜和困難的問題，無論優秀的政治家和善良的人們對該做的那些事情要達成統一的認識有多麼大的困難，但是，就哪些事不該做，以及在採取第一批步驟爲目前，我們印地安人的情況平冤昭雪、醫治創傷和雪洗恥辱之前，哪些事不該繼續做下去的問題上，肯定不存在，而且也不應該存在任何困惑和任何困難。欺騙、掠奪、違背諾言——這三件事明顯不能再繼續下去了。還有一件事是拒絕給予印地安人財產權、「生命權、自由權及追求幸福的權利」的法律上的保障。

只有當這四件事不再繼續下去以後，時間、治國之才、博愛精神、基督教義才能慢慢準確無誤地做好其餘的事。在這四件事完全停止下來之前，治國之才和

博愛精神同樣是徒勞無功的，甚至基督教的作用也將是微乎其微的。

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There is not among these three hundred bands of Indians [in the United States] one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands either of the Government or of white settlers. The poorer, the more insignificant, the more helpless the band, the more certain the cruelty and outrage to which they have been subjected. This is especially true of the bands on the Pacific slopes. These Indians found themselves of a sudden surrounded by and caught up in the great influx of gold-seeking settlers, as helpless creatures on a shore are caught up in a tidal wave. There was not time for the Government to make treaties; not even time for communities to make laws. The tale of the wrongs, the oppressions, the murders of the Pacific-slope Indians in the last thirty years would be a volume by itself, and is too monstrous to be believed.

It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States Government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with added ingenuity from long practice.

One of its strongest supports in so doing is the wide-spread sentiment among the people of dislike to the Indian, of impatience with his presence as a "barrier to civilization," and distrust of it as a possible danger. The old tales of the frontier life, with its horrors of

Indian warfare, have gradually, by two or three generations' telling, produced in the average mind something like an hereditary instinct of unquestioning and unreasoning aversion which it is almost impossible to dislodge or soften.

There are hundreds of pages of unimpeachable testimony on the side of the Indian; but it goes for nothing, is set down as sentimentalism or partisanship, tossed aside and forgotten.

President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs, and to make suggestions as to the best methods of managing them. The reports are filled with eloquent statements of wrongs done to the Indians, of perfidies on the part of the Government; they counsel, as earnestly as words can, a trial of the simple and unperplexing expedients of telling truth, keeping promises, making fair bargains, dealing justly in all ways and all things. These reports are bound up with the Government's Annual Reports, and that is the end of them. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that not one American citizen out of ten thousand ever sees them or knows that they exist, and yet any one of them, circulated throughout the country, read by the right-thinking, right-feeling men and women of this land, would be of itself a "campaign document" that would initiate a revolution which would not subside until the Indians' wrongs were, so far as is now left possible, righted.

In 1869 President Grant appointed a commission of nine men, representing the influence and philanthropy of six leading States, to visit the different Indian reservations, and to "examine all matters appertaining to Indian affairs."

In the report of this commission are such paragraphs as the



following: "To assert that 'the Indian will not work' is as true as it would be to say that the white man will not work.

'Why should the Indian be expected to plant corn, fence lands, build houses, or do anything but get food from day to day, when experience has taught him that the product of his labor will be seized by the white man to-morrow. The most industrious white man would become a drone under similar circumstances.

Nevertheless, many of the Indians" (the commissioners might more forcibly have said 130,000 of the Indians) "are already at work, and furnish ample refutation of the assertion that 'the Indian will not work.' There is no escape from the inexorable logic of facts.

"The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border, white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakably barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception.

"Taught by the Government that they had rights entitled to respect, when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has ever been ready to sustain the aggressor.

"The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man, and the assertion is supported by every civilian of reputation who has studied the subject. In addition to the class of robbers and outlaws who find impunity in their nefarious pursuits on

the frontiers, there is a large class of professedly reputable men who use every means in their power to bring on Indian wars for the sake of the profit to be realized from the presence of troops and the expenditures of Government funds in their midst. They proclaim death to the Indians at all times in words and publications, making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. They irate the lowest class of men to the perpetration of the darkest deeds against their victims, and as judges and jurymen shield them from the justice due to their crimes. Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed or palliated. Every offence committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all the horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these the people of the United States need to be warned."

To assume that it would be easy, or by any one sudden stroke of legislative policy possible, to undo the mischief and hurt of the long past, set the Indian policy of the country right for the future, and make the Indians at once safe and happy, is the blunder of a hasty and uninformed judgment. The notion which seems to be growing more prevalent, that simply to make all Indians at once citizens of the United States would be a sovereign and instantaneous panacea for all their ills and all the Government's perplexities, is a very inconsiderate one. To administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike, would be as grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine, irrespective of the symptoms and needs of their diseases. It would kill more than it would cure. Nevertheless, it is true, as was well stated by one of the superintendents of Indian Affairs in 1857,

that, "so long as they are not citizens of the United States, their rights of property' must remain insecure against invasion. The doors of the federal tribunals being barred against them while wards and dependents, they can only partially exercise the rights of free government, or give to those who make, execute, and construe the few laws they are allowed to enact, dignity sufficient to make them respectable. While they continue individually to gather the crumbs that fall from the table of the United States, idleness, improvidence, and indebtedness will be the rule, and industry, thrift, and freedom from debt the exception. The utter absence of individual title to particular lands deprives every one among them of the chief incentive to labor and exertion—the very mainspring on which the prosperity of a people depends."

All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit, and must protect them till then in every right and particular in which our laws protect other "persons" who are not citizens.

There is a disposition in a certain class of minds to be impatient with any protestation against wrong which is unaccompanied or unprepared with a quick and exact scheme of remedy. This is illogical. When pioneers in a new country find a tract of poisonous and swampy wilderness to be reclaimed, they do not withhold their hands from fire and axe till they see clearly which way roads should run, where good water will spring, and what crops will best grow on the redeemed land. They first clear the swamp. So with this poisonous and baffling part of the domain of our national affairs — let us first "clear the swamp."

However great perplexity and difficulty there may be in the details of any and every plan possible for doing at this late day anything like justice to the Indian, however hard it may be for good statesmen and good men to agree upon the things that ought to be done, there certainly is, or ought to be, no perplexity' whatever, no

difficulty whatever, in agreeing upon certain things that ought not to be done, and which must cease to be done before the first steps can be taken toward righting the wrongs, curing the ills and wiping out the disgrace to us of the present condition of our Indians.

Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, "of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and (Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain. and even Christianity can reap but small harvest.

弗雷德里克·道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

在全國黑人大會上的發言

**Speech at the National Convention of Colored Men**

追求和鬥爭換取的自由比他人施予的自由更為珍貴。

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國內戰爭以後來納了三條憲法修正案以保障黑人的各項權利：第十三條修正案廢止苦役和強迫勞役，第十四條修正案賦予每個出生在合眾國或歸化合眾國的人以公民的身份，並禁止任何州政府未經適當法律程式制定任何剝奪公民的各項權利或他們的生命、自由和財產的法律；第十五條修正案保證公民的選舉權。國會於 1875 年還通過了一項「公民權法案」，該法案禁止在旅館、公交車輛和劇院等公共場所的種族歧視行為。許多白人開始相信黑人完全受法律和憲法的保護。1877 年國家軍隊從南方撤出，「重建運動」就此告終。

正當許多白人因為做了那些可能而且必要的工作而感到心滿意足的時候，黑人還繼續處於極度貧困和文盲的狀況，還繼續受到種族歧視。黑人領袖們試圖組

織發展黑人的政治力量，然而他們的努力卻被看成是在製造分裂。

1883 年 9 月 24 日，大演說家弗雷德里克·道格拉斯在肯塔基州的路易斯威爾城召開的全國黑人大會上做了演講，並且就黑人為什麼要為自己的權利而鬥爭的原因做了闡釋。僅在三個星期之後。美國最高法院於 1883 年 10 月 15 日就推翻了 1875 年的公民權法案，並宣稱公共場所的種族歧視現象與憲法並不矛盾。失去法律的支援，戰後憲法修正案在南方成了一紙空文，而採納強制推行種族隔離的「歧視黑人法」的意向卻昭然若揭。

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經常有人明顯帶著驚訝和厭煩的口氣問我們：「這個國家的黑人除了他們已經得到的東西還能要些什麼呢.而且還能給他們些什麼呢.」據說他們過去曾經是奴隸，而現在自由了；他們過去曾經是庶民，而現在成了君主；他們過去曾經被排除在美國所有的憲法之外，如今卻被包括在所有的法律之中，而且成了公認的那一部分公民。那麼，他們為什麼要召開全國黑人大會，因而在他們自己和白人同胞之間劃上一道色線呢.我們並不否認這些問題的中肯性和其中的道理，也不退縮迴避坦率地答覆這些問題可能包括的論點。因為我們並沒有忘記在那些向我們提出這類問題的人們中間不僅有一些對我們根本不予以同情的人，同時也有許多對我們寄予良好祝願的人，而且不管怎麼說他們也應該得到一個答覆。……

如果對我們來說自由只是徒有其名，公民的身份只是一種欺騙，而選舉權至今也只是一個無情的嘲弄，我們也還可以因為這個國家法律的健全、公正和寬厚而感到慶幸。因為只要一個民族的法律是公正的，不論它當時是否符合他們的需要，這個民族就還有希望。然而，在這個國家使它的實際行動與它的憲法和公正的法律不發生矛盾之前不宜指責這個國家的黑人要求保留這一道色線——因為這些人如果由於擔心突出他們的膚色而對加害於他們的各種欺詐凌辱

逆來順受，結果只能證明他們甚至簡直不配享有理論上的自由，事實上的自由就更不用說了。根據做人的每一個原則，他們都應該以他們自己的名義，代表他們自己召集會議，當眾訴苦，並且在他們的權力許可的情況下針對他們所遭受的欺壓凌辱進行逐一有組織的抗議。他不應理睬那些怯懦的建議，而要把旗幟掛到外面的牆上。

要獲得自由的人們就得自己參加戰鬥。我們不相信人們經常對我們說的那句話：黑人是民族家庭中的醜兒，越是不讓他們拋頭露面，對他們就越有好處。大家知道，追求和鬥爭換取的自由比他人施予的自由更為珍貴。要相信這句話：人們不太關心那些不關心自己的人。……

如果這個國家的六百萬黑人，以合眾國的憲法為武器，用他們自己的一百萬張選票，再加上幾百萬關心人權呼聲的白人的支援，還沒有足夠的勇氣和智慧組織聯合起來保護自己不受欺凌、歧視和壓迫的話，那麼指望民主黨或其他的哪一個政黨來把他們組織聯合起來或讓它來關心他們的狀況也是不會有什麼用處的。人類可能聯合起來保護動物不受到傷害，因為它們不會開口講話，也不能為它們自己的利益說些什麼；但我們是人，而且必須為我們自己的利益說話，否則就根本無人替我們講話。美國有許多愛爾蘭會議，但要是愛爾蘭人不曾為他們自己說話，美國就不會有這樣的會議。是因為愛爾蘭人發出呼聲並且把他們的事擺在人們的眼前，別人這才會去幫助他們。當年也是因為華盛頓的兵力才使得拉法埃脫把兵力投入美國的獨立戰爭。總之在反對種族歧視的問題上，應該說我們是在這裏公開集會，我們的身邊沒有任何威脅。全國人民的眼睛都在看著我們。可能有一萬份報將選擇報道我們這會兒所說的和所做的一切。它們可能完全按照我們將表現出的明智或愚妄而讚揚或譴責我們。

我們老老實實地把自己擺在他們面前，並請他們對我們所做的事加以評判。

在我們提請你們認真注意的許多問題中有一個並非最爲次要的問題，即南方勞動階級的狀況問題。他們的事業就是全世界勞動階級的事業。全國各地的工會都不應該拋棄這一部分有色的力量。……

勞動在各地所欠缺的、勞動所必需享有的以及勞動將來所索取和獲得的，就是每天辛辛苦苦的勞動所換取的這一整天辛勤勞動的報酬。隨著勞動者本身智力的增加，他們將提高資本的原有價值——這就是爲保護自己而組織聯合起來的力量所在。從經驗中可以看出，將來也許會有一種奴隸工資。其滋味不比當奴隸受凌辱好受多少，而這些領工資的奴隸也得和其他的奴隸一樣被征服。……通過發放代金券的形式或發工資來欺騙南方勞動者的手法可謂最高明。它的特點是表面上公平合理，而實際上卻使勞動者得完全聽憑地主和店老闆的擺佈。勞動者就像被夾在上下兩塊磨石之間，最終被碾成粉末。這一手段使勞動者只能到一家商店購物，因此他除了剩下自己本來就不多的是非感以外就毫無公平買賣的動機可言。由於這些代金券僅僅是一些一錢不值的仲介物，勞動者總覺得無論吃虧多少總得把它們花光。這樣就使得他們開始鋪張起來，其結果又使他們變得一貧如洗。

店老闆們用最次的商品要最高的價來打發這些勞動者，而且可以對他們說就買這些東西，否則什麼也別想買到。更糟糕的是，這種做法使勞動者背上了債，因而總是受地主的擺佈。如果地主不這樣做，而是把土地租給自由民耕種，每公頃土地一年所索取的租金就要高出出售這塊土地的價錢。遇到這種欺詐無理的做法，人們不免感到怒不可遏——大發起脾氣來。據說黑人要是對這種獲取他們勞動的條件感到不滿，可以讓他們到別處去於活。這是壓迫者想出一個

最沒良心的建議。多年來，黑人所支取的勞動報酬僅是一些在指定商店以外毫無價值的代金券。除此以外他們身無分文，而且由於這種狡詐的手段，他們被束縛在地主的手中。所以，如果黑人聽說可以到別處去而真要走，這些地主就可以逮捕他，而且他們以往總是這麼做的。……

在一個像我們這樣的一個由人民執政的國家裏，各階層青年的教育對國家的幸福、財富和它的生存都是極為重要的，這是得到普遍承認的事實。

根據這一前提，當愛國的人們見到 1880 年統計數位所顯示的令人吃驚的普遍文盲現象時無一不感到震驚。

如何克服這一弊端的問題是一個嚴肅的問題。當然，指望有錢人的善舉和社會的義行是不夠的。普遍存在文盲現象的那些州無法而且也不願意為他們的年輕人提供足夠的教育手段。然而，無論這種現象有多麼嚴重，全國人民總是直接關心生活在這塊土地上的每一個孩子的教育。任何一部分美國人的無知都會引起其他美國人的極大關注。所以毫無疑問，人們有權通過那些強迫孩子們上學的法律。……

國家政府有巨大的財力，能夠將健全之公立小學教育的福利送到全國每戶窮人的家裏。如果不給人們這一福利就是等於對永保江山社稷的最主要的保證置而不顧。做為美國人民中的一部分。我們必須十分重視團結那些已經談到這個問題的人們，必須和他們一起共同敦促國會在下一一次會議上為扶助教育的重大國策打下基礎。……

就公民權方面對黑人所犯下的罪行是臭名昭著的，而通過三 K 黨的恐怖活動、密西西比規劃、詭詐計票法、薄紙投票等手段對我們的各種政治權利所犯下的罪行就更是惡貫滿盈、駭人聽聞、令人反感至極。在黑人居多的那三個州裏沒



有黑人代表，他們的政治呼聲遭到壓制。實際上，這三個州的黑人公民被剝奪了公民權，憲法遭到蔑視，憲法條文不能生效。這一切都是發生在共和黨以及歷屆共和黨政府的眼皮底下。

偉大的奧康內爾曾經說過愛爾蘭的歷史可以像在人群中通過血跡追尋一個傷員那樣追溯到過去。南方黑人的歷史也完全可以說是一樣的情況。

他們在閃光的刀槍面前冒著生命的危險衝向投票箱。他們曾經被政府所摒棄而只好自長自滅。對他們來說根本就不存在美國政府和憲法。

他們正在受到一個不顧天理、法律和憲法的，邪惡、殘暴和該死的陰謀集團的鎮壓。在這些不堪入目的情況面前，你怎麼能夠漠然處之。有哪些黑人領袖還能讓自己保持沈默。

這不是黨派的問題，這是法律和政府的問題。這是一個關係到人類應該受到法律的保護還是在無政府的腥風血浪中任人宰割的問題，是關係到由政府還是由烏合之眾治理這個國家的問題，是關係到憲法中莊嚴之下的諾言應該理直氣壯地付諸實踐還是卑鄙聲名狼藉地被撕毀的問題。在這個關鍵的問題上，我們要求每一個美國人都來注意監督我們的任何一種政治權力都不能為任何一個在選舉之前沒有答應行使政府、州和國家賦予他們的一切權力以保證黑人通往投票箱的道路與其他美國人的道路一樣平坦、筆直、安全的任何黨派的人服務。……

沒有任何一個階層或任何一種膚色的人應當成為這個國家裏排他的統治者，這是不言而喻的問題。如果存在這樣一種統治階級，那麼就當然存在被奴役階層，而且一旦出現這種情況，那麼這個民有、民治、民享的政府就要從地球上消失。

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With apparent surprise, astonishment and impatience we have been asked: "What more can the colored people of this country want than they now have, and what more is possible to them." It is said they were once slaves, they are now free; they were once subjects, they are now sovereigns; they were once outside of all American institutions, they are now inside of all and are a recognized part of the whole American people. Why, then, do they hold Colored National Conventions and thus insist upon keeping up the color line between themselves and their white fellow countrymen. We do not deny the pertinence and plausibility of these questions, nor do we shrink from a candid answer to the argument which they are supposed to contain. For we do not forget that they are not only put to us by those who have no sympathy with us, but by many who wish us well, and that in any case they deserve an answer. . . .

If liberty, with us, is yet but a name, our citizenship is but a sham, and our suffrage thus far only a cruel mockery, we may yet congratulate ourselves upon the fact, that the laws and institutions of the country are sound, just and liberal. There is hope for a people when their laws are righteous, whether for the moment they conform to their requirements or not. But until this nation shall make its practice accord with its Constitution and its righteous laws, it will not do to reproach the colored people of this country with keeping up the color line—for that people would prove themselves scarcely worthy of even theoretical freedom, to say nothing of practical freedom, if they settled down in silent, servile and cowardly submission to their wrongs, from fear of making their color visible. They are bound by every element of manhood to hold conventions, in their own name, and on their own behalf, to keep

their grievances before the people and make every organized protest against the wrongs inflicted upon them within their power. They should scorn the counsels of cowards, and hang their banner on the outer wall.

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. We do not believe, as we are often told, that the Negro is the ugly child of the National family, and the more he is kept out of sight the better it will be for him. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man outraged is the man to make the outcry. Depend upon it, men will not care much for people who do not care for themselves. . . .

If the six millions of colored people of this country, armed with the Constitution of the United States, with a million votes of their own to lean upon, and millions of white men at their back, whose hearts are responsive to the claims of humanity, have not sufficient spirit and wisdom to organize and combine to defend themselves from outrage, discrimination and oppression, it will be idle for them to expect that the Republican party or any other political party will organize and combine for them or care what becomes of them. Men may combine to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men and must speak for ourselves, or we shall not be spoken for at all. We have conventions in America for Ireland, but we should have none if Ireland did not speak for herself. It is because she makes a noise and keeps her cause before the people that other people go to her help. It was the sword of Washington that gave Independence the sword of Lafayette. In conclusion upon this color objection, we have to say that we meet here in open daylight. There is nothing sinister about us. The eyes of the nation are upon us. Ten thousand newspapers

may tell if they choose of whatever is said and done here. They may commend our wisdom or condemn our folly, precisely as we shall be wise or foolish.

We put ourselves before them as honest men, and ask their judgment upon our work.

Not the least important among the subjects to which we invite your earnest attention is the condition of the laboring class at the South. Their cause is one with the laboring classes all over the world. The labor unions of the country should not throw away this colored element of strength....

What labor everywhere wants, what it ought to have and will some day demand and receive, is an honest day's pay for an honest day's work. As the laborer becomes more intelligent he will develop what capital already possess—that is the power to organize and combine for its own protection. Experience demonstrates that there may be a wages of slavery only a little less galling and crushing in its effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other. . . .

No more crafty and effective device for defrauding the Southern laborer could be adopted than the one that substitutes orders upon shopkeepers for currency in payment of wages. It has the merit of a show of honesty, while it puts the laborer completely at the mercy of the landowner and the shop-keeper. He is between the upper and the nether millstones and is hence ground to dust. It gives the shop-keeper a customer who can trade with no other storekeeper, and thus leaves the latter no motive for fair dealing except his own moral sense, which is never too strong. While the laborer holding the orders is tempted by their worthlessness as a circulating medium, to get rid of them at any sacrifice, and hence is led into extravagance and consequent destitution.

The merchant puts him off with his poorest commodities at highest prices, and can say to him take those or nothing. Worse still. By this means the laborer is brought into debt, and hence is kept always in the power of the landowner. When

this system is not pursued and land is rented to the freedman, he is charged more for the use of an acre of land for a single year than the land would bring in the market if offered for sale. On such a system of fraud and wrong one might well invoke a bolt from heaven — red with uncommon wrath.

It is said if the colored people do not like the conditions upon which their labor is demanded and secured, let them leave and go elsewhere. A more heartless suggestion never emanated from an oppressor. Having for years paid them in shop orders, utterly worthless outside the shop to which they are directed, without a dollar in their pockets, brought by this crafty process into bondage to the land-owners, who can and would arrest them if they should attempt to leave them when they are told to go....

It is everywhere an accepted truth, that in a country governed by the people, like ours, education of the youth of all classes is vital to its welfare, prosperity, and to its existence.

In the light of this unquestioned proposition, the patriot cannot but view with a shudder the widespread and truly alarming illiteracy as revealed by the census of 1880.

The question as to how this evil is to be remedied is an important one. Certain it is that it will not do to trust to the philanthropy of wealthy individuals or benevolent societies to remove it. The States in which this illiteracy prevails either cannot or will not provide adequate systems of education for their own youth. But however this may be, the fact remains that the whole country is directly interested in the education of every child that lives within its borders. The ignorance of any part of the American people so deeply concerns all the rest that there can be no doubt of the right to pass laws compelling the attendance of every child at school....

The National Government, with its immense resources, can carry the benefits of a sound common-school education to the door of every poor man from Maine to Texas, and to withhold this boon is to neglect the greatest assurance it has of its own perpetuity. As a part of the American people we unite most emphatically with

others who have already spoken on this subject, in urging Congress to lay the foundation for a great national system of aid to education at its next session. . . .

Flagrant as have been the outrages committed upon colored citizens in respect to their civil rights, more flagrant, shocking and scandalous still have been the outrages committed upon our political rights, by means of bull-dozing and Kukiuxing, Mississippi plans, fraudulent counts, tissue ballots and the like devices. Three States in which the colored people outnumber the white population are without colored representation and their political voice suppressed. The colored citizens in those States are virtually disfranchised, the Constitution held in utter contempt and its provisions nullified. This has been done in the face of the Republican party and successive Republican Administrations.

It was once said by the great O'Connell that the history of Ireland might be traced like a wounded man through a crowd by the blood, and the same may be truly said of the history of the colored voters of the South.

They have marched to the ballot-box in face of gleaming weapons, wounds and death. They have been abandoned by the Government and left to the laws of nature. So far as they are concerned, there is no Government or Constitution of the United States.

They are under control of a foul, haggard and damning conspiracy against reason, law and constitution. How you can be indifferent, how any leading colored men can allow themselves to be silent in presence of this state of things we cannot see. . . .

This is no question of party. It is a question of law and government. It is a question whether men shall be protected by law or be left to the mercy of cyclones of anarchy and bloodshed. It is whether the Government or the mob shall rule this land; whether the promises solemnly made to us in the Constitution be manfully kept or meanly and flagrantly broken. Upon this vital point we ask the whole people of the United States to take notice that whatever of political power we have shall be exerted for no man of any party who will not in advance of election

promise to use every power given him by the Government, State or National, to make the black man's path to the ballot-box as straight, smooth and safe as that of any other American citizen....

We hold it to be self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive rulers of this country. If there is such a ruling class, there must of course be a subject class, and when this condition is once established this Government of the people, by the people and for the people, — will have perished from the earth.

埃瑪.拉紮勒斯

(EMMA LAZARUS)

### 新的巨像

#### **The New Colossus**

埃瑪.拉紮勒斯(1849—1887)出身於紐約市的一個富有的猶太人家庭。她自幼學習古典文學和多種外文。她發表第一部詩集和譯作時年僅十八。1883年，一個公民領導人委員會試圖籌集資金支付當時正在巴黎建造的《自由女神》的基座。許多藝術家和文學家獻出自己的作品作為一種集資的渠道。為了紀念弗雷德里克.奧古斯特.巴托爾迪所雕刻的象徵法美兩國之間的友誼和歌頌自由理想的巨像，拉紮勒斯創作了《新的巨像》。她預言說，這尊新巨像將不同於「古代七奇觀」之一的「羅德島巨像」，而將成為歡迎世界各國棄兒的「流亡者之母」。

她剛創作的《新的巨像》沒有引起任何人的注意。1886年《自由女神像》落成揭幕時也沒有提及拉紮勒斯的這首詩。1903年拉紮勒斯的一位崇拜者喬治娜.斯凱勒徵得同意後將這首詩刻到達尊巨像內的一塊銅板上。在接下去的三十年裏，它仍然鮮為人知。許多美國人對歐洲來的「不幸的渣滓」並不像詩中所描寫的那樣表現出盛情的歡迎；一次次限制移民的努力最終使歐洲的大批移民於1924年停了下來。

二十世紀三十年代，由於納粹德國對國內猶太人的迫害，難民的問題被重新提出。一位美籍南斯拉夫記者路易斯.阿達米克為了使人們注意列美國作為承

擔各國難民的避難收容所的使命而把拉紮勒斯的達首詩作為一種宣傳手段而加以普及。通過他的努力，這首詩的許多新的寓意豐富了美國的語言辭彙，並且為人們對這尊雕像以及對這個民族本身的概念重新下了定義。1945年，這塊刻有這首詩歌的銅板從《自由女神像》的內部被移到雕像的主要入口處。

她不同於希臘著名的青銅巨人  
把征服者的雙腳跨在兩片土地；  
她是一位頂天立地的女人，  
她將高擎火炬屹立在這浪拍夕照的大門。  
火炬收駐閃電，手臂似燈塔放出光芒。  
她是「流亡者之母」，向全世界召喚；  
她那溫柔的目光落在連接雙城的海港。「古老  
的大地，願你們永保歷史的輝煌！」  
她在無聲地吶喊，  
「把你們擁擠土地上的不幸的『人渣』，  
窮困潦倒而渴望呼吸自由的芸芸眾生，  
連同那些無家可歸四處漂泊的人們送來，  
我高舉明燈守候在這金色的大門！」

Not like the brazen giant of  
Greek fame,  
With conquering limbs astride  
from land to  
land;  
Here at our sea-washed, sunset  
gates shall stand  
A mighty woman with a torch,  
whose flame  
Is the imprisoned lightning, and  
her name  
Mother of Exiles. From her  
beacon-hand  
Glows world-wide welcome;  
her mild eyes  
command  
The air-bridged harbor that  
twin cities frame  
"Keep, ancient lands, your  
storied pomp!" cries  
she  
With silent lips. "Give me your  
tired, your  
poor,



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|  | <p>Your huddled masses yearning<br/>to breathe free,<br/>The wretched refuse of your<br/>teeming shore.<br/>Send these, the homeless,<br/>tempest-tost to me,<br/>I lift my lamp beside the golden<br/>door!"</p> |
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## 克萊門泰

### Clementine

《克萊門泰》最早出現於十九世紀八十年代。從那以後它就一直十分流行。有些人認為它是一首來歷不明流傳於口頭的民歌；另外一些人則認為這首詩歌是珀西.蒙特羅斯創作並譜曲的。由於該作品沒有註明版權，所以每個聲稱該詩作者的人均未能得證實。《克萊門泰》中幽默詼諧的故事一直在大中小學校園裏和民間的合唱會上受到歡迎。

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| <p>山洞裏，峽谷中，<br/>礦工活了四十又九載。<br/>他整天挖掘礦沙土，<br/>有個女兒叫克萊門泰。(合唱)<br/>哦，我的心肝寶貝克萊門泰！<br/>哦，可憐的孩子一去不回來！<br/>她的光明似天使，<br/>腳上穿的九號鞋，<br/>擠得腳趾像鯁魚，</p> | <p>In a cavern, in a canyon,<br/>Excavating for a mine,<br/>Lived a miner, forty-niner,<br/>And his daughter Clementine<br/>CHORUS:<br/>Oh my darling, O my darling, O my<br/>darling Clementine!<br/>You are lost and gone forever,<br/>Dreadful<br/>sorry, Clementine!<br/>Light she was and like a fairy,<br/>And her shoes were number nine,</p> |
|--|--|

唯有草鞋最合適。每天早晨九點鐘，  
趕著小鴨下水去。  
一回腳踩尖片上，  
立刻滑進深水中。兩片朱唇露水面，  
一串氣泡輕浮起。  
唉呀！我可從沒下過水  
無奈見她沈水底。山洞旁，教堂墓地，  
長春花開真美麗。  
還有玫瑰與小花，  
爭相吮吸女兒體。四十九歲的礦工，  
日漸消瘦又憔悴，  
心想追她到地府，  
以便父女再相會。她在夢中縈繞我，  
渾身依舊水沾衣。  
生前我們常相擁，  
如今生死兩分離。

Herring boxes, without topses,  
Sandals were for Clementine.  
Drove she ducklings to the water  
Every morning just at nine,  
Hit her foot against a splinter,  
Fell into the foaming brine.  
Rudy lips above the water,  
Blowing bubbles soft and fine;  
Alas, for me! I was no swimmer,  
So I lost my Clementine.  
Then the miner, forty-niner,  
Soon began to peak and pine,  
Thought he oughter line his  
daughter  
Now he's with his Clementine.  
In my dream she oft doth haunt  
me,  
With her garments soaked in brine,  
Though in life I used to hug her,  
Now she's dead I draw the line.

歐內斯特.勞倫斯.泰爾

(ERNEST LAWRENCE THAYER)

## 凱西在擊球

### Casey at the Bat

歐內斯特.勞倫斯.泰爾(1863－1940)於 1888 年 6 月 3 日在《舊金山檢察報》首次用筆名發表《凱西在擊球》。路易斯.安特梅爾稱這首詩為「公認的棒球傑作，棒球運動的頌歌和主題曲」。美國人之所以喜歡這首詩歌不僅是因為它是棒球的主題曲，而且也是因為它的結尾具有一種無主角氣質的轉折。

那天九點，馬德維裏球賽真不妙，  
比分已經二比四，只剩一局見分曉；  
只見科尼和巴勒第二場先後出了局，  
資助人人個臉色發青人人心驚肉跳。  
三三兩兩離去，剩下的觀眾沒有散，  
他們心中繼續閃耀著永恆不滅的希望；  
大家心裏想：「只要凱西上場就好辦。」  
凱西若上場，他們就會把賭注往下放。  
可是弗林要先上，布萊克隨後緊跟著，  
弗林體弱似布丁，布萊克原是冒牌貨。  
場上觀眾真掃興，不見一人來把話說，  
只因凱西上場擊球的機會看來也不多。  
但見弗林「一壘球」的絕活驚四

It looked extremely rocky for the  
Mudville  
    nine that day;  
The score stood two to four, with but  
an inning  
    left to play.  
So, when Cooney died at second, and  
Burrows  
    did the same,  
A pallor wreathed the features of the  
patrons of  
    the game. A straggling few got up  
to go, leaving there the  
    rest,  
With that hope which springs eternal  
within  
    the human breast.  
For they thought: "If only Casey could  
get a

座，

布萊克雖然不起眼，「掃除障礙」也不錯；

只見塵土飛揚處，隊員個個都了不起，布萊克已抵二壘座，弗林直往三壘逼。

忽聞歡呼聲四起，觀眾個個足蹈又手舞，

歡聲雷動震山顛，響聲隆隆迴盪在雲谷，

雷聲歡動撼峭壁，回聲陣陣響徹大平川，

原來是英雄凱西上場猶如下山如猛虎。凱西一躍登上場，穩穩當當真從容，

風度翩翩步履輕，凱西臉上露笑容；

迎著掌聲走到位，歡呼聲中放下棒，觀眾席中誰個不知球星凱西有真功。

凱西用手抹泥土，萬隻眼睛緊盯著，

凱西把手擦身上，五千觀眾交口讚。

投手扭身球擲出，偏偏打在他臀部，

凱西投去蔑視眼，嘴角一翹相譏讓。

投手再次把球擲，劃空而過來得急，

whack at that,"

They'd put even money now, with Casey at the

bat. But Flynn preceded Casey, and likewise so did

Blake, And the former was a pudd'n, and the latter

was a fake, So on that stricken multitude a deathlike

silence sat; For there seemed but little chance of Casey's

getting to the bat. But Flynn let drive a "single," to the wonderment of all.

And the much-despised Blakey "tore the cover off the ball."

And when the dust had lifted, and they saw

what had occurred, There was Blakey safe at second, and Flynn a-

huggin' third. Then from the gladdened multitude went up a

joyous yell— It rumbled in the mountaintops, it

英武挺立人站定，凱西只等把球擊；  
眼看球剛近身旁，誰知突然往下鑽，  
凱西說：「這不對。」裁判卻說：「——  
好球。」

看臺人頭在攢動，傳來一片低聲吼，  
有如暴風雨中浪，擊打船尾遠方岸；  
「打死他！打死裁判」看臺上面有人  
喊。

凱西若是不抬手，裁判一定真完蛋。  
凱西真有菩薩心，滿面笑容神態怡，  
爲了比賽不中斷，他使觀眾怒平息；  
他向投手示個意，棒球重新再飛起，  
凱西又沒舉起棒，裁判宣佈：「二好  
球。」

「奸計！」觀眾怒聲吼，「奸計！」聲音  
在迴盪，

凱西轉臉輕蔑看，觀眾不敢再嚷嚷；  
大家見他真嚴肅，渾身肌肉緊繃起，  
知道凱西已決意，絕不讓它再滑閃。  
凱西口出輕蔑笑，恨得牙關緊緊咬，  
凱西惱得舉起棒，朝著本壘使勁敲；  
只見投手舉起球，向著凱西扔過來，

rattled in the  
dell;  
It struck up the hillside and  
rebounded on the  
flat;  
For Casey, mighty Casey, was  
advancing to the  
bat.

There was ease in Casey's manner as  
he

stepped into his place,  
There was pride in Casey's bearing  
and a smile

on Casey's face;  
And when responding to the cheers he  
lightly

doffed his hat,  
No stranger in the crowd could doubt  
'twas

Casey at the bat.  
Ten thousand eyes were on him as he  
rubbed

his hands with dirt,  
Five thousand tongues applauded  
when he

wiped them on his shirt;  
Then when the writhing pitcher  
ground the

只聽「啪」的一聲響，棒起球飛出界了。

哦，在這神賜福的國度，有個地方陽光普照，

那裏的人們奏凱歌，那裏的人們心情好，

那裏的男人喜開顏，那裏的孩子慶歡呼，

馬德維裏卻沒有歡笑：英雄凱西三振出局了。

ball into his hip,

Defiance glanced in Casey's eye, a sneer curled

Casey's lip.

And now the leather-covered sphere came

hurtling through the air,

And Casey stood a-watching it in haughty

grandeur there.

Close by the sturdy batsman the ball unheeded

sped;

"That ain't my style," said Casey.

"Strike one,"

the umpire said.

From the benches, black with people, there

went up a muffled roar,

Like the beating of the storm waves on the

stern and distant shore.

"Kill him! kill the umpire!" shouted someone

on the stand;

And it's likely they'd have killed him had not

Casey raised his hand.

With a smile of Christian charity great

Casey's

visage shone;

He stilled the rising tumult, he made  
the game

go on;

He signaled to the pitcher, and once  
more the

spheroid flew;

But Casey still ignored it, and the  
umpire said,

"Strike two."

"Fraud!" cried the maddened  
thousands, and

the echo answered "Fraud!"

But one scornful look from Casey and  
the

audience was awed;

They saw his face grow stern and  
cold. they

saw his muscles strain,

And they knew that Casey wouldn't  
let the ball

go by again.

The sneer is gone from Casey's lips,  
his teeth

are clenched in hate,

He pounds with cruel vengeance his  
bat upon

the plate;

And now the pitcher holds the ball,  
and now he

lets it go,

And now the air is shattered by the  
force of

Casey's blow.

Oh, somewhere in this favored land  
the sun is

shining bright,

The band is playing somewhere, and

somewhere hearts are light;

And somewhere men are laughing,  
and

somewhere children shout,

But there is no joy in Mudville:

Mighty Casey

has struck out.

詹姆斯.惠特康姆.賴利

(JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY)

霜降南瓜

### **When the Frost is on the Pumpkin**

詹姆斯.惠特康姆.賴利(1849—1916)生長在印地安那州的格林菲爾德。他在那裏上完幾所公學後成了一名「馬夏菲六級講師」(這是當時人們可以得到的最高學銜)。他周遊印地安那各地，為廣告商標作畫，參加專賣藥的巡迴表演。他在一路上收集民間文學，觀察研究各地方言，後來成了印地安那幾家報社的新聞記者。1877年，他因說笑行詐，寫了一首據稱是愛德華.艾倫.波所作的詩而被解聘。接著，他在《印地安那波利斯日報》上首次用印地安那方言創作了許多描寫日常生活的詩歌，其中的一部分詩歌曾經於1883年在一本書



名叫《古老的深灣.外十一首》的詩集中發表。他成了文學界的著名人物。由於他的詩歌中具有喜悅歡快、感情質樸和引發懷舊思緒的情調，所以許多人競相模仿起他的詩作。賴利最著名的詩歌就是《霜降南瓜》。

霜降南瓜草成垛，  
火雞闊步叫咯咯，  
珠雞母雞聲聲喚，  
雄雞籬上唱讚歌；  
哦，此刻心情真舒暢，  
迎著旭日步快活，  
沒戴帽子去餵牲口，  
霜降南瓜草成垛。炎夏已去秋送爽，  
清新空氣陶醉我；  
只恨蜂鳥不歌唱，  
又怨枝頭欠花朵。  
我今卻有秋色美，  
景色怡神晨霧薄，  
秀麗山河勝似畫，  
霜降南瓜草成垛。玉米穗幹響沙沙，  
風吹葉黃橫斜錯；  
地裏殘株孤零零，

When the frost is on the punkin and the  
fodder's in the shock,  
And you hear the kyouck and gobble of the  
struttin' turkey-cock  
And the clackin' of the guineys, and the  
cluckin' of the hens,  
And the rooster's hallylooyer as he tiptoes  
on  
the fence;  
O, it's then's the times a feller is a-feelin' at  
his  
best,  
With the risin' sun to greet him from a night  
of  
peaceful rest,  
As he leaves the house, bareheaded, and  
goes  
out to feed the stock,  
When the frost is on the punkin and the  
fodder's in the shock.  
They's something kindo' harty-like about  
the  
atmusfere  
When the heat of summer's over and the  
cooln' fall is here—

倉上五穀神賜多；

草堆地頭人歇屋，

馬下棚廩料上垛！

哦，我心似鐘呼呼跳，

霜降南瓜草成垛！挽回蘋果堆滿

地，

有紅有黃實在多；

切碎打漿做成糊，

幹完這些女人活。

此情此景寫不盡，

天使下凡來見我——

我留他們全住下——

霜降南瓜草成垛！

Of course we miss the flowers, and the  
blossoms on the trees,

And the mumble of the hummin'-birds and  
buzzin' of the bees;

But the air's so appetizin'; and the  
landscape  
through the haze

Of a crisp and sunny morning of the airy  
autumn days

Is a pictur' that no painter has the colorin' to  
mock —

When the frost is on the punkin and the  
fodder's in the shock.

The husky, rusty russel of the tassels of the  
corn,

And the raspin' of the tangled leaves, as  
golden

as the morn;

The stubble in the furries — kindo'  
lonesome-

like, but still

A-preachin' sermons to us of the barns they  
growed to fill;

The strawstack in the medder, and the  
reaper

in the shed;

The bosses in theyr stalls below — the  
clover

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
|           | <p>overhead! —</p> <p>O, it sets my hart a-clickin' like the tickin'<br/>of a</p> <p>clock,</p> <p>When the frost is on the punkin and the<br/>fodder's in the shock!</p> <p>Then your apples all is gethered, and the<br/>ones a</p> <p>feller keeps</p> <p>Is poured around the cellar-floor in red and<br/>yeller heaps;</p> <p>And your cider-makin' 's over, and your<br/>wimmern-folks is through</p> <p>With their mince and apple-butter, and<br/>theyr</p> <p>souse and sausage, too!</p> <p>I don't know how to tell it—but ef sich a<br/>thing</p> <p>could be</p> <p>As the Angels wantin' boardin', and they'd<br/>call</p> <p>around on me —</p> <p>I'd want to 'commodate 'em — all the whole-<br/>indurin' flock —</p> <p>When the frost is on the punkin and the<br/>fodder's in the shock!</p> |
| 保羅.勞倫斯.鄧巴 |  |

(PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR)

## 玉米甜糕已蒸熟

### When De Co'n Pone's Hot

保羅·勞倫斯·鄧巴(1872－1906)是美國第一位黑人職業作家，也是最早聞名全國的黑人作家之一。父母原先都是黑奴。父親從加拿大的難民營回國參加南北戰爭。鄧巴在俄亥俄州的代頓城長大。他是中學裏唯一的黑人學生和校報編輯。他在當電梯操作工人時自費出版了他的第一本詩集《橡樹和常春藤》(1893)，而且向電梯乘客出售。他的第二本詩集《老老少少》(1895)受到十九世紀文壇上的小說家和評論家威廉·迪安·豪威爾斯老前輩的賞識。他為青年鄧巴的第三本詩集《下層生活抒情詩》(1896)寫了序言。他的第三本詩集中有一些早年詩作，這本詩集使他聞名全國。

新作成功之後，鄧巴到全國和英國各地講學並朗誦詩歌。在他短暫的一生中還寫了四篇小說和另外三本詩集：《家庭抒情詩》、《愛情與歡笑抒情詩》和《陽光與陰影抒情詩》。

鄧巴以他的方言最為著稱，其中最出色的一首是《玉米甜糕已蒸熟》，詩中可以看出詹姆斯·惠特康姆·賴利對他的影響極深。賴利的《霜降南瓜》是一首印地安那家庭生活的讚歌，而鄧巴的這首《玉米甜糕已蒸熟》就是一首黑人家庭生活的讚美詩。

有時候造物主好像  
雖有疏漏卻不停手，  
有如海浪波濤湧，  
繼續他的大創造；  
地球剛剛起步走，  
好像陀螺轉動起，  
你的福杯之滿盈，

Dey is times in life when Nature  
Seems to slip a cog an' go,  
Jes' a-rattlin' down creation,  
Lak an ocean's overflow;  
When de wori' jes' stahts a-spinnin'  
Lak a picaninny's top,  
An' yo' cup o' joy is brimmin'  
'Twell it seems about to slop,  
An' you feel jes' lak a racah

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>             眼看就要往外溢；<br/>             看你像只網球拍<br/>             練習怎樣把步邁——<br/>             此時母親便祈禱<br/>             玉米甜糕已蒸熟。<br/>             你在飯桌前坐定，<br/>             又是勞累又是恨，<br/>             好像僅是一點乏，<br/>             又像僅是一些惱；<br/>             愁眉怎樣變笑臉，<br/>             歡樂怎樣驅憂愁，<br/>             每當鍋蓋一掀開，<br/>             聞得香味撲鼻來；<br/>             咳，天上點點星閃爍，<br/>             好像都往鍋裏落，<br/>             此時母親便祈禱<br/>             玉米甜糕已蒸熟。<br/>             鍋中白菜冒熱氣，<br/>             煙熏豬肉好肥膩，<br/>             小腸烤得吱吱響，<br/>             可見他們忙什麼；<br/>             趕快拿走粗餅乾，           </p> | <p>             Dat is trainin' fu' to trot—<br/>             When yo' mammy says de blessin'<br/>             An' de co'n pone's hot<br/>             When you set down at de table,<br/>             Kin' o' weary lak an' sad,<br/>             An' you'se jes' a little tiahed<br/>             An' purhaps a little mad;<br/>             How yo' gloom tu'ns into gladness,<br/>             How yo' joy drives out de doubt<br/>             When de oven do' is opened,<br/>             An' de smell comes po'in' out;<br/>             Why, de lectric light o' Heaven<br/>             Seems to settle on de spot,<br/>             When yo' mammy says de blessin'<br/>             An' de co'n pone's hot.<br/>             When de cabbage pot is steamin'<br/>             An' de bacon good an' fat,<br/>             When de chittlins is a-sputter'n'<br/>             So's to show you whah dey's at;<br/>             Tek away yo' sody biscuit<br/>             Tek away yo' cake an' pie,<br/>             Fu' de glory time is comin',<br/>             An' it's 'proachin' mighty nigh,<br/>             An' you want to jump an' hollah,<br/>             Dough you know you'd bettah not,<br/>             When yo' mammy says de blessin'<br/>             An' de co'n pone's hot.<br/>             I have hyeahd o' lots o' sermons,<br/>             An' I've hyeahd o' lots o' prayers,           </p> |
|---|--|

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p> 還有糕點果餡餅，<br/> 因為今晚不尋常，<br/> 光輝時辰就來到，<br/> 你會開心跳著嚷，<br/> 雖知此時不該鬧，<br/> 此時母親便祈禱<br/> 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。<br/> 我聽牧師常佈道，<br/> 也見人們多禱告，<br/> 還聽許多讚美歌，<br/> 歌聲帶我上九霄<br/> 步步領我進聖城，<br/> 一直來到主座前；<br/> 歌聲雖已遠逝去，<br/> 我心仍然唱不停，<br/> 聲聲禱告輕甜美，<br/> 句句打動我的心，<br/> 此時母親便祈禱<br/> 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。 </p> | <p> An' I've listened to some singin'<br/> Dat has tuck me up de stairs<br/> Of de Glory-Lan' an' set me<br/> Jes' below de Mastah's th'one,<br/> An' have lef my hea't a-singin'<br/> In a happy aftah tone;<br/> But dem wu'ds so sweetly murmured<br/> Seem to tech de softes' spot,<br/> When my mammy says de blessin',<br/> An' de co'n pone's hot. </p> |
| <p> 塞繆爾.岡珀斯<br/> (SAMUEL GOMPERS) </p>   |  |

工人要求什麼。

### **What Does The Working Man Want.**

我們要求完全實行八小時工作日制度。有人譴責我們自私，說我們會得寸進尺提出更多的要求，說我們去年日薪提高了十美分，現在又要求更多一些。我們確實要求更多一些。

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塞繆爾·岡珀斯(1850 — 1924)出生於倫敦，1863 年移居紐約，在那兒他繼承了父親的職業，當了捲煙工人。作為捲煙行業工會的領導人，他帶領該工會退出了工業工會勞動騎士團，建立了行業工會聯盟——美國勞工聯合會。1886 至 1924 年間，僅其中一年除外，岡珀斯一直擔任美國勞工聯合會的主席。這一時期公眾對工會懷有敵意，懷疑工會激進，他就在這種情況下領導勞工運動。在他的領導下，美國勞工聯合會避免了激進的政治綱領，把精力集中在諸如工資和工作條件等所謂「麵包與黃油」一類問題上。僱主們對勞動工會極其怨恨，並尋求立法機構的禁制令，企圖達到破壞罷工、破壞工人聯合抵制的目的。為了擺脫僱主們試圖強加給勞工的激進形象，為了說明工人所要求的也是其他人所要求的——更好的生活、合理的工資、良好的工作條件及自我提高的時間，岡珀斯不懈地進行鬥爭。本文系岡珀斯於 1890 年 5 月 1 日在肯塔基州的路易斯維爾為建立八小時工作制度進行活動時發表的演講。

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……朋友們，我們今天在這裏集會，為實行八小時工作日制度的要求吶喊。在國內，這一要求已促使路易斯維爾和新奧爾巴尼成千上萬的工人們上街遊行，激勵了芝加哥的工人一批又一批地行動起來，激發了紐約工薪勞動大軍的熱忱，並使他們意識到這個問題的重要性。在國際上，這一要求鼓舞了英國、愛爾蘭、德國、法國、義大利、西班牙和澳大利亞的勞動者，他們不顧世界上專制君主的禁令，宣佈在 1890 年 5 月 1 日，全世界的工人將舉行罷工，聲援美國工人的鬥爭，要求實行八小時工作日制度，讓工人有八小時睡眠、八小時自

由支配的時間。[掌聲]

有人一再指責說，要是我們有更多的閒暇時間，我們只會狂飲暴食，養成惡習，也就是說，我們會喝得爛醉。我想用下面的話來回敬這種指責：一般來說，社會上喝醉酒的人有兩種：一種是錢太多遊手好閒的人；另一種是失業無活可幹的人，後一種人表面上看起來醉了。[笑聲]我認為在我們的社會中，最清醒的是這一階層的人：他們能夠靠一天合理的勞動時數爭取合理的工資而又不過份勞累。每天勞動了十二、十四甚至十六小時的人需要一些人為的刺激來使他們的身體從一天的疲勞中得到恢復。[掌聲]……

我們應該能夠在更高的水平上來討論這個問題，我很高興地說，我們所從事的運動將促使我們朝這一方向前進。他們對我們說無法實行八小時工作日制度，原因是這將妨礙工商業的發展。我認為我國在工商業方面的歷史所表明的事實恰恰與此相反，這個問題不是經濟問題而是社會問題，我們應該把它作為社會問題來討論。要是他們把這個問題說成是經濟問題，我願意和他們辯論，如果這運動意味著使工商業停滯不前，我願意回顧我為推動這一運動的發展所採取的每一個步驟。可是，事情不是這樣，八小時工作日運動將使工商業更加繁榮，使民族更加進步，使人民更加先進、聰明、高尚……」

他們說他們擔負不了減少工作時數所造成的損失。事情真是這樣嗎。讓我們稍稍想一想，假如減少工作時數會導致工商業的衰退，那麼很自然地可以由此得出結論，增加工作時數能促進工商業的繁榮。假如事情確實如此，那麼在文明的排行榜上，英國和美國應該是最後一名……

在日工作時數為八、九或十小時的英國和美國，僱主和工人們工作效率更高，更富有成果，這難道不是事實嗎。難道我們沒有發現他們的產品售價更低嗎。我



們用不著讓現代的說教家來告訴我們這些事情。在所有勞動時間長的工業中，人們會發現那裏工人的發明創造力發揮得最差。哪裡的勞動時間長，哪裡的勞動力就便宜；哪裡的勞動力價廉，哪裡就不存在發明創造的必要性。我們怎能期望一個人在每天勞動十、十二或十四小時之後還有精力發明機器或發現新規律或動力。他要是有幸拿起報紙閱讀，也許連兩三行都看不完就要睡著了。[笑聲]

當勞動時數減少時，比如說每天減少一小時，想一想這意味著什麼。如果讓原來每天工作十小時的人把日工作時數減少到九小時，或者讓原來每天工作九小時的人把日工作時數減少到八小時，這意味著什麼呢。這意味著無數絕好的時刻與機會讓人們思考。有的人也許會說，你們會去睡大覺。好吧，有的人也許一天能睡十六個小時，一般的人可以試試看，他會發現無法長期這樣做，他總得做些事情。晚上，他也許會去看看戲，聽聽音樂會，但是他也無法每天晚上都這樣做。他也許會對某一方面的研究產生興趣，那裡他就會把減少體力勞動的時間花在腦力勞動上，他一小時腦力勞動所創造的財富將大大超過他十二個小時體力勞動所創造的財富。[掌聲]

在日工作時間較短的制度下，人們不僅有機會自我提高，而且有可能為他們的僱主帶來更大的成功，我認為這是千真萬確的。朋友們，……西班牙、印度、俄國、義大利的情形又是如何呢。放眼看看世界，觀察一下迫使大自然為人類生產必需品的工業，你們將會發現，哪裡的工作時間最短，哪裡的機器發明創造就發展得最快，人民的生活就最富裕。僱用廉價勞力是發展的最大阻礙，哪裡的勞力便宜，哪裡的發展就遲緩。正是由於我們偉大的勞工聯合會的影響，我們富有理智的會員們才能夠往前，往高處繼續前進，我們的進步與改革運動

正爲世人所密切關注。

日工作時間長的人，除了維持最低的生活水平以便能繼續勞動外沒有別的需求。他睡覺夢見幹活，早上起床去上班，帶著節儉的午餐去幹活，回到家又躺在那勉強拼起的床上稍稍休息，以便能再去上班幹活。他只不過是一台名副其實的機器，他活著是爲了幹活，而不是幹活爲了生活。[熱烈的掌聲]

朋友們，除了生活必需品外，勞動人民需要的唯一的東西是時間。我們的生命隨著時間開始亦隨之結束。我們需要用於陶冶自身情操的時間，需要用於使我們的家庭充滿歡樂的時間。時間把我們從最低級的原始社會帶到最先進的文明社會，我們需要時間來把我們推向更高級的社會。

朋友們，你們將會發現這一事實：已查明，我們有一百多萬的兄弟姐妹——身強力壯的男女——流落在街頭、大路和偏僻的鄉村小路旁，他們願意工作卻找不到活幹。大家知道，我們政府的理論是我們可以隨心所欲地決定要就業或要辭職，這只是理論而已，不是事實。我們確實可以辭職，如果我們要這麼做，可是，只要還有一百萬失業的男女流落在街頭尋找工作，我就不認爲我們想就業就可以找到工作。可以隨意就業或辭職的說法是騙局、圈套，是個彌天大謊。我們要考慮的有：第一，使我們的職業更有保障；第二，使工資更加固定；第三，爲窮人們提供就業的機會。勞動者一直被當作生產物品的機器……而在勞動這一現象後面還有人的靈魂、真正的目的和抱負。你們不能像政治經濟學家和大學教授那樣把勞動說成是可以買賣的商品。我們是繼承了我們偉大先輩的傳統的美國公民，我們的先輩爲了事業犧牲了除榮譽之外的一切東西。我們的敵人希望看到勞工運動夭折，到寒冷的陰間去見閻王爺，他們希望在天氣稍微暖和一些時看到這。[笑聲]可是，我要對大家說，勞工運動已經紮下根不走了。

[熱烈的掌聲]像《馬克白》中班柯的鬼魂一樣，勞工運動永不消逝。[掌聲]勞工運動是既成的事實，它由於人們的需要而產生，雖然有些人希望它失敗，可是它依然在人們心中牢牢地紮下了根。我們將繼續努力直至取得勝利。

我們要求完全實行八小時工作日制度。有人譴責我們自私，說我們會得寸進尺提出更多的要求，說我們去年日薪提高了十美分，現在又要求更多一些。我們確實要求更多一些。人的慾望通常是無止境的。去問問流浪漢要些什麼，假如他不要飲料，他會要一頓豐盛的飯菜；問一天掙兩美元的工人要什麼，他會要求把日薪提高十美分；要是問一天掙五美元的人，他會要求每天增加十五美分；要是問年薪為五千元的人，他會要求將年薪增加到六千元；而擁有八十萬或九十萬美元的人會想再要十萬美元湊成一百萬；而百萬富翁還想擁有每一樣能弄到手的東西，然後提高嗓門，反對想每天多掙十美分的窮光蛋。我們生活在財富成百倍地增長的電力和蒸汽的時代，我們認為這些財富是勞動者的聰明才智和辛勤勞動的結晶，而當我們感到生產比以往更容易時，卻發現生活越來越艱難。我們確實要求更多，而且當我們得到更多後，我們還要進一步要求更多。[掌聲]在我們得到我們應得的勞動成果之前，我們決不會停止要求更多一些……

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. . . My friends, we have met here today to celebrate the idea that has prompted thousands of working-people of Louisville and New Albany to parade the streets of [our city] that prompts the toilers of Chicago to turn out by their fifty or hundred thousand of men; that prompts the vast army of wage-workers in New York to demonstrate their enthusiasm and appreciation of the importance of this idea; that prompts the toilers of England, Ireland, Germany,

France, Italy, Spain, and Austria to defy the manifestos of the autocrats of the world and say that on May the first, 1890, the wage-workers of the world will lay down their tools in sympathy with the wage-workers of America, to establish a principle of limitations of hours of labor to eight hours for sleep [applause], eight hours for work, and eight hours for what we will.

[Applause. ]

It has been charged time and again that were we to have more hours of leisure we would merely devote it to debauchery, to the cultivation of vicious habits—in other words, that we would get drunk. I desire to say this in answer to that charge: As a rule, there are two classes in society who get drunk. One is the class who has no work to do in consequence of too much money; the other class, who also has no work to do, because it can't get any, and gets drunk on its face. [Laughter.] I maintain that that class in our social life that exhibits the greatest degree of sobriety is that class who are able, by a fair number of hours of day's work to earn fair wages—not overworked. The man who works twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours a day requires some artificial stimulant to restore the life ground out of him in the drudgery of the day. [Applause.]...

We ought to be able to discuss this question on a higher ground, and I am pleased to say that the movement in which we are engaged will stimulate us to it. They tell us that the eight hour movement can not be enforced, for the reason that it must check industrial and commercial progress. I say that the history of this country, in its industrial and commercial relations, shows the reverse. I say that is the plane on which this question ought to be discussed—that is the social question. As long as they make this question an economic one, I am willing to discuss it with them. I

would retrace every step I have taken to advance this movement did it mean industrial and commercial stagnation. But it does not mean that. It means greater prosperity; it means a greater degree of progress for the whole people; it means more advancement and intelligence, and a nobler race of people. . . .

They say they can't afford it. Is that true. Let us see for one moment. If a reduction in the hours of labor causes industrial and commercial ruination, it would naturally follow increased hours of labor -would increase the prosperity, commercial and industrial. If that -were true, England and America ought to be at the tail end, and China at the head of civilization. [Applause. ]

Is it not a fact that we find laborers in England and the United States, where the hours are eight, nine and ten hours a day—do we not find that the employers and laborers are more successful. Don't -we find them selling articles cheaper. We do not need to trust the modern moralist to tell us those things. In all industries where the hours of labor are long, there you will find the least development of the power of invention. Where the hours of labor are long, men are cheap, and where men are cheap there is no necessity for invention. How can you expect a man to work ten or twelve or fourteen hours at his calling and then devote any time to the invention of a machine or discovery of a new principle or force. If he be so fortunate as to be able to read a paper he will fall asleep before he has read through the second or third line. [Laughter.]

Why, when you reduce the hours of labor, say an hour a day, just think what it means. Suppose men who work ten hours a day had the time lessened to nine, or men who work nine hours a day have it reduced to eight hours; what does it mean. It means millions of golden hours and opportunities for thought. Some men might say

you will go to sleep. Well, some men might sleep sixteen hours a day; the ordinary man might try that, but he would soon find he could not do it long. He would have to do something. He would probably go to the theater one night, to a concert another night, but he could not do that every night. He would probably become interested in some study and the hours that have been taken from manual labor are devoted to mental labor, and the mental labor of one hour will produce for him more wealth than the physical labor of a dozen hours. [Applause.]

I maintain that this is a true proposition—that men under the short-hour system not only have opportunity to improve themselves, but to make a greater degree of prosperity for their employers. Why, my friends, how is it in China, how is it in Spain, how is it in India and Russia, how is it in Italy. Cast your eye throughout the universe and observe the industry that forces nature to yield up its fruits to man's necessities, and you will find that where the hours of labor are the shortest the progress of invention in machinery and the prosperity of the people are the greatest. It is the greatest impediment to progress to hire men cheaply. Wherever men are cheap, there you find the least degree of progress. It has only been under the great influence of our great republic, where our people have exhibited their great senses, that we can move forward, upward and onward, and are watched with interest in our movements of progress and reform....

The man who works the long hours has no necessities except the barest to keep body and soul together, so he can work. He goes to sleep and dreams of work; he rises in the morning to go to work; he takes his frugal lunch to work; he comes home again to throw himself down on a miserable apology for a bed so that he can get

that little rest that he may be able to go to work again. He is nothing but a veritable machine. He lives to work instead of working to live. [Loud applause. ]

My friends, the only thing the working people need besides the necessities of life, is time. Time. Time with which our lives begin; time with which our lives close; time to cultivate the better nature within us; time to brighten our homes. Time, which brings us from the lowest condition up to the highest civilization; time, so that we can raise men to a higher plane.

My friends, you will find that it has been ascertained that there is more than a million of our brothers and sisters—able-bodied men and women—on the streets, and on the highways and byways of our country willing to work but who cannot find it. You know that it is the theory of our government that we can work or cease to work at will. It is only a theory. You know that it is only a theory and not a fact. It is true that we can cease to work when we want to, but I deny that we can work when we will, so long as there are a million idle men and women tramping the streets of our cities, searching for work. The theory that we can work or cease to work when we will is a delusion and a snare. It is a lie.

What we want to consider is, first, to make our employment more secure, and, secondly, to make wages more permanent, and, thirdly, to give these poor people a chance to work. The laborer has been regarded as a mere producing machine . . . but back of labor is the soul of man and honesty of purpose and aspiration. Now you can not, as the political economists and college professors, say that labor is a commodity to be bought and sold. I say we are American citizens with the heritage of all the great men who have stood before us; men who have sacrificed all in the cause except honor.

Our enemies would like to see this movement thrust into hades, they would like to see it in a warmer climate [laughter], but I say to you that this labor movement has come to stay. [Loud applause.] Like Banquo's ghost, it will not down. [Applause.] I say the labor movement is a fixed fact. It has grown out of the necessities of the people, and, although some may desire to see it fail, still the labor movement will be found to have a strong lodgment in the hearts of the people, and we will go on until success has been achieved.

We want eight hours and nothing less. We have been accused of being selfish, and it has been said that we will want more; that last year we got an advance of ten cents and now we want more. We do want more. You will find that a man generally wants more. Go and ask a tramp what he wants, and if he doesn't want a drink he will want a good, square meal. You ask a workingman, who is getting two dollars a day, and he will say that he wants ten cents more. Ask a man who gets five dollars a day and he will want fifty cents more. The man who receives five thousand dollars a year wants six thousand dollars a year, and the man who owns eight or nine hundred thousand dollars will want a hundred thousand dollars more to make it a million, while the man who has his millions will want every thing he can lay his hands on and then raise his voice against the poor devil who wants ten cents more a day. We live in the latter part of the Nineteenth century. In the age of electricity and steam that has produced wealth a hundred fold, we insist that it has been brought about by the intelligence and energy of the workingmen, and while we find that it is now easier to produce it is harder to live. We do want more, and when it becomes more, we shall still want more. [Applause.] And we shall never cease to demand more until we have received the results of our labor. ...



## 效忠誓詞

### **Pledge of Allegiance**

這段誓詞於 1892 年 9 月 8 日首次出現在《青年之友》雜誌上，作為紀念克裏斯托弗·哥倫布航海到達新大陸四百週年全國性活動的一個組成部分。在學校中的愛國主義教育儀式上，該誓詞被廣泛採用。當時，誓詞的內容是：「我宣誓為我的旗幟和它所代表的共和國效忠；國家不可分割，民眾自由平等。」1924 年誓詞中「我的旗幟」被「美利堅合眾國的旗幟」所取代。1942 年美國政府對該誓詞予以官方認可。1954 年杜威特·艾森豪威爾總統說服國會在誓詞中加上「上帝庇佑下的」幾個詞。

多年來，對該誓詞的原作者是誰有爭議。當時的《青年之友》編輯詹姆斯·厄珀姆和弗朗西斯·貝拉米都聲稱自己是原作者。1957 年美國國會圖書館提交的一份報告提供證據認為貝拉米是原作者。根據 1954 年國會通過的法律，宣誓的人應該立正，脫帽，將右手貼在胸前。

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我宣誓為美利堅合眾國的旗幟和它所代表的共和國效忠。上帝庇佑下的國家不可分割，民眾自由平等。

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I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

約翰·繆爾

(JOHN MUIR)

加利福尼亞的山

### **The Mountains of California**

我為謝拉山脈的壯麗景色而歡欣、驚歎.....在謝拉山中度過了十年之後，我依然覺得萊特嶺是我所見過的大山中最美麗的山嶺。

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任何懷疑文章威力的人，只要想想約翰·繆爾(1838－1914)所取得的成就，就會相信了。繆爾出生在蘇格蘭，1849年隨家人移居威斯康辛州。他上過威斯康辛大學，早年致力於機械發明，在一次事故中，幾乎失去了一隻眼睛，後來改行了。繆爾成了熱情洋溢的自然主義者，對森林、山嶽、冰川尤其熱愛。他曾從中西部徒步旅行到墨西哥灣，邊旅行邊做筆記。1868年當他三十歲時，他在加利福尼亞第一次看到了內華達山脈，並為其景色所傾倒。

他走遍了西部各州，觀察該地區的自然生活，並按目錄分門別類，加以描述。他把許多充滿感情的觀察記錄寫成了隨筆和雜誌文章。他敦促聯邦政府採取森林保護區政策，保護自然資源不受開發。由於他所開展的運動，1890年美國政府建立了塞闊亞國家公園和優勝美地國家公園。

1892年繆爾創建了謝拉俱樂部，該俱樂部將繆爾對大自然的熱情化作全國性的運動。繆爾激發了西奧多·羅斯福總統對資源保護區的興趣，1903年羅斯福總統和繆爾一起在優勝美地野營。1908年美國國家公園管理部門接受了舊金山北面一大片紅杉原始森林的捐贈，為了表達人們對繆爾的敬意，這片原始森林被命名為繆爾國家林帶。

1894年出版的《加利福尼亞的山》是繆爾的第一部書。書中沒有任何倡議，而是充滿了他對所深愛的景色的準確而又充滿活力的描寫。該書一問世就獲得了成功，它使自然資源保護者的隊伍速壯大，成了繆爾對他所熱愛並致力拯救的山嶽的永久見證。

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……穿過海岸山嶺彎彎曲曲的小道，來到了深山之中，站在與舊金山遙遙相望的高山之巔或狹隘的山口，明麗的春光下，展現在眼前的是一幅錦繡的加州全景畫卷。腳下是沐浴著金色陽光的森特瓦爾利山谷，谷底寬闊平坦，百花盛開，像湖床般的一大片沃土向南北鋪展直至天際。山谷東部邊緣上聳立著數英里高的謝拉山，它氣勢磅礴，橫臥在山谷邊上，猶如停留在晴空中的一塊平靜的積雲。它的色彩是那麼壯麗輝煌，那麼燦爛奪目，不由地使人感到它不是披上了

一層金光，而本身就是一團光，像天國的城牆一般放射出萬道光芒。山頂部覆蓋著銀白色的積雪，積雪地帶下面是呈藍色和暗紫色的地帶，那是森林的延伸，沿著山嶺基部有一條呈玫瑰紫和黃色的地帶，那兒有礦工們的采金地和山腳花園。這些彩色地帶和諧地交織在一起，形成了一堵美如彩虹、堅如磐石、光芒四射的城牆，其光彩之絢麗令人感到無法用言語表達。

我在春光明媚的四月，從帕切利山口的頂峰第一回欣賞這壯觀的景色。幾乎還沒被人們踐踏或開墾過的森特瓦爾利山谷中盛開著一片毛絨絨金燦燦的野菊花，邊緣上的山嶽形成的彩牆光輝奪目。那時我似乎覺得謝拉山脈不應該被叫做內華達山脈或雪嶺，而應叫做萊特嶺\*。我為謝拉山脈的壯麗景色而歡欣、驚歎。我沐浴在光華之中，觀賞清晨雪峰上的日出、午時樹木、岩石和積雪的輝映，黃昏斜陽的餘暉，還有那飛流直下水花四濺的瀑布。在謝拉山中度過了十年之後，我依然覺得萊特嶺是我所見過的大山中最美麗的山嶺。

謝拉山脈綿延五百英里，寬達七十英里，山峰高度為七千至一萬五千英尺。山中一般看不到人類留下的痕跡，也沒有任何特徵能使人們聯想起其動植物資源之豐富或讓人感到其地質結構之深邃綺麗。森林覆蓋的山脊連綿起伏，沒有一處上升到足夠的高度向人們顯示其財寶之豐富。在山中，人們看不到遼闊的山谷，浩渺的湖泊或奔騰的大河，也看不到任何顯著的群體特徵，連輪廓清晰、高聳入雲的頂峰也顯得相當平滑，毫無特色。可是，就在山峰附近，冰川依然在活動著。山下成千上萬湖泊閃閃發光，湖邊低草地上野花盛開。整個山脈溝壑縱橫、深度達二千至五千英尺，壯觀的冰川曾經從這些峽谷中流過，如今幾條美麗的小河在峽谷中潺潺地盡情流淌。

這些著名的峽谷雖然深度驚人，卻不是陰冷潮濕、昏暗無光、溝壁凹凸不平而

又險峻難達的峽谷。由於峽谷中到處佈滿崎嶇不平的小道，它們依然是登山運動員們從肥沃的低地通往結冰的源頭所喜歡選擇的路線。這些由古代冰川開鑿鋪築的山路上充滿了迷人的生機光彩。一路上映入眼簾的是各種各樣奇異迷人的風光—迄今為止在全世界山脈中所見到的最迷人的風光。

在許多地方，尤其是在山脈中段的西側，主峽谷漸漸開闊起來，形成寬闊的山谷或園林。山谷裏遍佈美麗的小樹林、草場和鮮花盛開的灌木叢，猶如一座座人工建造的風景園林。那高高的向兩側隱退而去的峽壁形狀結構各異，溝壁上無數狹窄的臺階上長滿了蕨類植物、各種開花的植物、橡樹和冬青。歡快的溪流使景色更加動人，充滿活力。小溪從陽光照耀下的懸崖上飛流而下，濺起水花，彙入峽谷中靜靜地流淌著的小河。

這些優勝美地型的園林式峽谷的溝壁是由巨大如山的岩石構成的，而在一定程度上又被溝壑和小峽谷隔開。岩石的正面陡峭，一塊緊挨著另一塊，屹立在平地上。從整體上看起來，這些岩石圍起的園地就像從頂部採光照明的禮堂或寺廟。每一塊岩石似乎都富有生命力，有的向後傾斜，泰然自若，有的拔地而起數千英尺，高於它們的夥伴，垂直或近乎垂直地聳立著，彷彿深陷在沈思之中，對風暴和平靜一概表示歡迎。它們表面上看起來神志清醒，卻又對周圍的一切無動於衷，莊嚴中帶有柔美，永恆中卻又顯出變幻。它們屹立在松林中或座落在草地上，崖頂聳入雲端，沐浴在陽光和流水之中，崖頂四周白雲飄繞，積雪閃光，山風吹拂，大自然似乎使出了最上乘的法寶，來把她的情人拉到自己的懷抱，吐露鍾情。

\*「萊待嶺」系音譯，意為「光之嶺」

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Making your way through the mazes of the Coast Range to the summit of any of the inner peaks or passes opposite San Francisco, in the clear springtime, the grandest and most telling of all California landscapes is outspread before you. At your feet lies the great Central Valley glowing golden in the sunshine, extending north and south farther than the eye can reach, one smooth, flowery, lake-like bed of fertile soil. Along its eastern margin rises the mighty Sierra, miles in height, reposing like a smooth, cumulous cloud in the sunny sky, and so gloriously colored, and so luminous, it seems to be not clothed with light, but wholly composed of it, like the wall of some celestial city. Along the top, and extending a good way down, you see a pale, pearl-gray belt of snow; and below it a belt of blue and dark purple, marking the extension of the forests; and along the base of the range a broad belt of rose-purple and yellow, where lie the miner's goldfields and the foot-hill gardens. All these colored belts blending smoothly make a wall of light ineffably fine, and as beautiful as a rainbow, yet firm as adamant.

When I first enjoyed this superb view, one glowing April day, from the summit of the Pacheco Pass, the Central Valley, but little trampled or plowed as yet, was one furred, rich sheet of golden compositae, and the luminous wall of the mountains shone in all its glory. Then it seemed to me the Sierra should be called not the Nevada, or Snowy Range, but the Range of Light. And after ten years spent in the heart of it, rejoicing and wondering, bathing in its glorious floods of light, seeing the sunbursts of morning among the icy peaks, the noonday radiance on the trees and rocks and snow, the flush of the alpenglow, and a thousand dashing waterfalls with their marvelous abundance of irised spray, it still seems to me above all others the Range of Light, the most divinely beautiful of all the mountain-chains I have ever seen.

The Sierra is about 300 miles long, 70 miles wide, and from 7000 to nearly 15,000 feet high. In general view's no mark of man is visible on it, nor anything to suggest the richness of the life it cherishes, or the depth and grandeur of its

sculpture. None of its magnificent forest-crowned ridges rises much above the general level to publish its wealth. No great valley or lake is seen, or river, or group of well-marked features of any kind, standing out in distinct pictures. Even the summit-peaks, so clear and high in the sky, seem comparatively smooth and featureless. Nevertheless, glaciers are still at work in the shadows of the peaks, and thousands of lakes and meadow's shine and bloom beneath them, and the whole range is furrowed with canons to a depth of from 2000 to 5000 feet, in which once flowed majestic glaciers, and in which now flow and sing a band of beautiful rivers.

Though of such stupendous depth, these famous canons are not raw, gloomy, jagged-walled gorges, savage and inaccessible. With rough passages here and there they still make delightful pathways for the mountaineer, conducting from the fertile lowlands to the highest icy fountains, as a kind of mountain streets full of charming life and light, graded and sculptured by the ancient glaciers, and presenting, throughout all their courses, a rich variety of novel and attractive scenery, the most attractive that has yet been discovered in the mountain-ranges of the world.

In many places, especially in the middle region of the western flank of the range, the main canons widen into spacious valleys or parks, diversified like artificial landscape-gardens, with charming groves and meadows, and thickets of blooming bushes, while the lofty, retiring walls, infinitely varied in form and sculpture, are fringed with ferns, flowering-plants of many species, oaks, and evergreens, which find anchorage on a thousand narrow steps and benches; while the whole is enlivened and made glorious with rejoicing streams that come dancing and foaming over the sunny brows of the cliffs to join the shining river that flows in tranquil beauty down the middle of each one of them.

The walls of these park valleys of the Yosemite kind are made up of rocks mountains in size, partly separated from each other by narrow gorges and side-canons; and they are so sheer in front, and so compactly built together on a level floor, that, comprehensively seen, the parks they inclose look like immense

halls or temples lighted from above. Every rock seems to glow with life. Some lean back in majestic repose; others, absolutely sheer, or nearly so, for thousands of feet, advance their brows in thoughtful attitudes beyond their companions, giving welcome to storms and calms alike, seemingly conscious yet heedless of everything going on about them, awful in stern majesty, types of permanence, yet associated with beauty of the frailest and most fleeting forms; their feet set in pine groves and gay emerald meadows, their brows in the sky; bathed in light, bathed in floods of singing water, while snow-clouds, avalanches, and the winds shine and surge and wreath about them as the years go by, as if into these mountain mansions Nature had taken pains to gather their choicest treasures to draw her lovers into close and confiding communion with her....

凱瑟琳.李.貝茨

(KATHARINE LEE BATES)

美麗的亞美利加

**America the Beautiful**

凱瑟琳.李.貝茨(1850—1929)的詩歌《美麗的亞美利加》創作於 1893 年，並於 1895 年發表在《公理會教友》雜誌上。1904 年貝茨對這首抒情詩進行了修改。1911 年在發表她的詩集《美麗的亞美利加及其它詩篇》時，她再次作了修改。成年後的大部分時間裏，她在韋爾斯利學院任英國文學教授，她也當過編輯，創作了一些兒童文學作品，還發表過幾部詩集。可是，使她的名字流芳百世的卻是她所創作的今人難以忘懷的抒情詩《美麗的亞美利加》。這是一首廣為讚美的歌曲，經常有人建議用它來取代現行的美國國歌《星條旗》。

啊，美麗的亞美利加！

遼闊的天空，

金色的麥浪，

聳立在富饒平原上的

O beautiful for spacious skies,

For amber waves of grain,

For purple mountain majesties

Above the fruited plain!

America! America!

巍巍群山！

亞美利加！亞美利加！

上帝賜福與您，

爲了你的善與美，

讓全世界的兄弟姐妹都愛你！啊，美

麗的亞美利加！

移民的腳步，

充滿豪情、堅定有力，

踏平荒野

開闢出一片自由的天地！

亞美利加！亞美利加！

上帝糾正你的每一個缺點，

使你的自製堅定無比，

把你的自由載入法典！啊，美麗的亞

美利加！

經歷過內戰考驗的

英雄豪傑，

愛國家勝過愛自己，

爲平等博愛灑盡一腔熱血！

亞美利加！亞美利加！

願上帝純潔你的財富，

讓所有的成就崇高偉大，

God shed His grace on thee

And crown thy good with brotherhood

From sea to shining sea! O beautiful

for pilgrim feet,

Whose stern, impassioned stress

A thoroughfare for freedom beat

Across the wilderness!

America! America!

God mend thine every flaw,

Confirm thy soul in self-control,

Thy liberty in law! O beautiful for

heroes proved

In liberating strife,

Who more than self their country

loved,

And mercy more than life!

America! America!

May God thy gold refine,

Till all success be nobleness

And every gain divine! O beautiful for

patriot dream

That sees beyond the years

Thine alabaster cities gleam

Undimmed by human tears!

America! America!

God shed His grace on thee,

And crown thy good with brotherhood

From sea to shining sea!



讓個個收穫神聖完美!啊，美麗的亞美利加！

每一個愛國者

都憧憬著未來的夢幻，

夢見聖潔的城市光芒四射，

即使淚眼模糊依然美景在前

亞美利加!亞美利加!

上帝賜福與你，

爲了你的善與美，

讓全世界的兄弟姐妹都愛你！

布克.T.華盛頓 (BOOKER T. WASHINGTON)

### 亞特蘭大博覽會演講 The Atlanta Exposition Address

在一切純社交性的事務中，我們可以像手指那樣分開；但在一切對共同進步有決定意義的事情上，我們必須團結得像一隻手一樣。布克.T.華盛頓(1856—1915)出生於奴隸家庭。1872年他被漢普頓學院錄取，靠在學院當看門工友勤工儉學完成了學業。畢業任教和進修之後，他被選為塔斯基吉工業師範學院的領導人。在以後的三十四年時間裏，他把這所貧窮的學院發展為實力雄厚、擁有一千五百名學生的學校。

華盛頓認為對黑人進行工業教育、小規模企業管理培訓和勤勉若干精神的培養是提高黑人地位的途徑。他被邀請於1895年9月18日在亞特蘭大博覽會上向白人聽眾發表演講，這是由於他的做法被認為值得報導。在演講中，他勸黑人同胞要學會「一般的職業技能」，發展與白人朋友的睦鄰關係，腳踏實地地從「最低點」而不是從最高點開始努力。

杜波依斯等黑人領袖反對他耐心溫和的勸告，稱他的演講為「亞特蘭大妥協」。他們還譴責華盛頓強調工業教育是以犧牲高等教育為代價。當時，由於對黑

人實行種族歧視的法律得到通過，南方黑人的權利處於危急之中。黑人農民主要是佃農，受到用穀物交租制度的剝削，城市裏的黑人工人被拒於工會大門之外。

然而，白人卻為華盛頓的演講喝采，南北方的白人都給了他極大的榮譽。1901年他曾被西奧多·羅斯福總統邀請到白宮。從 1895 年直至他逝世，他被公認為是當時最有影響的美國黑人。他寫過十二本書，其中包括他的自傳《出身奴隸》。

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南方人口的三分之一是黑人。任何想在南方取得物質、文化、道德方面巨大成就的事業家都不能忽視我們人口的這一組成部分。在這盛大的博覽會進展的每一個階段，美國黑人的價值和氣概都得到了博覽會經理們恰當而又極其慷慨的賞識，我謹在此向會長和理事先生們轉達廣大黑人同胞的謝意。這種賞識將比我們獲得自由以來所發生過的任何事件更能鞏固加強我們兩個民族之間的友誼。

除此之外，這兒還為我提供了演講的機會，來喚醒黑人同胞去迎接工業發展的新時代。由於我們無知，又缺乏經驗，所以在我們新生活的最初，幾年裏，我們沒有從最低點而是最高點開始努力；我們奮力爭取在國會和州立法機關的席位，卻忽視了培養房地產經營的能力和工業技能；我們被政治會議或樹墩演講所吸引，而覺得經營牛奶場或蔬菜場乏味，這種現象並不奇怪。

一條在海上迷航了幾天的船隻突然看見一艘友好船隻，從遇難的船隻的桅桿上可以看到求救信號：「水，水，我們快渴死了。」對方立即答覆：「從你們船上把水桶放下來打水。」遇難船隻好再一次發出求援信號：「水，水，給我們送水！」得到的答覆是：「從你們船上把水桶放下來打水。」第三、四次要求送水的信號也得到了同樣的答覆。遇難船隻的船長終於注意到了這一答覆，將桶放下去，

從亞瑪遜河口打上來滿滿的一桶清澈的淡水。

對依靠在異國改善生活狀況的黑人同胞和低估了發展與南方白人睦鄰友好關係的重要性的黑人同胞，我要疾呼：從你們那兒把水桶放下來打水，果斷地放下來，與我們周圍的各族人民交朋友。在農業、機械業、商業、家庭服務業及其它行業，黑人同胞都應該這樣做。關於這一點應該記住，不管可能要南方忍受其他什麼罪惡，在純商業事務方面，南方為黑人在商界提供了像樣的機會，本屆博覽會就是勝於雄辯的審實證明。我們面臨的最大危險是，從奴隸制到自由這一飛躍過程中，我們可能會忽視這一點：我們大部份人靠手工生產謀生。而忘記了當我們學會讚美歌頌平凡的勞動，在各行各業中發揮我們的智慧和技能時，當我們學會區分生活中表面與實質，華而不實與真正有用的東西之間的差別時，我們將會興旺發達，獲得成功。只有當一個民族認識到種田與寫詩是一樣高貴時，這個民族才有可能繁榮昌盛。我們應該從生活的最低點而不是最高點開始努力，我們也不應該讓我們所受的委屈給我們的機遇投下陰影。

不少白人希望講不同語言，保持不同風俗習慣的異族人的到來能促進南方的繁榮，如果允許的話，我想對他們重覆一下我對黑人同胞講過的話：「從你們那兒把水桶放下來！」放到八百萬黑人中來。你們瞭解他們的脾性，在他們的反叛意味著你們家園的毀滅那種日子裏，你們也曾經考驗過他們的忠誠與愛。把你們的水桶放到這些黑人中來，他們過去既不舉行罷工也不爭議報酬，為你們種田、開墾荒地、修建鐵路、建設城市，開採寶藏，使南方的巨大發展成為現實。把你們的水桶放到我們黑人同胞中來，就像你們現在正在做的那樣，幫助和鼓勵他們，在才智、技能和精神這些方面培訓他們。你們將看到，他們將購買你們多餘的田地，使荒蕪的土地結出碩果，他們也將經營你們的工廠。

這樣做的時候，你們可以相信，像過去那樣，將來圍繞在你們及你們家人周圍的也將是世界上至今所見到的最耐心、最忠誠、最守法、最不易抱怨的人們。過去我們替你們照看小孩，在病榻前伺候你們的父母，還經常流著眼淚為他們送葬。我們過去已經證明瞭對你們的忠誠，所以將來，我們也將忠心耿耿地站在你們一邊，這種忠誠是任何異族人所不能比的。假如情況需要的話，我們還隨時準備犧牲生命保衛你們。我們將在工業、商業、文化和宗教生活各方面與你們交融在一起，使我們兩個民族的利益相一致。在一切純社交性的事務中，我們可以像手指那樣分開；但在一切對共同進步有決定意義的事情上，我們必須團結得像一隻手一樣。

要是沒有全體民眾的高度文化水平和興旺發達，我們都得不到保護，都不會感到安全。假如存在著不讓黑人充份發展的阻力，那麼應該把這種阻力轉化為動力，刺激鼓勵黑人，使他們成為最聰明有用的公民。這種投資得到的將是十倍的收益。這種努力將為雙方造福，既有利於提供幫助的一方，也有利於被幫助的一方。在人類或上帝的法律面前，沒有任何人能逃脫不可避免的命運：

公正平等的法則永恆不變，把壓迫者和被壓迫者拴在一起，就

像罪惡永遠伴著苦難，朝著命運我們肩並肩一起邁進。

將近八百萬雙的手可能幫你們挑起重擔，也可能拉後腿；我們可能構成南方愚昧與罪惡的三分之一甚至更多，也可能構成文明與進步的三分之一；我們可能為南方的工商業繁榮作出三分之一的貢獻，也可能成為一具殭屍，延緩、削弱、阻礙國家進步的各種努力。

光臨博覽會的先生們，當我們在博覽會上向你們展出我們的努力所取得的一些小成果時，希望你們對我們不要太苛求。三十年前，我們在各地開始擁有一些

被子、南瓜和雞(從各方收集來的)。請記住：我們是在一無所有的情況下開始發展的。我們搞發明創造，生產農具、輕便馬車、蒸汽機、報紙、書本、雕塑，經營藥店、銀行，我們走過的路是不平坦的，我們是披荆斬棘走過來的。當我們為我們所展出的獨自努力的成果而感到自豪時，我們一刻也不會忘記你們對我們教育事業的幫助。不僅南方幫助了我們，北方也幫助了我們，尤其是北方的慈善家們源源不斷的捐贈給了我們極大的支援與鼓勵。要是沒有你們的幫助，我們的展品會使你們大失所望。

黑人中的有識之士明白挑起社會平等方面的爭端是極其愚蠢的。要實現我們能夠充分享受一切權利這一理想需要一個過程，必須靠我們艱苦不懈的努力，而不是靠人為的推行推進。能為世界市場提供必需商品的民族是不可能被長期排斥在外的。不錯，我們應該享受法律所保障的一切權利，這一點很重要；然而，更重要的是，我們應該為行使這些權利做準備。現在，在工廠裏掙一美元錢的機會比起在歌劇院裏消費一美元錢的機會更有價值。

最後，請允許我再說一遍，與以往三十年裏的各種機會相比，這次博覽會所提供的機會給了我們更大的希望和鼓舞，使我們與白人的關係更密切了。這神聖的講壇可以說是代表了我們兩個民族共同奮鬥的成果，因為三十年前我們幾乎都是從零開始。在這聖壇上，我向你們保證，在你們努力解決上帝為南方所設置的這一重大而又複雜的問題時，你們將隨時得到黑人的同情和耐心的幫助。這些展廳裏所陳列的來自農田、森林、礦山、工廠和文藝界的成果將推動各行各業的發展，帶來更大的成果。可是，我們還應該記住這一點：比物質利益更為重要的是精神方面的更高的追求。讓我們祈禱主將降臨，消滅區域差別，消除種族仇恨和懷疑，施行法律，讓各階層的人都服從法律的意志。這一點再加

上物質上的繁榮，將為我們親愛的南方開創一個新天地。

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One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal: "Water, water, we die of thirst." The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water, send us water," ran up from the distressed vessel and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River.

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: Cast down your bucket where you are; cast it down in making friends, in every manly way, of the

people of all races by whom we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that, in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in the proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the 8,000,000 Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and, with education of head, hand and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories.

While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your

families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours; interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed — "blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape, through law of man or God, from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind  
Oppressor with oppressed,  
And close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen million hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition: As we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect over much. Starting thirty years ago



with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember: the path that has led us from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drugstores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of those privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement and drawn us so near to you of the white race as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that, in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race. Only let this be constantly in mind that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters and art, much good will come—yet far above and beyond material benefits, will be that higher good, that let us pray God

will come, in a blot-ting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

約翰.霍普 (JOHN HOPE)

### 駁布克.T.華盛頓的演講 **Reply to Booker T. Washington**

如果我們不在為平等而奮鬥，我們活著究竟為了什麼？

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約翰.霍普(1868—1936)出生在喬治亞州的奧古斯塔，從麻省的伍斯特學院畢業後進入布朗大學深造，並於 1894 年畢業於該校。寫這篇文章時，他是田納西州羅傑.威廉斯大學的古典文學和科學教授。霍普是尼亞加拉運動的創始人之一，該運動是美國全國有色人種協進會的前身。1906 年他成了亞特蘭大浸禮會學院(即莫爾豪斯學院)的第一位黑人校長，後來又於 1929 年出任亞特蘭大大學校校長。

霍普大力提倡對黑人進行文科教育，反對布克.T.華盛頓所提倡的技術訓練。他聽了華盛頓在亞特蘭大博覽會上的著名演講後，表示強烈反對。1896 年 2 月 22 日，他向處於激烈爭論中的黑人社會發表了以下反駁華盛頓觀點的演講。

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如果我們不在為平等而奮鬥，我們活著究竟為了什麼。如果我們黑人中有人對白人或黑人說我們不在為平等而鬥爭，我認為這是怯弱、虛偽的表現。如果金錢、教育和誠實不能為我們帶來與其他美國公民一樣的權利和平等，那麼，對我來說，金錢、教育和誠實都成了有害而無益的東西。獲得了創造自由的工具卻不敢或懶得去創造自由，這是上帝所不允許的。我們不要自己騙自己，也不要上別人的當。如果我們不能做其他自由人所能做的事，我們就沒有真正獲得自由。是的，朋友們，我們要求平等，完完全全的平等，我們要求得到上帝賦予我們的權力所能得到的一切，那麼，為何不要平等呢。請注意，我要用上一

個形容詞，我要說我們要求社會平等，在這個共和國裏，要是節儉、教育和榮譽爲我們提供的權利比它們爲其他自由人所提供的少了絲毫，我們就談不上是自由人。在我們偉大的國度裏，如果政治、經濟、社會平等是其他人的福利，那麼政治、經濟、社會平等就是我們所要求得到的東西。爲什麼要築起一道城牆，把我們拒於牆外呢。我們既不是野獸也不是什麼不乾不淨的東西。

起來，弟兄們！讓我們擁有這片土地。千萬別說「知足常樂」，不要用這種使是非感麻木不仁的格言來安慰自己，要感到不滿足，要感到不滿意，要對現狀感到煩惱不安，要像無邊無際的大海中洶湧澎湃的波濤那樣動盪不安。讓不滿的情緒像火山一樣噴發出來，衝擊偏見的城牆，搖撼其根基。到那時，我們就用不著去乞求平等，也用不著屈膝哀求憐憫，因爲我們是頂天立地的男子漢。那時，也只有到那時，我們的共和國才能真正地誇耀它的平等。

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If we are not striving for equality, in heaven's name for what are we living. I regard it as cowardly and dishonest for any of our colored men to tell white people or colored people that we are not struggling for equality. If money, education, and honesty will not bring to me as much privilege, as much equality as they bring to any American citizen, then they are to me a curse, and not a blessing. God forbid that we should get the implements with which to fashion our freedom, and then be too lazy or pusillanimous to fashion it. Let us not fool ourselves nor be fooled by others. If we cannot do what other freemen do, then we are not free. Yes, my friends, I want equality. Nothing less. I want all that my God-given powers will enable me to get, then why not equality. Now, catch your breath, for I am going to use an adjective: I am going to say we demand social equality. In this Republic we shall be less than freemen, if we have a whit less than that which thrift, education, and honor afford other freemen. If equality, political, economic, and social, is the boon of other men in this great country of ours, then equality, political, economic,

and social, is what we demand. Why build a wall to keep me out. I am no wild beast, nor am I an unclean thing.

Rise, Brothers! Come let us possess this land. Never say: "Let well enough alone." Cease to console yourselves with adages that numb the moral sense. Be discontented. Be dissatisfied. "Sweat and grunt" under present conditions. Be as restless as the tempestuous billows on the boundless sea. Let your discontent break mountain-high against the wall of prejudice, and swamp it to the very foundation. Then we shall not have to plead for justice nor on bended knee crave mercy; for -we shall be men. Then and not until then will liberty in its highest sense be the boast of our Republic.

約翰.馬歇爾.哈倫 (JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN)

### 對普萊西訴弗格森一案裁決的異議 **Dissent From Plessy V. Ferguson**

根據憲法，從法律上來看，我們國家裏不存在什麼上等、優越、佔統治地位的公民階層。我們國家裏沒有種族等級制度。我國的憲法規定，人不分膚色一律平等，既沒有也不允許在我們的公民中劃分等級。

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美國南北戰爭後，原退出聯邦的南方各州政府改組後再次加入聯邦，白人重新控制了南方的立法機構，並通過了歧視黑人的法律，實行種族隔離和種族歧視。1896 年普萊西訴弗格森一案是對該法律的一次重大考驗。在審理案件過程中，聯邦最高法院作出裁決，維護路易斯安那州關於在鐵路上對旅客實行種族隔離的法律。九名大法官中有八人認為，只要火車上為白人和黑人提供的設備是平等的，種族隔離就沒什麼不對。多數人認為，「如果黑人要認為強制性的種族隔離給黑人打上了『下等人』的烙印，這僅僅是黑人自己要這麼認為，而不是由於法律中的任何條款造成的。」最高法院的裁決使火車上「隔離但是平等」的做法合法化。由於大部分黑人被剝奪了選舉權，在政治上毫無權力，分隔後的設備不平等，也不可能平等。

約翰.馬歇爾.哈倫(1833－1911)是唯一的對該案裁決持不同看法的大法官。他因持強有力的不同政見，尤其在有關黑人權利方面的不同政見而享有名望。

他對普萊西訴弗格森一案裁決的不同看法曾在二十世紀五十年代初期被美國全國有色人種協進會的律師們引用，成功地在法律上抨擊了美國的種族隔離政策。

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……關於所有公民都享有的公民權，我認為美國憲法不允許任何一級政府瞭解受法律保護享有這些權利的公民的種族背景。每一個真正的人都有民族自豪感，而且在適當的場合，在不侵害同樣受法律保護的其他公民權利的情況下，他有權表露這種自豪感，採取他以此為準則認為是適當的行動。但是，當涉及到公民的權利時，我認為任何立法機構或法庭都不應該考慮公民的種族背景。事實上，我們在此所涉及到的路易斯安那州的立法機構的做法不僅違背了聯邦與州法律有關公民平等權利的規定，而且還侵犯了美國境內每一個人都可以享有的個人自由……

白種人認為自己是美國佔優勢的種族，而實際上白種人也確實在聲譽、成就、教育、財富、權勢各方面都佔了優勢。如果白人能夠保持其偉大的傳統，堅持憲法所制定的自由平等的原則，我並不懷疑白人將會一直保持優勢。但是，根據憲法，從法律上來看，我們國家裏不存在什麼上等、優越、佔統治地位的公民階層。我們國家裏沒有種族等級制度，我國的憲法規定：人不分膚色一律平等，既沒有也不允許在我們的公民中劃分等級。就公民權而言，所有的公民在法律面前一律平等，最卑賤的與最有權勢的是同等的公民。當涉及到受本國最高法律保障的公民權時，不論人們的社會背景或膚色如何，我們的法律都把他們作為公民看待。因此，我感到十分遺憾。我們的最高法庭——具有最高權威憲法解釋權的機構——作出了這種裁決，認為一個州可以以種族為唯一的依據，限制公民享受公民權。

專橫地以種族為依據，在交通幹線上將公民隔離開來，這種做法是對公民的強迫，完全違背了憲法所規定的在法律面前公民自由平等的原則，這是法律所不允許的。假如白人和黑人在為大家共同利益而興建的鐵路幹線上混在一起會導致某些弊端的話，這種弊端也比州立法機構以種族為依據，限制公民行使公民權所造成的弊端要少得多。我們自詡我國人民比其他各國人民享有更充分的自由，可是，我們的自吹很難與我們目前的法律狀況相吻合，尤其是當法律給公民中的一大階層人——在法律面前與我們平等的公民——打上奴隸、下等的印記時，更顯得自相矛盾。火車廂裏設備「平等」這一層薄薄的偽裝不可能給人們造成平等的印象，也不能彌補今天錯誤的裁決。

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. . . In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, National and State, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States....

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of

citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race. . . .

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done. . . .

西奧多·羅斯福 (THEODORE ROOSEVELT)

### **讚奮鬥不息 In Praise of the Strenuous Life**

向強有力的事物挑戰，去奪取輝煌的勝利，即使遭受挫折也比苟且偷安強得多，因為得過且過的人生活在暗淡的暮光之中，既體驗不到勝利的歡樂，也嘗受不到失敗的痛苦。

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西奧多·羅斯福(1858—1919)出生於紐約一富豪的家庭，小時候身體虛弱，



可是他以鋼鐵般的意志鍛煉身體，成了十分活躍的野外體育活動愛好者。他從哈佛學院畢業後，曾在哥倫比亞法律學院學習過一小段時間，而後選擇了政治及歷史寫作的生涯。23 歲時，他被選入州立法機構，在政治上遭受幾次失敗後，他有兩年在達科他領地經營農牧場。接著他在紐約當了一段警察局總長，隨後在麥金萊政府時期出任海軍部長助理。

1898 年美國——西班牙戰爭爆發，他辭去海軍內的職務，率領美國第一義勇騎兵團作戰。他在古巴的英勇行為使他當上了紐約州長。在紐約，他開始疏遠共和黨核心人物，因為 1900 年他們提名讓羅斯福為威廉·麥金萊競選總統時的副總統候選人，想以此擺脫羅斯福的影響。他們原想讓人們漸漸忘卻不斷取得卓越政績的羅斯福，可是麥金萊在 1901 年遭暗殺後，羅斯福接任了總統職務。

羅斯福宣誓就任紐約州長幾個月後，於 1899 年 4 月 10 日在芝加哥發表了演講，這是他最受人們歡迎的演講之一。就在六周前，威廉·詹寧斯·布賴恩也曾在芝加哥發表演講，譴責美國的帝國主義行為。羅斯福在這篇於內戰結束三十四週年紀念日發表的演講中反駁了布賴恩。結合人生是外界對人們的挑戰這一個人看法，他在演講中談了美國在國際事務中應起的作用。

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今天的聽眾來自美國西部最偉大的城市，這裏出過林肯總統、格蘭特將軍這樣的偉人，這裏的人民最突出最明顯地體現了美國人的特點，面對這樣偉大的人民，我想宣揚的不是可鄙的貪圖安逸享樂的人生哲學，而是生命不止奮鬥不息的人生哲學。我認為人生應該為最出色的成就奮鬥，這種成就決不是那些想安閒地過日子的人們所能得到的，只有那些不畏艱險，不怕勞累的人們才有可能取得最後的輝煌勝利對一個人來說應該奮鬥不息，對一個民族來說也應該如此。說沒有歷史的民族是幸福的民族，這是卑劣的謊言。具有光榮歷史的民族是十分幸運的。向強有力的事物挑戰，去奪取輝煌的勝利，即使遭受挫折也比苟且偷安強得多，因為得過且過的人生活在暗淡的暮光之中，既體驗不到勝



利的歡樂，也嘗受不到失敗的痛苦。在 1861 年，要是那些熱愛聯邦的人們認為和平是最終的目的，認為戰爭與衝突是最不幸的事情，並且按這種想法去做了，那麼我們可以避免千百萬人頭顱落地，可以節省大量的財力，而且除了可以省去我們所付出的生命和金錢方面的代價外，還可以使我們的婦女同胞免痛心碎之苦，使我們的人民免遭家破人亡之罪。當聯邦軍隊似乎只是在走向失敗時，我們的國家也可以免得陷入長達幾個月之久的憂愁與恥辱之中。要是我們在衝突面前畏縮不前，我們可以避免這些痛苦；要是我們迴避了這些痛苦，我們就成了不配屹立於世界偉大民族之林的懦夫。感謝主給了我們先輩鋼鐵般的意志，他們支援了林肯總統的英明抉擇，拿起了刀槍加入了格蘭特將軍的隊伍。我們是不愧於偉大時代的英雄們的兒女，是把偉大內戰進行到底直至取得最後勝利的英雄們的後代，讓我們讚美主讓我們的先輩拒絕了可恥的主和意見，讓我們的先輩毫不畏縮地去面對痛苦、失敗、悲傷、失望的磨煉，去經歷幾年的內戰，因為最後奴隸們獲得了解放，聯邦得到了保存，強大的美利堅合眾國再一次像巨人般地屹立於世界民族之林。

我們這一代人用不著面臨我們先輩所面臨的那種任務，但是，我們也有自己的任務，要是我們沒能完成我們的任務，我們就要遭到不幸。我們決不能扮演中國的角色，要是我們重蹈中國的覆轍，自滿自足，貪圖自己疆域內的安寧享樂，漸漸地腐敗墮落，對國外的事情毫無興趣，沈溺於紙醉金迷之中，忘掉了奮發向上、苦幹冒險的高尚生活，整天忙於滿足我們肉體暫時的慾望，那麼，毫無疑問，總有一天我們會突然發現中國今天已經發生的這一事實：畏懼戰爭、閉關鎖國、貪圖安寧享樂的民族在其他好戰，愛冒險的民族的進攻面前是肯定要衰敗的。如果我們要成為真正偉大的民族，我們必須竭盡全力在國際事務中

起巨大的作用。我們無法迴避大問題，我們能決定的僅是該如何處理這些問題。去年我們被捲入了與西班牙的戰爭，那也是不可避免的。我們所能考慮的僅是我們該像懦夫那樣退縮呢？還是該勇敢、鬥志昂揚地開赴戰場，以及一旦進入了戰場，我們是否能打勝。現在的情況也是如此，我們無法迴避在夏威夷、古巴、波多黎各和菲律賓所面臨的責任。我們所能考慮的僅是，我們能否妥善處理這些問題，增強我國的威望，以及我們對這些新問題的處理不當，會不會成為我們歷史上黑暗恥辱的一頁。拒絕處理這些問題與處理得一敗塗地沒什麼兩樣。我們面臨著要我們處理的問題，要是我們著手去解決，必然存在著處理不當的危險，但是拒不處理就等於承認我們根本無法處理。

懦夫，懶漢，對政府持懷疑態度的人，喪失了鬥爭精神和支配能力的文質彬彬的人，愚昧無知的人，還有那些無法感受到堅定不移的人們所受到的巨大鼓舞的麻木不仁的人——所有這些人當然害怕看到他們的國家承擔了新的職責，害怕看到我們建立能滿足我國需要的海軍和陸軍，害怕看到我們承擔國際義務，害怕看到我們勇敢的士兵和水手們把西班牙的軍隊趕出去，讓偉大美麗的熱帶島嶼從大亂中達到大治。這些人害怕過艱苦的生活，害怕過這種唯一值得過的民族生活。

同胞們，我們國家要求大家過的不是安逸的生活而是艱苦奮鬥的生活。二十世紀許多國家的命運將處於危難之中，這種危險也威脅著我們。如果我們袖手旁觀，如果我們僅僅追求昏庸懶散的悠閒生活和安逸，如果我們不參與這種必須以生命和珍愛的一切去獲取勝利的激烈競爭，那麼比我們野蠻強大的民族將甩開我們，控制整個世界。因此，讓我們勇敢地面臨生活的挑戰，決心以男子漢大丈夫的氣概去完成我們的職責，用我們的誓言和行動來維護正義，既要

真誠大膽又要採取切實可行的方法來實現我們的理想。最重要的是，只要我們認為我們是站在正義一邊，我們都不要在國內外物質或精神上的衝突面前退縮，因為只有通過鬥爭，通過艱苦危險的鬥爭，我們才能取得我們民族進步的目的。

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In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the state which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph. . . .

As it is with the individual so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things and war and strife a worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heartbreak of many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We would have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it we would have shown that we were -weaklings and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the

earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days— let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected, that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American Republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers faced, but we have our tasks, and -woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them; sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk; busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day; until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound in the end to go down before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. Last year we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make of our dealings with these new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them

at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright, but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright.

The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the overcivilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. . . .

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease, and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified; for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.

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喬治. 弗裏斯比. 霍爾 (GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR)

**反對帝國主義 Against Imperialism**



1898 Rocky Mountain News 上的卡通： 一個自滿的山姆大叔從事帝國主義的事業並在遠方插著旗子

讓我們至少有這些話可說： ".....我們從先輩手中接過的旗幟完美如初。"

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1895 年，古巴的民族主義者發動了反對西班牙的獨立戰爭，美國公眾輿論支援古巴的造反者。1898 年 2 月美國船隻"緬因"號在哈瓦那港被擊沈，加上"黃色報刊"對該事件的誇張和渲染，在美國引起了公憤。4 月底美國與西班牙交戰，美國海軍擊潰了在加勒比海和菲律賓的西班牙艦隊。1898 年底，西班牙放棄了對古巴的主權，把關島、波多黎各和菲律賓移交給美國管轄。

美國與西班牙的戰爭在國內引起了關於美國帝國主義野心的激烈爭論；戰爭給美國增加了海外領土，這種爭論更激烈了。最強烈地反對帝國主義的要算是麻省的共和黨議員喬治·弗裏斯比·霍爾(1826—1904)。在反對兼併菲律賓的辯論中，霍爾與共和黨決裂。反對帝國主義的一派失敗了。共和黨總統麥金萊認為“拯救”菲律賓人民是美國義不容辭的責任。美國吞併了菲律賓後，派遣了七萬軍隊去鎮壓當地人民的反抗。菲律賓終於在 1946 年取得獨立。

霍爾於 1902 年 5 月在參議院發表以下演講。

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議員們發表各種政見，談論理想，但他們更注重講求實際效果的政治主張。總統先生，過去 4 年裏的辯論一直是兩種政見之間的爭論，雙方都提出了許多切實可行的主張，您那一方已經把你們的主張付諸行動，而另一方還在苦苦懇求也讓他們的主張得到採納實行。我們這一方一直堅持一些原則，這些原則是我們革命先輩的理想，從那時一直傳到阿布拉罕·林肯和查爾斯·薩姆納時代。這些原則是：人類生而平等；政府的正當權力是經被統治者同意而產生的，正是為了保障這種權力，人們才建立政府；每個民族——這裏指的不是無組織分散的街坊或村落，也不指人民中一部分暫時感到不滿的人，而是指作為一個政治實體的民族——都有權利建立自己的政府，而政府所依據的原則和用以組織其權力的方式，必須使人民認為這樣才最可能保障他們的安全和幸福。遵循這些原則和主張，許多實際上採用的治國方法已經收到了滿意的效果。我們先輩在這些原則的基礎上建立了 45 個州，使南美洲許多國家也建立了共和制，在西半球消滅了專制君主制度，美國建成了世界上最自由、最強大、最繁榮昌盛的國家。他們使共和製成了世界上最有影響的制度。由於這些原則，美國的星條旗——對熱愛它的人來說美如花朵，對恨它的人來說如流星般恐怖——飄揚在世界各地，維護著和平，並在世界貿易中作為愛好和平的至高無上的權力和

主權國的象徵，在世界各友好口岸受到歡迎。

贊成帝國主義的朋友們，你們也有你們的理想與原則，其一是，一旦星條旗在某個地方升起就永遠不應該降下來；其二是，你們不願意與手中拿著武器的民族對話或談判；其三是，可以用金錢購買某國的主權，而該國人民卻不願出售這種主權；其四是，可以用武力奪取某一國家的主權，作為贓物或戰利品。

你們的理想和原則所導致的後果如何呢。你們浪費了六億美元的財力；斷送了將近一萬美國人的生命——我們最優秀的年輕人的生命；踐踏了外國人民的家園；為了從他們身上得到好處，殺害了無數無辜的人們；你們建立了集中營；你們的將軍滿載著戰利品凱旋而歸，卻留下無數傷病殘瘋的人們在痛苦中呻吟掙扎終其餘生。在許多人的眼中，星條旗成了基督教教堂裏褻瀆的象徵，燒殺搶的標誌。

3年前，當美國士兵在這些島嶼上登陸時，那裏的人民成群結隊地尾隨著他們，把他們看作是救世主，對他們感激涕零。而你們所採取的政綱卻激怒了那裏的人民，把他們變成了與我們不共戴天的敵人，與我們結下了世代冤仇……

有時我想，我們可以在首都豎起一座美國自由紀念碑，在高度上它可以是首都唯一的可與我們所建造的美麗而又樸素的華盛頓紀念碑相似的建築物。我想像我們每一代人帶著獻詞來到這唯一的象徵自由的紀念碑前，列舉他們對自由民主的貢獻。

移民到美洲的英國清教徒和胡格諾派教徒那一代人在紀念碑座前，自豪地說道："我們跨過大海，把自由的火炬帶到了這片土地上，我們開墾荒野，征服土人和野獸，我們以基督教的自由和法律為帝國奠定了基礎。"

下一代人來到紀念碑前說："父輩奠基，我們建造。我們離開了海灘，向荒野



進軍，我們蓋起了學校、法院和教堂。"

接著，殖民地時期的一代人走上前說："我們在許多艱苦的戰役中站在英國一邊，幫助壓下法國的氣焰，看到在路易斯堡和魁北克法國敗給了英國。我們在馬提尼克和哈瓦那，佩帶著聖喬治十字勳章歡慶勝利。大海上風暴時起，我們卻熟知它的航線。我們頂酷暑冒嚴寒，劈波斬浪，走南闖北，追捕鯨魚，正如偉大的英國演說家所描述的"我的漁船經受了大海大洋的考驗，狂風暴雨是我辛勞的見證"。

接著美國革命時期的一代人走上前，說道："我們與英國發生了衝突，我們宣佈獨立而且贏得了獨立。我們的獨立宣言以永存的平等正義為基礎，向全世界宣告了這些原則，總有一天全人類都將遵循這些準則。我們使人類的尊嚴得到了保障，為人民贏得了管理自己的權利。我們制定了防範草率欺騙行為的措施來保障人民的權利，我們創建了最高法院和參議院，開天劈地第一回讓人民自治的權利有了保障，我們還建立了各種制度以保障人民永遠享有這種權利。

下一代人說："我們又與英國發生衝突。我們捍衛美國船隻在公海上不受騷擾的權利，就像當年我們的父老創造條件讓美國農民安居樂業那樣，我們讓美國水手走遍天涯海角安全有保障。面對俄、普、奧三國的神聖同盟，我們宣佈了門羅主義的原則。在門羅主義的旗幟下，十六個共和國組成了聯盟，在西半球從五大湖到合恩角，到處都建立了共和國，各國都牢牢地掌握了自己的命運，維護了國家的主權。"

接著下一代人走過來說："我們留下了驚天動地的業績，你們小時候曾見過，你們的父輩曾給你們講過，我們挽救了聯邦，平息了叛亂，解放了奴隸。我們讓所有的奴隸都成了自由人，讓所有的自由人都成了公民，又讓所有的公民都

有了選舉權。"

接著走過來的是內戰後在和平建設時期立下豐功偉績的一代人，這偉績中也包含了我們當中不少人的貢獻。他們說："我們守信用，償還了債務。我們帶來了和解安定而不是戰爭。我們促進各國贊成並實踐有關移居國外的規定，我們制定了分給定居移民耕地的制度，讓千百萬移民在北美大草原和平原上安家落戶，建立起強大的州。我們修通了橫貫北美大陸連接東西海岸的鐵路幹線。像當年我們的先輩宣告美國在政治上獨立那樣，我們宣告美國在製造業方面可以不依賴外國。我們建立起龐大的商業體系，使美國成了地球上最富有、最自由、最強大、最幸福的國家。"

現在輪到我們這一代人了，我們該說些什麼呢。我們是否能躋身於這光榮的行列呢。我們是否要在碑上刻下"我們廢除了獨立宣言，改變了門羅主義，將經被統治者同意的永存的平等和正義的原則改為殘忍的自私自利的原則。我們摧毀了亞洲唯一的共和國，對亞洲唯一信奉基督教的民族發動了戰爭，把原先正義的戰爭轉化成了可恥的非正義的戰爭。我們玷污了星條旗，在戰爭中背信棄義，逼迫手無寸鐵的人們招供，殘殺兒童，設立集中營，踐踏外國領土，破壞了一個民族對自由的嚮往。"

不，總統先生，我們決不能這樣說。更好的政綱應被採納，一個偉大民族的歷史發展是緩慢的，事情還沒有發展到不可挽救的地步。

讓我們至少有這些話可說："我們也堅持了先輩們的原則，我們解放了古巴，使古巴掙脫了西班牙的長期統治，我們歡迎古巴加入到世界民族大家庭中來，我們在勝利面前保持謙虛謹慎，為人類樹立了從未有過的榜樣。……我們行軍經過殘酷野蠻懷有敵意的國家，既沒有被激怒也不圖報復，我們以善報惡，以

德報怨，我們使美國在東方得到像在西方一樣的愛戴。我們忠於菲律賓人民，忠於我們自己的歷史，我們沒有玷污國家的名譽，我們從先輩手中接過的旗幟完美如初。"[全場熱烈的掌聲]

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Gentlemen talk about sentimentalities, about idealism. They like practical statesmanship better. But, Mr. President, this whole debate for the last four years has been a debate between two kinds of sentimentality. There has been practical statesmanship in plenty on both sides. Your side have carried their sentimentalities and ideals out in your practical statesmanship. The other side have tried and begged to be allowed to carry theirs out in practical statesmanship also. On one side have been sentimentalities. They were the ideals of the fathers of the revolutionary time, and from their day down till the day of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner was over. The sentimentalities were that all men in political right were created equal; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted to secure that equality; that every people—not every scattering neighborhood or settlement without organic life, not every portion of a people who may be temporarily discontented, but the political being that we call a people—has the right to institute a government for itself and to lay its foundation on such principles and organize its powers in such form as to it and not to any other people shall seem most likely to effect its safety and happiness. Now, a good deal of practical statesmanship has followed from these ideals and sentimentalities. They have built forty-five states on firm foundations. They have covered South America with republics. They have kept despotism out of the Western Hemisphere. They have

made the United States the freest, strongest, richest of the nations of the world. They have made the word "republic" a name to conjure by the round world over. By their virtue the American flag—beautiful as a flower to those who love it; terrible as a meteor to those who hate it—floats everywhere over peaceful seas, and is welcomed everywhere in friendly ports as the emblem of peaceful supremacy and sovereignty in the commerce of the world. . . .

You also, my imperialistic friends, have had your ideals and your sentimentalities. One is that the flag shall never be hauled down where it has once floated. Another is that you will not talk or reason with a people with arms in their hands. Another is that sovereignty over an unwilling people may be bought with gold. And another is that sovereignty may be got by force of arms, as the booty of battle or the spoils of victory.

What has been the practical statesmanship which comes from your ideals and your sentimentalities. You have wasted six hundred millions of treasure. You have sacrificed nearly ten thousand American lives—the flower of our youth. You have devastated provinces. You have slain uncounted thousands of the people you desire to benefit. You have established reconcentration camps. Your generals are coming home from their harvest, bringing their sheaves with them, in the shape of other thousands of sick and wounded and insane to drag out their miserable lives, wrecked in body and mind. You make the American flag in the eyes of a numerous people the emblem of sacrilege in Christian churches, and of the burning of human dwellings, and of the horror of the water torture ....

Your practical statesmanship has succeeded in converting a people who three years ago were ready to kiss the hem of the

garment of the American and to welcome him as a liberator, who thronged after your men when they landed on those islands with benediction and gratitude, into sullen and irreconcilable enemies, possessed of a hatred which centuries cannot eradicate. ...

I have sometimes fancied that we might erect here in the capital of the country a column to American Liberty which alone might rival in height the beautiful and simple shaft which we have erected to the fame of the Father of the Country. I can fancy each generation bringing its inscription, which should recite its own contribution to the great structure of which the column should be but the symbol.

The generation of the Puritan and the Pilgrim and the Huguenot claims the place of honor at the base. "I brought the torch of Freedom across the sea. I cleared the forest. I subdued the savage and the wild beast. I laid in Christian liberty and law the foundations of empire."

The next generation says: "What my fathers founded I builded. I left the seashore to penetrate the wilderness. I planted schools and colleges and courts and churches."

Then comes the generation of the great colonial day: "I stood by the side of England on many a hard-fought field. I helped humble the power of France. I saw the lilies go down before the lion at Louisburg and Quebec. I carried the cross of St. George in triumph in Martinique and the Havana. I knew the stormy pathways of the ocean. I followed the whale from the Arctic to the Antarctic seas, among tumbling mountains of ice and under equinoctial heat, as the great English orator said, 'No sea not vexed by my fisheries; no climate not witness to my toils.' "

Then comes the generation of the revolutionary time: "I

encountered the power of England. I declared and won the independence of my country. I placed that declaration on the eternal principles of justice and righteousness which all mankind have read, and on which all mankind will one day stand. I affirmed the dignity of human nature and the right of the people to govern themselves. I devised the securities against popular haste and delusion which made that right secure. I created the supreme court and the Senate. For the first time in history I made the right of the people to govern themselves safe, and established institutions for that end which will endure forever."

The next generation says: "I encountered England again. I vindicated the right of an American ship to sail the seas the wide world over without molestation. I made the American sailor as safe at the ends of the earth as my fathers had made the American farmer safe in his home. I proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine in the face of the Holy Alliance, under which sixteen republics have joined the family of nations. I filled the Western Hemisphere -with republics from the Lakes to Cape Horn, each controlling its own destiny in safety and in honor."

Then comes the next generation: "I did the mighty deeds which in your younger years you saw and which your fathers told. I saved the Union. I put down the rebellion. I freed the slave. I made of every slave a freeman, and of every freeman a citizen, and of every citizen a voter."

Then comes another who did the great work in peace, in which so many of you had an honorable share: "I kept the faith. I paid the debt. I brought in conciliation and peace instead of war. I secured in the practice of nations the great doctrine of expatriation. I devised the homestead system. I covered the prairie and the plain

with happy homes and with mighty states. I crossed the continent and joined together the seas with my great railroads. I declared the manufacturing independence of America, as my fathers affirmed its political independence. I built up our vast domestic commerce. I made my country the richest, freest, strongest, happiest people on the face of the earth."

And now what have we to say. What have we to say. Are we to have a place in that honorable company. Must we engrave on that column: "We repealed the Declaration of Independence. We changed the Monroe Doctrine from a doctrine of eternal righteousness and justice, resting on the consent of the governed, to a doctrine of brutal selfishness, looking only to our own advantage. We crushed the only republic in Asia. We made war on the only Christian people in the East. We converted a war of glory to a war of shame. We vulgarized the American flag. We introduced perfidy into the practice of war. We inflicted torture on unarmed men to extort confession. We put children to death. We established reconcentrado camps. We devastated provinces. We baffled the aspirations of a people for liberty."

No, Mr. President. Never! Never! Other and better counsels will yet prevail. The hours are long in the life of a great people. The irrevocable step is not yet taken.

Let us at least have this to say: "We, too, have kept the faith of the fathers. We took Cuba by the hand. We delivered her from her age-long bondage. We welcomed her to the family of nations. We set mankind an example never beheld before of moderation in victory. We led hesitating and halting Europe to the deliverance of their beleaguered ambassadors in China. We marched through a hostile country—a country cruel and barbarous—without anger or

revenge. We returned benefit for injury, and pity for cruelty. We made the name of America beloved in the East as in the West. We kept faith with the Philippine people. We kept faith with our own history. We kept our national honor unsullied. The flag which we received without a rent we handed down without a stain." [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

喬斯.迪.迪戈 (JOSE DE DIKGO)

不 No

"不"，肯定是，而且也是唯一的能夠拯救被奴役的人們的自由與尊嚴的詞。

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直至十九世紀末期，波多黎各一直是西班牙的殖民地。由於波多黎各人民的強烈要求，西班牙於 1897 年批准該島完全自治。可是，第二年在美國與西班牙的戰爭中，美國軍隊佔領了波多黎各，在戰爭結束時，西班牙割讓該島給美國管轄。美國把大陸的文化強加給波多黎各人民，激怒了波多黎各的愛國者，他們抱怨說波多黎各又回到了殖民地時期。1917 年該島人民獲得了一些有限的自治權，居民成了美國公民。1948 年當地居民獲得選舉地方長官的權利。波多黎各於 1952 年成了與美國行政上有聯繫的一個島嶼。該島將與美國保持現有的附屬關係或將成為美國的一個州，至今還是個懸而未決的問題。

喬斯.迪.迪戈(1866－1918)是波多黎各的政治家、詩人及政治運動領導人。他經歷過西班牙與美國權力的轉讓，在西班牙統治時期，他曾短暫地在自治政府內閣供職過，後來也曾在美國統治下的殖民地政府中服務。在他的詩歌和演講中，他熱情地捍衛波多黎各的文化和政治獨立。對於任何生活在沒有獲得被統治者同意的政權統治下的人們來說，下面的文章《不》有其深刻的意義。

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強有力的回答"不"像錘擊聲那樣短暫、有力、乾脆，這就是在帝國主義橫行霸道的不幸日子裏該從我們口中憤怒地噴發而出，用以挽救我們民族尊嚴的詞。



兩三年前，科爾·托斯泰博士曾寫過一些好文章，說波多黎各人不懂得使用強有力的肯定回答表示抗議，並認為波多黎各人應該學會這樣做。這位學識淵博的博士錯了，因為我們精神上的最大痛苦是易受意志軟弱的影響，不自覺地做出讓步，這就像在勁風面前玫瑰叢可愛地點頭彎腰那般情景一樣。

的確，贊成、同意這一類的肯定回答推動並解決了許多科學、藝術、哲學、宗教方面的事情，信仰與愛情方面的奇跡，基督的殉難，哥倫布的一生，這些由肯定回答所創造出的奇跡使我們對服從、贊同稱讚不已，認為這是美德，是精神上的昇華。

可是，在政治進展過程中，在爭取自由的鬥爭中，肯定回答這個副詞幾乎毫無用處，而且還總給人們帶來災難。在所有的語種中，肯定回答都十分溫和，羅曼語系中的肯定回答比起其拉丁語詞源的肯定回答這個詞要更親切、溫柔。拉丁語中的肯定回答"*Certe quidem*"不如西班牙語、義大利語、葡萄牙語和法語中的肯定回答"*si*"那麼簡潔和諧。法語中的"*si*"在最富有情感的情況下取代了"*oui*"，表示"是的"。"*si*"在音樂中是音符"*7*"，是長笛的琶音，鳥的顫音，極適用於美妙的音樂、韻律、夢幻和愛情的表達。而要表達抗議、衝動、情感的突然發作、憤怒、詛咒、憎恨這一類像劃火柴點火那樣瞬間爆發的情感，否定回答"*No*"要比肯定回答適用得多。"*No*"中的"*o*"粗魯、嘹亮、熱烈，像怒吼，像給世界造成大亂的深藏在地底下的雷霆萬鈞之力突然爆發。

自史前原始部落反抗亞洲帝國首領的統治開始，在不願屈從，反抗暴君的鬥爭中，"不"就一直是被壓迫者所使用的詞。它是使人民獲得解放的開端。即使像我們國家這樣，當我們的力量太弱，不足以有效地實現我們的理想時，當我們的革命力量與遠大理想之間差距太大時，"不"，肯定是，而且也是唯一的

可以拯救被奴役的人們的自由與尊嚴的詞。

我們的國家風景秀麗，人民慷慨大方，由於受環境的熏陶，我們不知道如何把"不"字說出口，我們經常不知不覺地被思想中佔主導地位的"是的"所影響，即使在該說"不"的情況下，也用優柔寡斷和藹親切的語言來推諉。總的來說，波多黎各人不說"不"字，也不知道該怎麼啓口。"我們再看看吧。""這件事我再想想。""我過後再決定吧。"當波多黎各人這樣說時，這意味著他不願意這麼做。最多也只能理解爲他把"不"和"是的"這兩個詞放在一塊，作爲條件句的連詞，使意思模稜兩可，含糊不清。他拿不定主意，他的意願像無處藏身的小鳥在沙漠上無目標地飛著。

我們得學會說"不"，張開嘴，挺起胸，讓發音器官的肌肉緊張起來，拿出勇氣，把"No"中的"o"這個音發出來。這個音也許將在美國和世界上迴響，像轟隆作響的火炮聲在天空中迴盪。

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Brief, solid, affirmative as a hammer blow, this is the virile word, which must enflame lips and save the honor of our people, in these unfortunate days of anachronistic imperialism.

Two or three years ago Doctor Coil y Toste wrote some brilliant paragraphs to demonstrate that Puerto Ricans do not know and ought to know the protest of an energetic affirmation. The knowledgeable doctor was wrong: our greatest moral affliction is an atavistic predisposition to the irreflexive concession and to weakness of will, which bend lovingly, like a rose bush to the sighs of the wind.

In truth, the affirmation has impelled and resolved great undertakings in science, in art, in philosophy, in religious sentiment: all the miracles of faith and love; the death of Christ and the life of Columbus; saintly wonders of affirmations, which were raised to the glorious summits of the rising spirit, to divine light.

In political evolution, in the struggle for freedom, the affirmative adverb is almost always useless and always disastrous, so soft in all languages, so sweet in the Romance tongues, superior in this sense to the mother Latin tongue. Certe, quidem do not have the brevity and the harmony of the Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese si and the French si, when the latter substitutes for oui in the most expressive sentences; si in singing, a musical note (B), an arpeggio of the flute, a bird's trill, noble and good for melody, for rhythm, for dreaming, for love: more for the protest and impetus, for the paroxysm, for wrath, for anathema, for dry fulminating hate, like the scratching of a ray of light, the no is far better, the rude, bitter O vast, like a roar, round and ardent like a chaos producer of life through the conflagration of all the forces of the abyss.

From the almost prehistoric uprisings of savage tribes against chieftains of Asiatic empires, the negative to submission, the protest against the tyrant, the no of the oppressed has been the word, the genesis of the emancipation of peoples: and even when the impotency of the means and the efficacy of the goals, as in our homeland, separate the revolutionary fire from the vision of the ideal, the no must be and is the only saving word of the freedom and dignity of enslaved people.

We do not know how to say "no," and we are attracted, unconsciously, like a hypnotic suggestion, by the predominant si of the word on thought, of the form on essence—artists and weak and kindly, as we have been made by the beauty and generosity of our land. Never, in general terms, does a Puerto Rican say, nor does he know how to say "no": "We'll see," "I'll study the matter," "I'll decide later"; when a Puerto Rican uses these expressions, it must be understood that he does not want to; at most, he joins the si with the no and with the affirmative and negative adverbs makes a conditional conjunction, ambiguous, nebulous, in which the will fluctuates in the air, like a little bird aimless and shelterless on the flatness of a desert. . . .

We have to learn to say "no," raise our lips, unburden our chest, put in tension all our vocal muscles and all our will power to fire this o of no, which will resound

perhaps in America and the world, and will resound in the heavens with more efficacy than the rolling of cannons.

伊麗莎白.凱迪.斯坦頓 (ELIZABETH CALM STANTON)

### 自我之孤獨 **The Solitude of Self**

要保護女子，使其免遭狂風暴雨般的生活打擊，這種說法是十足的嘲弄，因為生活的風暴對女子如同對男子一樣，從四面八方襲擊她們。由於男子受過訓練，知道如何保護自己，如何去抗爭，如何去征服，因此女子遭打擊後結果更慘。

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作為美國女權運動領袖，伊麗莎白.凱迪.斯坦頓輝煌的一生，充滿成就，聞名全國。1892年，她發表《自我之孤獨》時，年已七十六歲。人們普遍認為，這是她的女權思想的最佳宣言；其中沒有任何自負自傲或沾沾自喜的表露，有的只是為婦女在生活的各個領域求得「自主權」的強烈要求。自立自助之所以必要是因為我們每個人最終都是孤獨的；每個人必須準備好為自己而行動，為自己而思索，對自己的生命負全部責任。

現在我想直率地闡明的一點是：每個人的個性，也就是我們新教的思想，以及每個人擁有良知，進行獨立判斷的權利，這又是我們的共和思想，亦即每個人的公民權。要討論婦女權利，我們首先要考慮的是：在一個女性的自身世界裏，作為一個人，作為自己命運的主宰者。作為想像中的魯濱遜，在一個孤島上，身邊的唯一伴侶只有「星期五」，這時她究竟擁有什麼樣的權利。在這種境況下，她的權利只能是為自身的安全和幸福而利用自己的全部聰明與才智。

其次，假如一個女子被視為公民，視為一個偉大國家的一個成員，那麼，根據我們政府的基本原則，她就應該享有其他成員所享有的同樣權利。

其三，即使把一個女子僅僅視為一個女子，視為文明結構中一個同等重要的因素，她的權利與責任仍然一樣，即個人的幸福與發展。

其四，只有生活中的附帶關係，比如作為母親、妻子、姐妹、女兒等，才需要

一個女性盡一些特殊的責任，接受某種特殊的訓練.....

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要讓婦女受高等教育，讓她們充分發揮個人的聰明才智，以求身心得到全面發展，同時還要享有最廣泛的思想和行動自由，從任何形式的束縛中，從陳規陋習、依附他人及種種迷信中徹底解放出來，免受恐懼的侵擾和摧殘。之所以要給婦女所有這些機會，最大的理由莫過於每個婦女要對自己孤獨的一生負完全的責任。我們要求婦女在自己的政府中要有發言權，在讓她們信仰的宗教中要有發言權，在她們充當重要角色的社會生活中要享有平等待遇，在她們能獲得生計的各行各業中應佔有一席之地；之所以如此，最大的理由莫過於她們生來就有的自主權，因為作為一個人，每個婦女都得完全依靠自己。不管婦女多麼喜歡有所依靠，有人保護，有人支援，也不管男人如何希望她們這麼做，婦女都得獨自駕馭生活之舟。在危急關頭要脫險，婦女就得對航海規律有所瞭解。要為自己導航，我們必須同時既是船長，又是引航員，又是工程師，舵手之位需配有航海圖和羅盤，以便觀測風浪、理會天象，適時收帆。作為一個孤獨的航海者，男女性別，無關緊要。大自然的恩賜不分性別、一視同仁，因此在危急關頭，大自然同樣讓他們去發揮自己的技藝與判斷力，假如無法與環境匹敵，男女將同樣遭受滅頂之災。為了弄清每個人都能獨立行動的重要性，且考慮一下自我的無限孤獨感。我們隻身一人來到世界，又隻身一人離開世界，所處的環境獨一無二，跟前人毫不相干。前人與後人都不可能出現在今人正要去航行的同一個人生之海。一個人身上的種種遺傳作用不會在其他人身上再現；影響這個人的幼年、青年乃至成年期的環境也不會再現於其他人身上。大自然絕不會舊戲重演；這個人的種種可能絕不會重現於那個人身上。沒有人找

到過兩片同樣的葉子，也沒有人會找到兩個一模一樣的人。只要考慮到人性的無限多樣化，我們多多少少便能領會到，要是一個國家的任何一個階層缺乏教育，在政府中沒有自己的代表，這對於該國家將是多重大的損失。

我們要求個人的全面發展，首先是為個人的利益和幸福考慮。要裝備一支軍隊，就要給每個士兵分發背包、武器、彈藥、毛毯、口杯、刀叉及湯匙。我們要給每個人提供一切必需品，然後每個人肩挑起各自的擔子。

我們要求個人的全面發展，同樣也是為了大眾利益，是爲了有才有識之士能在人類利益的所有方面，在國民生活中的所有問題上取得共識；而個人要在公眾責任中挑起自己的擔子。無親無友的兒童在尚不能分析自己的情感之前，在尚不能分清歡樂與痛苦之前，便過早地陷入孤立無援的境地。目睹此種景象，怎不令人悲哀。不管哪個時代，大自然給予我們的最大教誨似乎都是自立自助、自護自衛……

失去友愛，焦慮痛苦之時，我們不指望從他人身上獲得同情。死亡奪走我們的至愛親朋之時，我們獨自籠罩在痛苦的陰影裏。在生活的大悲大喜之日，我們都是獨自而行。當達到人類成就的神聖頂峰時，作為英雄或聖人受到頂禮膜拜時，我們仍獨自而立。作為一個無知的人，乞丐或罪犯，我們獨自挨餓或去行竊。我們獨自面對人們的嘲笑和冷遇，獨自於黑暗的院落，於大路，於小巷被人追趕，受人侵擾，獨自於受審席上，獨自於牢房之中吞食罪惡和不幸的苦果，獨自走上絞刑架結束一切罪孽。就在這種種關頭，我們領略了個人生活的極端孤獨感。感受到生活的痛苦，生活的懲罰以及生活的責任；就在這種種關頭，年幼的，最孤立無援的，無人關顧，只能自我安慰，自尋出路。生活永

這是一次行軍，一場戰爭，每個士兵爲了自衛必須裝備齊全。有鑒於此，剝奪一個人的任何一種自然權利都是慘無人道的。

在一個人接受全面教育的道路上設置障礙，無異於剷掉人的雙眼；剝奪貧困者的權利無異於剷去人的雙手。剝奪人的政治平等等於奪走人的所有自尊，等於奪走人在市場中的信用，等於奪走人的工作報酬，等於奪走一個人選擇行政立法者的發言權，等於奪走一個人選擇自己評審團的自由，等於奪走一個人選擇決定自己刑罰的法官……請拭目瞧瞧婦女的地位吧：她們的自然權利被剝奪了，法律及傳統習慣使她們處處受挫，迫使她們獨自而戰，在生命的緊要關頭，要保護自己也只能自立自助……

一個年輕女子，作爲妻子，作爲母親，作爲家庭主婦，若有一位好丈夫護衛著，免受生活惡風的襲擊，而且有財富，有地位，那麼她便擁有一個安全的港灣，遠離生活中常見的不幸。但要持家、要在社會中產生好影響，要結交朋友，要贏得丈夫的溫情，要教育好小孩，要訓練好僕人，她就必須具有非同一般的常識、智慧和交際本領，同時還要瞭解人的本性。要做到這點，她必須具備最爲成功的政治家所具備的長處及其優良性格。一個女人，未受過教育，無才無識，而又養成依附他人的習慣，在生活中不管做何事都將失敗無疑。然而，社會卻流行著這麼一種說法：婦女不需要世界知識，不需要公眾生活經驗所能提供的豐富多彩的訓練，不需要獲得大學教育的種種好處。可一旦失去這一切，幸福化爲烏有時，婦女只能獨自去忍受恥辱。無知的弱者，其孤獨的確可悲可歎，因爲這些人在盲目追求生活獎賞中，被碾成粉末。

當年輕時代的樂趣結束後，當身邊的小孩長大成人，結婚離家後，當東奔

西忙的生活接近尾聲時，當雙手無力從事繁重勞務時，當安樂椅、壁爐成爲久留之地時，不管是男人還是女人，都得自己依靠自己。假如他們無法以書籍爲伴，無法對重大時事問題產生興趣，無心再去觀察自己或許過問過去的改革如何得以實現，那麼他們將很快老化昏聩。人的心智愈得到發展，得以使用，人的精力及對周圍一切的興趣便愈能持久。假如一個婦女一生參與公共事業，覺得對形成我們教育制度的法規負有責任，對我們的監獄制度負有責任，對私人住宅、公共設施及公共道路的衛生條件負有責任，對商業、財政、外交中的個別問題或所有問題有興趣，那麼，她的最後孤獨至少是令人崇敬的，而她自己也不會以搬弄是非，傳播醜聞爲樂。

之所以要對每個人打開通往人的全部責任和幸福之門，其主要原因是，只有這樣，個人才能得以發展；只有這樣，一個人才能在各種情況下，獲得力量去對付有時人人都不可避免的孤獨感。……

既然短暫的時光乃至永久歲月所帶來的歡樂和痛苦，男女一樣平分，那麼男人想在投票箱前，在王位上代表婦女，想在國家中代婦女投票，在教堂裏代婦女祈禱，在家庭裏高居聖壇之上，扮演神父角色，這豈不是霸道至極嗎。

最能提高人的判斷力，最能激發人的良知的莫過於個人的責任。最能增添個性尊嚴的莫過於承認個人自主權，莫過於承認——普遍承認——人人擁有平等地位的權利。這種地位要靠個人功績去獲得，而不是靠世襲、靠財富、靠家庭名望來巧取豪奪。既然男女肩負一樣的生活責任，有著一樣的命運，那麼男女都要爲現時及悠悠歲月做好同樣的準備。要保護女子，使其免遭狂風暴雨般的生活打擊，這種說法是十足的嘲弄，因爲生活的風暴對女子如同對男子一樣，



從四面八方襲擊她們。由於男子受過訓練，知道如何保護自己、如何去抗爭、如何去征服，因此女子遭打擊後，結果更慘。個人自主的責任正是人類經驗證明的事實。富人與窮人，智者與愚者，好人與壞人，男人與女人，不管是誰都得自己依靠自己，無一例外。

儘管有關婦女依賴男人的理論各種各樣，在婦女一生的緊要關頭，男人是無法挑起婦女肩上的重負的。當每個新生兒降臨人世時，婦女獨自邁向死亡之門。無人可以分擔她的恐懼；無人可以減輕她的劇痛。當痛苦超越一個女人所能忍受的極限時，她獨自一人跨進死亡的門檻……

由此可見，每個人總是位於生活的戰場，在漫長、疲憊的行軍中，獨自前行。我們可能擁有許多朋友，擁有別人的同情與仁愛，使每天的旅途順坦些，但在人生征途上，大喜大悲之時，每個人仍然是孑然一身……

在整個思想領域，在藝術、科學和文學界，在政府裏，婦女已經佔有一些與男人平等的位置……本世紀有出自她們之手的詩歌與小說，她們參與過宗教、政治和社會生活的重大改革，她們佔有編輯、教授和律師的位置，醫院病房裏有她們的身影，教堂的佈道壇上，學校的講臺上也有她們的聲音。今天，開明的公眾輿論所歡迎的正是這種類型的女性；生活事實與以往虛假理論的鬥爭所贏來的也正是這一勝利。

過去婦女圍著手紡車和編織針轉，政治活動範圍極其有限，而今天的女性已經成長起來，要是仍然將她們局限於過去狹窄的政治圈裏，能夠協調嗎。不能，絕不能！機器不知疲倦的肩膀已扛起男女身上的重負，織布機、手紡車只是昨日舊夢，取而代之的是筆刷、畫架、鑿子。同時，婦女的理想抱負也發生

了根本性的變化。

人的外界條件是以說明個人求自由、求發展的理由。然而，當我們考慮到每個人都得依靠自己時，我們覺得，不管是男性還是女性，都需要具備勇氣，需要明察秋毫，需要調動身心的各器官，並在使用中得以增強和發展。

不管男性在一般情況下，對女性有多大的保護力，一旦遇到天災人禍，在生死攸關的關頭，婦女仍要獨自去對付險惡的環境。死神為婦女準備的不可能是一條平坦的大道。男人的愛心與同情心只能我們的生活錦上添花。連結無限時空的是神聖的自我之孤獨，每個靈魂永遠生活於孤獨之中……

有一種孤獨，我們每個人隨身帶有的孤獨，比那冰雪覆蓋的山巒更加可望不可及，比那午夜的海洋更加深不可測，這就是自我之孤獨。我們稱為自我的內心世界，不管是凡人還是天神都看不穿、摸不透，它要比神靈守護的地下室穴更隱秘，要比神殿的內室更隱秘，要比古希臘以流西斯城裏的暗室更隱秘，因為唯有全能全知的上帝才能進入人的內心世界。

每個人生，概莫如此。試問：有誰能夠，又有誰敢將他人的權利與責任奪為己有？

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The point I wish plainly to bring before you on this occasion is the individuality of each human soul; our Protestant idea, the right of individual conscience and judgment; our republican idea, individual citizenship. In discussing the rights of woman, we are to consider, first, what belongs to her as an individual, in a world of her own, the arbiter of her own destiny, an imaginary Robinson Crusoe, with her woman, Friday, on a solitary island. Her rights under such circumstances are to use all her faculties for her own safety and happiness.

Secondly, if we consider her as a citizen, as a member of a great nation, she must have the same rights as all other members, according to the fundamental principles of our Government.

Thirdly, viewed as a woman, an equal factor in civilization, her rights and duties are still the same — individual happiness and development.

Fourthly, it is only the incidental relations of life, such as mother, wife, sister, daughter, which may involve some special duties and training.....

The strongest reason for giving woman all the opportunities for higher education, for the full development of her faculties, her forces of mind and body; for giving her the most enlarged freedom of thought and action; a complete emancipation from all forms of bondage, of custom, dependence, superstition; from all the crippling influences of fear — is the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life. The strongest reason why we ask for woman a voice in the government under which she lives; in the religion she is asked to believe; equality in social life, where she is the chief factor; a place in the trades and professions, where she may earn her bread, is because of her birthright to self-sovereignty; because, as an individual, she must rely on herself. No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire to have them do so, they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety in an emergency, they must know something of the laws of navigation. To guide our own craft, we must be captain, pilot, engineer; with chart and compass to stand at the wheel; to watch the winds and waves, and know when to take in the sail, and to read the signs in the firmament over all. It matters not whether the solitary voyager is man or woman; nature, having endowed them equally, leaves them to their own skill and judgment in the hour of danger, and, if not equal to the occasion, alike they perish.

To appreciate the importance of fitting every human soul for independent action, think for a moment of the immeasurable solitude of self. We come into the

world alone, unlike all who have gone before us, we leave it alone, under circumstances peculiar to ourselves. No mortal ever has been, no mortal ever will be like the soul just launched on the sea of life. There can never again be just such a combination of prenatal influences; never again just such environments as make up the infancy, youth and manhood of this one. Nature never repeats herself, and the possibilities of one human soul will never be found in another. No one has ever found two blades of ribbon grass alike, and no one will ever find two human beings alike. Seeing, then, that what must be the infinite diversity in human character, we can in a measure appreciate the loss to a nation when any class of the people is uneducated and unrepresented in the government.

We ask for the complete development of every individual, first, for his own benefit and happiness. In fitting out an army, we give each soldier his own knapsack, arms, powder, his blanket, cup, knife, fork and spoon. We provide alike for all their individual necessities; then each man bears his own burden.

Again, we ask complete individual development for the general good; for the consensus of the competent on the whole round of human interests, on all questions of national life; and here each man must bear his share of the general burden. It is sad to see how soon friendless children are left to bear their own burdens, before they can analyze their feelings; before they can even tell their joys and sorrows, they are thrown on their own resources. The great lesson that nature seems to teach us at all ages is self-dependence, self-protection, self- support. ...

We ask no sympathy from others in the anxiety and agony of a broken friendship or shattered love. When death sunders our nearest ties, alone we sit in the shadow of our affliction. Alike amid the greatest triumphs and darkest tragedies of life, we walk alone. On the divine heights of human attainment, eulogized and worshipped as a hero or saint, we stand alone. In ignorance, poverty and vice, as a pauper or criminal, alone we starve or steal; alone we suffer the sneers and rebuffs of our fellows; alone we are hunted and bounded through dark courts and alleys, in by-ways and high-ways; alone we stand in the judgment seat; alone in the prison

cell we lament our crimes and misfortunes; alone we expiate them on the gallows. In hours like these we realize the awful solitude of individual life, its pains, its penalties, its responsibilities, hours in which the youngest and most helpless are thrown on their own resources for guidance and consolation. Seeing, then, that life must ever be a march and a battle that each soldier must be equipped for his own protection, it is the height of cruelty to rob the individual of a single natural right.

To throw obstacles in the way of a complete education is like putting out the eyes; to deny the rights of poverty is like cutting off the hands. To refuse political equality is to rob the ostracized of all self-respect; of credit in the market place; of recompense in the world of work, of a voice in choosing those who make and administer the law, a choice in the jury before whom they are tried, and in the judge who decides their punishment. [Think of] . . . woman's position! Robbed of her natural rights, handicapped by law and custom at every turn, yet compelled to fight her own battles, and in the emergencies of life to fall back on herself for protection. . . .

The young wife and mother, at the head of some establishment, with a kind husband to shield her from the adverse winds of life, with wealth, fortune and position, has a certain harbor of safety, secure against the ordinary ills of life. But to manage a household, have a desirable influence in society, keep her friends and the affections of her husband, train her children and servants well, she must have rare common sense, wisdom, diplomacy, and a knowledge of human nature. To do all this, she needs the cardinal virtues and the strong points of character that the most successful statesman possesses. An uneducated woman trained to dependence, with no resources in herself, must make a failure of any position in life. But society says women do not need a knowledge of the world, the liberal training that experience in public life must give, all the advantages of collegiate education; but when for the lack of all this, the woman's happiness is wrecked, alone she bears her humiliation; and the solitude of the weak and ignorant is indeed pitiable. In the wild chase for the prizes of life, they are ground to powder.

In age, when the pleasures of youth are passed, children grown up, married and gone, the hurry and bustle of life in a measure over, when the hands are weary of active service, when the old arm chair and the fireside are the chosen resorts, then men and women alike must fall back on their own resources. If they cannot find companionship in books, if they have no interest in the vital questions of the hour, no interest in watching the consummation of reforms with which they might have been identified, they soon pass into their dotage. The more fully the faculties of the mind are developed and kept in use, the longer the period of vigor and active interests in all around us continues. If, from a life-long participation in public affairs, a woman feels responsible for the laws regulating our system of education, the discipline of our jails and prisons, the sanitary condition of our private homes, public building and thoroughfares, an interest in commerce, finance, our foreign relations, in any or all these questions, her solitude will at least be respectable, and she will not be driven to gossip or scandal for entertainment.

The chief reason for opening to every soul the doors to the whole round of human duties and pleasures is the individual development thus attained, the resources thus provided under all circumstances to mitigate the solitude that at times must come to everyone. . . .

Inasmuch, then, as woman shares equally the joys and sorrows of time and eternity, is it not the height of presumption in man to propose to represent her at the ballot box and the throne of grace, to do her voting in the state, her praying in the church, and to assume the position of high priest at the family altar.

Nothing strengthens the judgment and quickens the conscience like individual responsibility. Nothing adds such dignity to character as the recognition of one's self-sovereignty; the right to an equal place, everywhere conceded — a place earned by personal merit, not an artificial attainment by inheritance, wealth, family and position. Conceding, then, that the responsibilities of life rest equally on man and woman, that their destiny is the same, they need the same preparation for time and

eternity. The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery, for they beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself, to resist, and to conquer. Such are the facts in human experience, the responsibilities of individual sovereignty. Rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, wise and foolish, virtuous and vicious, man and woman; it is ever the same, each soul must depend wholly on itself.

Whatever the theories may be of woman's dependence on man, in the supreme moments of her life, he cannot bear her burdens. Alone she goes to the gates of death to give life to every man that is born into the world; no one can share her fears, no one can mitigate her pangs; and if her sorrow is greater than she can bear, alone she passes beyond the gates into the vast unknown. . . .

So it ever must be in the conflicting scenes of life, in the long, weary march, each one walks alone. We may have many friends, love, kindness, sympathy and charity, to smooth our pathway in everyday life, but in the tragedies and triumphs of human experience, each mortal stands alone. . . .

Women are already the equals of men in the whole realm of thought, in art, science, literature and government. . . . The poetry and novels of the century are theirs, and they have touched the keynote of reform, in religion, politics and social life. They fill the editor's and professor's chair, plead at the bar 'of justice, walk the wards of the hospital, speak from the pulpit and the platform. Such is the type of womanhood that an enlightened public sentiment welcomes to-day, and such the triumph of the facts of life over the false theories of the past.

Is it, then, consistent to hold the developed woman of this day within the same narrow political limits as the dame with the spinning wheel and knitting needles occupied in the past. No, no! Machinery has taken the labors of woman as well as man on its tireless shoulders; the loom and the spinning wheel are but dreams of the past; the pen, the brush, the easel, the chisel, have taken their places, while the

hopes and ambitions of women are essentially changed.

We see reason sufficient in the outer conditions of human beings for individual liberty and development, but when we consider the self-dependence of every human soul, we see the need of courage, judgment and the exercise of every faculty of mind and body, strengthened and developed by use, in woman as well as man.

Whatever may be said of man's protecting power in ordinary' conditions, amid all the terrible disasters by land and sea, in the supreme moments of danger, alone woman must ever meet the horrors of the situation. The Angel of Death even makes no royal pathway for her. Man's love and sympathy enter only into the sunshine of our lives. In that solemn solitude of self, that links us with the immeasurable and the eternal, each soul lives alone forever. . . .

And yet, there is a solitude which each and every one of us has always carried with him, more inaccessible than the ice-cold mountains, more profound than the midnight sea; the solitude of self. Our inner being which we call ourself, no eye nor touch of man or angel has ever pierced. It is more hidden than the caves of the gnome; the sacred adytum of the oracle; the hidden chamber of Eleusinian mystery, for to it only omniscience is permitted to enter.

Such is individual life. Who, I ask you, can take, dare take on himself the rights, the duties, the responsibilities of another human soul.

夏洛特.珀金斯.吉爾曼 (CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN)

### **婦女與經濟 Women and Economics**

財富、權力、社會地位、名望，除此之外，還有家庭及其天倫之樂、個人名聲、閑情逸趣、油鹽醬醋等等，一個女子要獲得這一切就得接受那小小的金戒指，嫁給男人。

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夏洛特.金斯.吉爾曼(1860—1935)是這一進步時代婦女運動的著名理論家。吉爾曼的童年十分淒慘，父親拋棄母親後，家裏幾乎一貧如洗。1884年，古



爾曼結婚，婚後生有一女。家務例行瑣事的煩惱使她精神崩潰。1888 年，她帶著女兒離開丈夫。離婚後，她原先丈夫與她的一位摯友再婚，於是吉爾曼將女兒送到他們處，由此騰出時間從事著述和演講。吉爾曼寫有短篇小說和詩歌，並以發表有關婦女、勞工和社會組織等題目的演講來維持生計。

1900 年，吉爾曼再婚，但婚後繼續其演講和著述的繁忙生活。自 1909 年至 1916 年，吉爾曼隻身一人編輯、出版女權運動月報：《先驅》，並獨自為其撰稿。吉爾曼還發表過一部名為《家》的小說，以及一部有關自己精神崩潰的虛構性著作：《黃色的糊牆紙》。

這裏選載的是她的名作《婦女與經濟》(1898)；文章倡導的是婦女的經濟獨立。

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我們所能做的要比別人施加給我們的更能制約自己。婦女的表達自由，如果有的話，也要比承受自由少得多。她們只能通過鐵條阻隔的窗戶窺視她們生活於其中的世界一角，只能從深閨幃幔間隙中呼吸到一點外部空氣，她們豎起耳朵，如饑似渴想聽到的只是男人口中傳來的一點點知識。莎劇《奧瑟羅》中的苔絲德蒙娜從丈夫奧瑟羅口中只瞭解到一丁點東西，要是她能多瞭解一些情況，可能會活得更久。雖然人有不斷增長的創造欲，有能力和毅力以新的形式表達新的精神，以求有所作為，但婦女在這些方面是完全受限制的。她們可以像先前那樣操勞，幹那些最原始的家務活。當她們很自然地將這種辛勤勞作擴展到職業層次時，我們卻想設法拖她們的後腿。婦女靠雙手幹體力活，直接為家庭服務，一無所獲，這是允許的——甚至是強制的！除此之外，婦女要越雷池一步是不允許的。婦女的勞動不僅在內容上受限制，在形式上也一樣受到制約。即使允許她們於這做那，她們也只能獨自悄悄地進行，所從事的是最原始的手工勞動……

婦女受制於經年累月形成的綜合影響，追溯起來，耐人玩味卻令人痛心。首先，是自然法則對所有生靈的巨大影響，同樣作用於婦女身上。其次，是緊步自然力之後且與之形成一種合力的社會風俗習慣與社會法則之演化，在這一演化過程中，婦女的低下地位是一活躍因素。接著是隨著文明發展，累積而成，經年不斷的一個個先例，不斷增強的教育作用使之深深印入每代人的腦海，藝術使之迷人，宗教使之神聖，習慣使之更具魅力。再有便是最為根本的經濟需要，它奠定了整個社會結構的基礎，其作用貫穿古今，延至永遠。毫無疑問，上述種種是對婦女強有力的制約條件。

對婦女的這些制約本來可以更加有效，而且痛苦要少得多，但有個重要因素還得考慮，那就是先天遺傳並非「捨拉法典」。根據這一法典，在昔日捨拉族和日爾曼部族裏，婦女不得繼承土地，而在昔日法國，女人不准繼承王位。可由於遺傳的作用，每個女孩從父親身上繼承有越來越多的求發展、圖強大的人性傾向；而每個男孩同樣從母親身上繼承有愈來愈多的溫柔天性。先天遺傳的作用是要使後天環境及教育傾向於區別對待的趨於平等。遺傳的作用是張揚女性、抑制男性。同時又不讓女性成爲一種舞毒蛾，並給那些企圖荒唐地在一個種族裏使一種性別落後於另一種性別的人套上鐵鐐，不讓他們的企圖得逞。但是遺傳的這種作用又使人類生活異常痛苦，極其艱難。這種痛苦與艱難應使我們早就看到，我們的生活出了正軌。一個女孩誕生後，經過其父親參與的種族活動的洗禮，更加人性化了，可她自身的傳統地位又使自己重新女性化，這樣她得重新生活一番，親身再次體驗那種受限制、受壓抑、受否定的全過程。令人窒息的一個「不」字粉碎了她作爲一個人的所有願望，所有創造、探索、學習及表達個人見解、奮發向上的願望……

對一個面對生活的年輕男子來說，世界是個廣闊的天地。他可以利用，而且必須利用身上的所有力量。假如第一步選擇錯了，他可以選擇再選擇；一條路定不通，他可以選擇另一條路，最後獲得成功。整個人類各種不斷增長的需要要求他從事各種有利自身發展的工作。想成為什麼樣的人，他可以努力爭取達到；想要什麼，他可以努力爭取得到。財富、權力、社會地位、名望……想要什麼，他都可以爭取得到。

對一個面對生活的女子來說，外部世界並無兩樣，其自身也同樣擁有人的能量，人的願望，人的抱負。然而她可望得到的，可望從事的，都只有一次性選擇，擺在她面前的只有一條通道。財富、權力、社會地位、名望，除此之外，還有家庭及其天倫之樂，個人名聲、閑情逸趣、油鹽醬醋等等，一個女子要獲得這一切，就得接受那小小的金戒指，嫁給男人。壓力之大概莫能外。這是她身後傳統累積而成的壓力，是她周圍環境繼續施加的壓力。這種壓力通過教育的潛移默化進入她的內心，直到最後自己竟也認為，這種壓力是無可非議的，並將其影響變本加厲地施加給自己的女兒。這樣，女人過於女性化還有什麼可值得奇怪的呢。要不是不斷地從男性身上繼承有某種更有人性的東西，我們早就都成為一群雌蜂了。然而，每個時代，每個士兵的女兒、海員的女兒、藝術家的女兒、發明家的女兒、巨商的女兒，在身體與腦力兩方面，都繼承和分享有父輩發展的成果。因此，儘管過於女性化，她們也同時或多或少地人性化……

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What we do modifies us more than what is done to us. The freedom of expression has been more restricted in women than the freedom of impression, if that be possible. Something of the world she lived in she has seen from her barred windows. Some air has come through the purdah's folds, some knowledge has

filtered to her eager ears from the talk of men. Desdemona learned somewhat of Othello. Had she known more, she might have lived longer. But in the ever-growing human impulse to create, the power and will to make, to do, to express one's new spirit in new forms,—here she has been utterly debarred. She might work as she had worked from the beginning,—at the primitive labors of the household; but in the inevitable expansion of even those industries to professional levels we have striven to hold her back. To work with her own hands, for nothing, in direct body-service to her own family,—this has been permitted,—yes, compelled. But to be and to do anything further from this she has been forbidden. Her labor has not been limited in land. but in degree. Whatever she has been allowed to do must be done in private and alone, the first-hand industries of savage times. . . .

It is painfully interesting to trace the gradual cumulative effect of these conditions upon women: first, the action of large natural laws, acting on her as they would act on any other animal; then the evolution of social customs and laws (with her position as the active cause), following the direction of mere physical forces, and adding heavily to them; then, with increasing civilization, the unbroken accumulation of precedent, burnt into each generation by the growing force of education, made lovely by art, holy by religion, desirable by habit; and, steadily acting from beneath, the unswerving pressure of economic necessity upon which the whole structure rested. These are strong modifying conditions, indeed.

The process would have been even more effective and far less painful but for one important circumstance. Heredity has no Salic law. Each girl child inherits from her father a certain increasing percentage of human development, human power, human tendency; and each boy as well inherits from his mother the increasing percentage of sex-development, sex-power, sextendency. The action of heredity has been to equalize what every tendency of environment and education made to differ. This has saved us from such a female as the gypsy moth. It has held up the woman, and held down the man. It has set iron bounds to our absurd effort to

make a race with one sex a million years behind the other. But it has added terribly to the pain and difficulty of human life,—a difficulty and a pain that should have taught us long since that we were living on wrong lines. Each woman born, re-humanized by the current of race activity carried on by her father and re-womanized by her traditional position, has had to live over again in her own person the same process of restriction, repression, denial; the smothering "no" which crushed down all her human desires to create, to discover, to learn, to express, to advance. . . .

To the young man confronting life the world lies wide. Such powers as he has he may use, must use. If he chooses wrong at first, he may choose again, and yet again. Not effective or successful in one channel, he may do better in another. The growing, varied needs of all mankind call on him for the varied service in which he finds his growth. What he wants to be, he may strive to get. What he wants to get, he may strive to get. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame, — what he wants he can try for.

To the young woman confronting life there is the same world beyond, there are the same human energies and human desires and ambition within. But all that she may wish to have, all that she may wish to do, must come through a single channel and a single choice. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame,—not only these, but home and happiness, reputation, ease and pleasure, her bread and butter,—all, must come to her through a small gold ring. This is a heavy pressure. It has accumulated behind her through heredity, and continued about her through environment. It has been subtly trained into her through education, till she herself has come to think it a right condition, and pours its influence upon her daughter with increasing impetus. Is it any wonder that women are oversexed. But for the constant inheritance from the more human male, we should have been queen bees, indeed, long before this. But the daughter of the soldier and the sailor, of the artist, the inventor, the great merchant, has inherited in body and brain her share of his development in each generation, and so stayed somewhat human for all her femininity. . . .

埃德溫·馬卡姆

(EDWIN MARKHAM)

## 扶鋤者

### The Man with the Hoe

埃德溫·馬卡姆(1852 — 1940)在加利福尼亞一個牧場中長大，先當教師，後當學校行政管理人。1899年，《扶鋤者》在《舊金山考察家報》上發表。使他聞名全國。馬卡姆從讓-法朗索瓦·米勒的一幅法國農夫畫中受到啟發，使《扶鋤者》成為全世界默默忍受壓迫、忍受剝削的工人階級的象徵。繼《扶鋤者》之後，馬卡姆又繼續作詩多年，但沒有一首能像《扶鋤者》那樣引起轟動。

多少世紀的重負壓彎了腰，凝視著  
地面將那鋤頭扶靠，面孔映出多少  
世紀的空白呵，  
脊背承受著整個世界的重壓。  
誰使他對狂喜與絕望皆木然。  
誰使他不知痛苦，毫無希望，  
呆頭木腦，與牛沒有兩樣。  
誰使他粗野的下巴耷拉下垂。  
誰人之手將這額頭往後打塌。  
誰人一口吹熄他頭腦中的光耀。

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans  
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,  
The emptiness of ages in his face,  
And on his back the burden of the world.  
Who made him dead to rapture and  
despair,  
A thing that grieves not and that never  
hopes,  
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox.  
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw.  
Whose was the hand that slanted back this  
brow.  
Whose breath blew out the light within this  
brain. Is this the Thing the Lord God made  
and gave  
To have dominion over sea and land;  
To trace the stars and search the heavens  
for power;

難道這就是上帝創造的生靈，  
來統治海洋與大地，  
來搜天追星借威力，  
來感受天長地久的熾愛。  
難道這就是上帝創造眾恆星，  
以光柱支撐蒼天夢到的他。  
遍尋地獄各角及至最後一處深淵，  
沒有什麼形體比這更可怕——  
他吞下世人利令智昏的最多咒罵，  
他充滿對靈魂最多的險訊與凶兆，  
他包含有對整個宇宙最大的威迫。  
多少道鴻溝將他與六翼天使阻隔！  
當牛做馬服苦役的奴隸呀，  
柏拉圖與七星運轉與他有何關係。  
曲曲高歌傳天際，晨曦破曉玫瑰  
紅，  
可這一切，與他又有何關係。  
這可怕的形體載著多少世紀的苦  
難，

To feel the passion of Eternity.  
Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped  
the suns  
And pillared the blue firmament with light.  
Down all the stretch of Hell to it's last gulf  
There is no shape more terrible than this —  
More tongued with censure of the world's  
blind greed—  
More filled with signs and portents for the  
soul—  
More fraught with menace to the  
universe What gulfs between him and the  
seraphim!  
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him  
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades.  
What the long reaches of the peaks of  
song,  
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose.  
Through this dread shape the suffering  
ages look;  
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;  
Through this dread shape humanity  
betrayed,  
Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,  
Cries protest to the Judges of the World,  
A protest that is also prophecy. O masters,  
lords and rulers in all lands,  
Is this the handiwork you give to God,  
This monstrous thing distorted and

佝僂之軀不忍看，將時代悲劇蘊含。

這可怕的形體向世人訴說：

人性已被叛賣、已遭褻瀆、已被掠奪；

於是乎向世界的判官高呼抗議，

抗議，既是抗議，也是預告。

啊，五土四方的君王與主宰：

難道這性靈被扼殺的畸形怪物，

就是你們獻給上帝的手藝。

你們將如何使這形體挺立。

如何給它重注不朽的血液。

如何還它以為頭見光明的權利。

如何把音樂與夢想還給它心底。

如何糾正自古以來的罪行、

以怨報德的虐待、難以治癒的痼疾。

啊，五土四方的君王與主宰：

未來將如何同這人算清舊帳。

soul-quenched.

How will you ever straighten up this shape;

Touch it again with immortality;

Give back the upward looking and the light;

Rebuild in it the music and the dream;

Make right the immemorial infamies,

Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes. O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,

How will the Future reckon with this Man.

How answer his brute question in that hour

When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world.

How will it be with kingdoms and with kings-

With those who shaped him to the thing he is—

When this dumb Terror shall reply to God,  
After the silence of the centuries.



|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>當反抗的旋風震撼環宇之時，</p> <p>如何回答他怒氣衝天的責問？</p> <p>當這啞了千百年的可怕人物，</p> <p>終於向上帝控訴之時，你們——</p> <p>各王國、各君主，所有使他淪為</p> <p>此等模樣的人，又將如何交待？</p>   |  |
| <p>詹姆士.威爾頓.約翰遜, J.羅瑟蒙德.約翰遜</p> <p>(JAMES WELDON JOHNSON AND J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON)</p> <p>人人引吭高歌</p> <p>Life Ev'ry Voice and Sing</p> <p>詹姆士.威爾頓.約翰遜 (1871 - 1938)與其兄弟羅瑟蒙德.約翰遜 (1873—1954)於 1900 年，為慶祝林肯誕辰，一道創作了《人人引吭高歌》。這首歌先由佛羅里達的傑克遜維爾地區的黑人學童演唱，而後流行成為「黑人國歌」。羅瑟蒙德.約翰遜後來成為優秀的作曲家，威爾頓.約翰遜成為著名作家、詩人、民權運動領袖。</p> |  |
| <p>人人引吭高歌，直至天地與之共</p> <p>和，和出自由的交響；</p> <p>讓我們歡呼縱情，</p> <p>直衝上側耳傾聽的天頂，</p> <p>讓這歡呼聲壓過翻騰的海洋。</p>  | <p>Lift ev'ry voice and sing,</p> <p>Till earth and heaven ring,</p> <p>Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;</p> <p>Let our rejoicing rise</p> <p>High as the list'ning skies,</p> <p>Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.</p> <p>Sing a song full of the faith that the dark</p> <p>past has taught us</p> <p>Sing a song full of the hope that the present</p> |

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|--|---|
| <p>唱一首歌，讓它充滿黑暗時光教<br/>給</p> <p>我們的信仰，</p> <p>唱一首歌，讓它充滿當今時代給<br/>予</p> <p>我們的希望。</p> <p>迎著新的一天初升的太陽，</p> <p>讓我們前進，直至凱歌飛揚。</p> <p>我們爬過崎嶇道，</p> <p>身挨罰杖毒鞭敲，</p> <p>那年月，希望破滅母腹中；</p> <p>可疲乏跋涉未卻步，</p> <p>堅定走完祖先的路，</p> <p>於今不是已聞祖先在此</p> <p>歎苦衷。</p> <p>我們爬過的路，痛苦的淚水</p> <p>洗刷過；</p> <p>我們爬過的路，受害的血水</p> <p>淹沒過。</p> | <p>has brought us</p> <p>Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,<br/>Let us march on till victory is won. Stony<br/>the road we trod,<br/>Bitter the chast'ning rod,<br/>Felt in the days when hope unborn had<br/>died;<br/>Yet with a steady beat,<br/>Have not our weary feet<br/>Come to the place for which our fathers<br/>sighed.<br/>We have come over a way that with tears<br/>has been watered<br/>We have come, treading our path thro' the<br/>blood of the slaughtered,<br/>Out from the gloomy past, till now we<br/>stand at last<br/>Where the white gleam of our bright star is<br/>cast. God of our weary years,<br/>God of our silent tears,<br/>Thou who hast brought us thus far on the<br/>way;<br/>Thou who hast by Thy might,<br/>Led us into the light,<br/>Keep us forever in the path, we pray.<br/>Lest our feet stray from the places, our<br/>God, where we met Thee,<br/>Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the<br/>world, we forget Thee;</p> |
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掙扎出昨日的黑暗，終於挺立於

今天，

白熾的星光多燦爛，終於照進我

心間。

我們疲乏日子中的上帝，

我們默默流淚時的上帝，

你帶領我們定過漫長的道，

全憑你的力量，

指引我們見光亮，

請永保我們走正道，我們祈禱。

上帝啊，為免我們誤入歧途，

脫離你我相會處，

心靈啊，為免喝醉世俗的酒，

而把你給記糊塗，

求你伸出庇護的手，讓我們保佑：

永遠挺立，

效忠心中的上帝，效忠故園的土

地。

Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we  
forever stand,

True to our God, true to our native land.

M.凱裡.托馬斯 (M. CAREY THOMAS)

## 婦女應受不同的高等教育嗎. Should Higher Education for Women Differ.

只要在各各行各業中、有男女競爭，有男女交往，那麼，男女為同一職業所做的準備就不能有兩樣而又心安理得。

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M.凱裡.托馬斯(1857—1935)似乎生來就是一個女權主義者。還是孩提時代，她就立意要接受大學教育，以求自立。她出生於巴爾提摩一個著名的貴格教家庭，是家裏九個小孩中年歲最大的。她先是就讀於康奈爾大學，然後入約翰士.霍普金斯研究學院(在那裏被拒參加研究生討論會)，最後在蘇黎世大學獲文學博士學位。回美國不久，她被任命為賓夕法尼亞新創立的布林.莫爾學院的一個系主任。十一年後，也就是 1899 年，她成為該院院長。從此她致力於建設一個在課程設置及綜合水平方面，都能與最好的男子學院相匹敵的國內一流女子學院。

1899 年，托馬斯因反駁哈佛大學校長查爾斯.W.艾略特而聞名全國。艾略特曾宣稱，從歷史繼承下來的偉大知識遺產「對婦女教育毫無用處」，因而必須去尋找新的模式。托馬斯反駁說，艾略特倒不如讓婦女教育家去發明「一種新的交響樂，一種新的戲劇，一個新的貝多芬，一個新的瓦格納，一些新的塑像，新的繪畫，一個新的菲狄亞斯(西元前五世紀希臘雕刻家——譯者注)，一個新的提香……所有這一切要比為婦女創造一個知識的新天地更容易。」

在 1901 年發表的這篇文章裏，托馬斯闡明了應為男女設置同樣的高等教育課程的理由。

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假如婦女為了自立，必須以醫生或律師身份與男子競爭，那麼，不管是醫生還是律師、是男性還是女性，所能獲得的最佳訓練是什麼呢。沒有任何理由認為，女醫生用一種方法治癒傷寒、猩紅熱或肺結核，而男醫生治療這些疾病就得用另一種方法。我們完全有理由認為，病人要得不到最佳的治療就得死去。醫生性別對醫療結果的影響要比病人性別的影響還要微乎其微。只要我們深信

世上絕無獨特的婦女治病之道，問題就再明瞭不過了。因此，在法律、建築、電力、以及所有力學藝術、技術學科裏，我們都必須致力於提供最科學的教育，最廣泛的訓練，使男女學生都能在自己選擇的職業中發揮出最高水準。假定分別有男女兩位橋樑建造者，要去建造指定的一座橋，在建造這一獨特的橋及其它一般的橋的力學規律總是不變的情況下，簡直不可想像，男女建造者所受的基本教育應有所不同；更不可想像，只是因為在施工時，一個穿燈籠褲，另一個穿防雨裙，而必須讓他們在質量、數量及教學方法上接受不同的教育。你或許以為，上帝並不想讓婦女去建造橋樑。當然，你有權持這種偏見。但既然你生活於美國，而不是亞洲或非洲內陸，那麼你可能無法將這種偏見強加給希望成為橋樑建造者的婦女。你可能會說，婦女的智力無法使她們建造出好橋樑。假如你認為這一觀點是正確的，其他一切你都不必操心了——婦女建的橋反正大都要塌陷，能建造出好橋樑的男人將把她們擠出這一行業的競爭。這些都還只是枝節問題，不管今後如何給予限定，根本影響不了我們提出的主要問題，即在職業技術學校裏男女應學同樣的課程。你可能會進一步說，男女應分開，而不是要在同一所學校學醫、學法律、學橋樑建築。但過去經驗及現時實踐，都無法使人就男女同校學習，提出任何令人信服的反對意見；而且公眾輿論也是一邊倒，對你們的觀點極為不利。在這種情況下，你若堅持讓職業技術學校的昂貴設施，專為女子教育而依樣畫葫蘆地重添一套，未免過於愚蠢、過於浪費了。為方便討論，我們不妨假設每一所男子職業技術學校旁，都並排辦有類似的女子學校。可專門為女子教育另開職業學校對於解決這種學校該教什麼的問題仍於事無補。只要在各行各業中，有男女競爭，有男女交往，那麼，男女為同一職業所做的準備就不能有兩樣而又心安理得。假如男子準備充分，準備

不足的女子將在競爭中落伍；假如女子更有準備，準備不夠的男子在與女子競爭中將吃虧……

上述觀點同樣適用於大學文理研究所的教育。據統計，絕大多數男女研究生畢業後打算從事高等教育的職業，在美國研究生中有三分之一多是女性，而且研究生的年增長率，女性要超過男性。在基礎階段的教學隊伍中，男性幾乎已經停止與女性競爭；在更高階段，即大學教學隊伍中，女性則剛剛開始與男性競爭；在這一競爭中，女性遇到前所未有的男職業性嫉妒。在美國，獨立的女子學院僅有十一所，而男女同校的學院則有三百三十六所。只有在女子學院中，女教師才有機會與男教師競爭教授位置。男女同校的學院聘任女教師是很罕見的，有的話，也只是根據需要和慣例，指派她們負責女生的紀律或家庭生活。當女性在男女同校的學院裏與男性一道執教時，女教師的成功將招來男教師的極端不滿。由於這種性別嫉妒，學院院長及董事會理事(按常規是清一色的男性)即便有心也無法真正增加女教師人數，無法給女教師晉級。但選修課制度使我們發現，男生卻沒有這種性嫉妒，他們肯定女教師教學能力的方式，就是擁向優秀女教師的課堂。在中小學，女教師總的說來工作成績大大超過男教師，取得了輝煌的成果，所以一旦取消人爲的限制，在大學教學中，她們將必定取得同樣的成功。教師職業本來正是女性的用武之地，可在其最高分支領域，現在的偏見對她們極為不利。在這種情況下，沒有人再可以固執己見，使女性雪上加霜，讓她們接受與男性不同的職業訓練……

當然這種推論還不夠全面，我們還得考慮是否真有某些專業尤其適合女性，因此需要開辦特殊的女子技術學校。答案是肯定的，確有三種職業學校，其中女生已大大超過男生，即師範學校(包括大學的師範系)、幼教學校及圖書

館學的學校。如果烹飪和家政能成為有利可圖的職業——尤其是當富有的男子果真根據烹調和衛生經驗選擇妻子，而不是像現在這樣，以妻子的社會地位及知識程度給自己增光的時候——就可能到處湧現烹飪和家政學校，而且像師範學校那樣，其生員十之八九肯定是女性。毫無疑問，假如這些學校裏都是清一色的男生，那麼怎麼教這些男生，也就怎麼教那些女生。烹飪的教授法不會因廚師的性別差異而有所不同……

繼續論證的責任落在那些認為大學教育應對男女區別對待的人的頭上。三十年來，大學教育的內容基本上是不分男女性別的，而且女生的收穫實在可喜可賀。受過大學教育的女子跟未受過大學教育的姐妹們一樣，大都結婚，成立家庭，而且往往家庭更為美滿，因為她們選擇了大部分有職業的男性。她們也不像人們預測的那樣，死於分娩過程，而是生出了數量可觀的嬰孩，並將他們撫育成人，而不使他們早年夭折。受過大學教育的女性都是稱職的好管家，好妻子，好母親。作為教師，她們成果輝煌，令人刮目相看，以致使那些未受過大學教育的女教師正面臨著被擠出教師隊伍的厄運。總而言之，學過男子課程的女子，其成功，其能力，其健康狀態都是無可挑剔的……

當然，離開大學後，女子的生活將有別於男子。她們當中大約一半的人謹慎地選擇了自己的如意郎君，總的說來，婚後生活輕鬆自在，不需自謀生計，感到非常快活。她們當中約有三分之一的人成為職業教師，而且可能終生執教。剩下的，大都終身未嫁，但生活輕鬆、充實，對社會有益。婦女離開大學後，只有三分之一的人，在教書這個獨特的極其有限的職業中，才得到終身從事商業或其他職業的男子所受到的更廣泛的訓練。正因為如此，婦女在大學期間應該享有最廣泛的教育。這種教育應是不分男女性別的，原因是：一、我相信最

好的教育只有一種；二、男女將作為同志、知心朋友、生活伴侶，一道生活，一道工作；三、如果男女在大學裏，受到同樣的知識訓練，擁有同樣的學術嚮往，具有同樣的道德情操，那麼，他們本身卓有成效的幸福生活以及他們後代子女的幸福日子都有增無減。

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Once granted that women are to compete with men for self-support as physicians or lawyers, . . . what is the best attainable training for the physician or the lawyer, man or woman. There is no reason to believe that typhoid or scarlet fever or phthisis can be successfully treated by a woman physician in one way and by a man physician in another way. There is indeed every reason to believe that unless treated in the best way the patient may die, the sex of the doctor affecting the result less even than the sex of the patient. The question needs only to be put for us to feel irrevocably sure that there is no special woman's way of dealing with disease. And so in law, in architecture, in electricity, in bridge-building, in all mechanic arts and technical sciences, our effort must be for the most scientific instruction, the broadest basis of training that will enable men and women students to attain the highest possible proficiency in their chosen profession. Given two bridge-builders, a man and a woman, given a certain bridge to be built, and given as always the unchangeable laws of mechanics in accordance with which this special bridge and all other bridges must be built, it is simply inconceivable that the preliminary instruction given to the two bridge-builders should differ in quantity, quality, or method of presentation because while the bridge is building one will wear knickerbockers and the other a rainy-day skirt. You may say you do not think that God intended a woman to be a bridge-builder. You have, of course, a right to this prejudice; but as you live in America, and not in the interior of Asia or Africa, you will probably not be able to impose it on women who -wish to build bridges. You may say that women's minds are such that they cannot build good bridges. If you



are right in this opinion you need concern yourselves no further — bridges built by women, will on the whole, tend to fall down, and the competition of men who can build good bridges will force women out of the profession. Both of these opinions of yours are side issues, and, however they may be decided hereafter, do not in the remotest degree affect the main question of a common curriculum for men and women in technical and professional schools. But you may say that men and women should study bridge building and medicine and law in separate schools, and not together. You may be foolish enough, and wasteful enough, to think that all the expensive equipment of our technical and professional schools should be duplicated for women, when experience and practice have failed to bring forward a single valid objection to professional coeducation, and when the present trend of public opinion is overwhelmingly against you; and for the sake of argument let us grant that beside every such school for men is to be founded a similar school for women. But this duplication of professional schools for women leaves us just where we were in regard to the curriculum of professional study to be taught in such women's schools. So long as men and women are to compete together, and associate together, in their professional life, women's preparation for the same profession cannot safely differ from men's. If men's preparation is better, women, who are less well prepared, will be left behind in the race; if women's is better, men will suffer in competition with women. . . .

The above argument applies with equal force to the training given by the university graduate school of arts and sciences. Statistics indicate that an overwhelmingly large majority of men and women graduate students are fitting themselves for the profession of higher teaching, that over one-third of all graduate students in the United States are women, and that the annual increase of women graduate students is greater than that of men. In the lower grades of teaching men have almost ceased to compete with women; in the higher grade, that is, in college teaching, women are just beginning to compete with men, and this competition is beset -with the bitterest professional jealousy that women have ever had to meet,

except perhaps in medicine. There are in the United States only eleven independent colleges for women of at all the same grade as the three hundred and thirty-six coeducational colleges where women and men are taught together, yet only in these separate colleges for women have women an opportunity of competing with men for professors' chairs. It is very rare indeed for coeducational colleges to employ any women instructors, and even then only so many women are as a rule employed as are needed to look after the discipline or home life of the women students.

Where women are teaching in coeducational colleges side by side with men their success is regarded by men teachers with profound dislike, and on account of this sex jealousy college presidents and boards of trustees (all of whom are, as a rule, men) cannot, even if they would, materially add to the number of women teachers or advance them. The working of the elective system, however, permits us to see that men students show no such jealousy, but recognize the able teaching of women by overcrowding their classes. Women have succeeded so brilliantly, on the whole so much better than men, as primary and secondary teachers, that they will undoubtedly repeat this success in their college teaching so soon as artificial restrictions are removed. No one could seriously maintain that, handicapped as women now are by prejudice in the highest branches of a profession peculiarly their own, they should be further hampered by the professional training different from men's. . . .

But this line of reasoning will be incomplete unless we ask ourselves whether there are not some subjects peculiar to women in which we must maintain special women's technical schools. There are certainly three professional schools where women students already largely outnumber men: normal schools, including normal departments of universities, schools of nursing, and schools for library study. If cooking and domestic service ever become lucrative professions, and more especially if men of wealth ever come to choose their wives for culinary and sanitary lore instead as at present for social and intellectual charm, such schools will tend to spring up and, like normal schools, will undoubtedly be attended

almost exclusively by women. They will beyond question be taught exactly in the same way as if they were to be attended exclusively by men. The method of teaching cooking is one and the same and does not depend on the sex of the cooks. . . .

The burden of proof is with those who believe that the college education of men and women should differ. For thirty years it has been as nearly as possible the same, with brilliantly satisfactory results, so far as concerns women. College women have married as generally as their non-college-bred sisters, and have as a rule married better than their sisters, because they have chosen a larger proportion of professional men; they have not died in childbirth, as was predicted; they have borne their proper proportion of children, and have brought up more than the usual proportion of those born; they have made efficient housekeepers and waives as well as mothers; their success as teachers has been so astonishingly great that already they are driving non-college-bred women teachers out of the field. There is, in short, not a word to be said against the success and efficiency and healthfulness of these women educated by men's curriculum. ...

Undoubtedly the life of most women after leaving college will differ from that of men. About one-half will marry in a rather deliberate fashion, choosing carefully, and on the whole living very happily a life of comparative leisure, not of self-support; about one-third will become professional teachers, probably for life; and the greater part of the remainder will lead useful and helpful lives as unmarried women of leisure. And just because after leaving college only one-third, and that in the peculiarly limited profession of teaching, are to get the wider training of affairs that educates men engaged in business and in the professions all their lives thru, women while in college ought to have the broadest possible education. This college education should be the same as men's, not only because there is, I believe, but one best education, but because men and women are to live and work together as comrades and dear friends and married friends and lovers, and because their effectiveness and happiness and the welfare of the generation to come after them

will be vastly increased if their college education has given them the same intellectual training and the same scholarly and moral ideals.

雅各布.A.裡斯 (JACOB A. RIIS)

與貧民窟的鬥爭 The Battle with the Slum



20 世紀初紐約市下東區的貧民窟街景

要為我們消除貧民窟，要為貧民窟將我們消滅，二者必居其一。

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雅各布.A.裡斯(1849－1914)出生於丹麥，二十一歲移居美國。幾年後，他成為紐約市一家報社記者，報導腐敗、醜聞以及紐約下東區貧民生活。他於1890年出版的《另一半人怎樣生活》，促使官方通過立法對經濟公寓進行改革。

《與貧民窟的鬥爭》是《另一半人怎樣生活》的姊妹篇，發表於1902年。裡斯作為社會評論家，與其同行首次意識到罪惡的貧困週期對家庭、社區、教育及就業機會的全面影響。他把讀者吸引在自己身邊，向政治官僚開戰，為社會進步而戰。他相信，文字具有揭露政治腐敗及社會罪惡的威力，這是專門報道醜事的新聞界進步人士的共同特徵。

下面文章節選自裡斯的《與貧民窟的鬥爭》。

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貧民窟的歷史與文明一樣古老。文明意味著一個種族向前發展。在一個種族裏，通常有一些人由於這樣或那樣的原因無法跟上其他人的步伐，或是被同伴們擠出行進的隊伍。這些人掉隊了，當遠遠地被拋在隊伍後頭時，他們便失去希望，失去抱負，最終放棄一切。打這開始，假如他們孤立無援，他們便成為外部環境的犧牲品，環境則成為他們的主宰，惡劣的主宰。這些人相互拽著往下沈，愈陷愈深。上一代人的惡劣環境又傳給下一代人。於是，由於人數為多，貧民窟便自然形成。與貧民窟的鬥爭始於文明與之作對之時。在良知與恐懼和自我利益共同對敵之前，文明打的是一場只輸不贏的戰爭。當普通常識與基本原則成為人們的行動準則時，貧民窟才會消失。這兩者並不總是相提並論的，但此處他們顯然可劃歸一類。在理論上，公正對待個人被視為我們合眾國的唯一安全保障。在處理貧民窟問題上，若能如此實踐，貧民窟將很快消失。我們不必等待一個太平盛世，一千年後才去動手消除貧民窟，而是現在就可動手行動。所需要做的就是不能讓貧民窟自生自滅。這樣對貧民窟，對我們自己才有公正可言，因為令人揪心的是，貧民窟的癥結所在就是其本身無力自救。當一個人溺水時，所要做的是先將他從水中拉出，以後要談論此事有的是時間。可我們處理社會問題卻本末倒置。聰明人自行其樂，對痛苦不堪者，不聞不問，放任自流。「物競天擇，適者生存」。有位「最不適者」卻生存下來，用他的話說，去探究「帶有社會性的原因」是有危險的。這種論調，看似科學，實為荒謬，它使洗耳恭聽的一代人為之付出昂貴的代價。「帶有社會性的原因」使政治流氓及其它種種惡棍有機可乘，他們從絕望墮落的貧民窟中大撈一把，也使悲觀論者找到了防空洞，與這幫人作鬥爭時，成為廢物。悲觀論者使我們付

出代價，而且還未付完。我們總要伸出手，將那溺水者從水中拉出的。現在是時候了。再晚一點，我們恐怕將難逃被溺水者拖下水去而一道沈沒的危險。

貧民窟問題是歷代的慢性病。可十九世紀目睹的各種巨大變化，新工業及政治自由使這一疾病惡性發作，並直接威脅到政治自由本身。我們當中太多人以爲，我們合眾國是建立在普選制基礎之上，所以這足以證明我們沒有那些侵擾以往國家的問題。但事實上，這裏有意想不到的危險。我們曾莊嚴宣佈過，人人生而平等，人人擁有若幹不可剝奪的權利，其中包括生命權，自由權和追求幸福權。可宣佈後，我們卻閉上眼睛，期待著這一方案自行生效。這就好像一個患感冒的人將醫生的藥方帶上床，然後指望它會發生療效。宣言本身並沒有錯，可只是一再重覆宣言解決不了任何問題。在宣言頒佈一百年之後的今天，我們睜眼看到的是：城市中的勞動婦女一天工錢只有六十美分，生產一打短褲才得四十美分，貧民墓地奪走城裏十分之一的人，每年有十分之一的人死於戰亂，這恰恰是貧民窟裏嬰兒的死亡率。我們的國家已經繁榮富強，源源不斷地通過我們港口的是足夠幾百萬歐洲人享用的食物。然而，在窮街陋巷裏，一堆堆目不識丁、缺吃少穿的人擠在一塊。外國壓迫者已被趕跑，國內黑人的鐵鐐已被打開，可處於水深火熱之中的白人兄弟正在發出痛苦的吶喊，吶喊聲帶有明顯的威脅性。我們贏得了政治自由，但貧困交加的問題並未解決，正在嘲弄我們，歐洲落魄者的加入又擴大了這一貧困化。一天六十美分的「自由」，我們的各個市政府很快都打上了這種印記，最終成了我們政治制度的醜聞和危險……

不錯，我們工作緩慢。但儘管進展緩慢，這場戰役非打不可，而且要打到底，因爲要麼我們消除貧民窟，要麼貧民窟將我們消滅，二者必居其一。對此不可

有任何懷疑。這一問題不容迴避，迴避意味著投降，投降意味著民治政府的結束。

假如有人以為這是小題大作，那麼不妨想想看：民治政府是基於智慧與公眾精神之上的，它有賴於人民有能力管理自己，而貧民窟代表的是愚昧、匱乏、醜陋、憤怒之時的暴亂。這些還只是一方面，另一方面是鐵石心腸、麻木不仁、自私自利、貪得無厭。人的本性不過如此。不管我們是否擁有兄弟情誼，我們本是兄弟同胞。假如不給紐約下東區桑樹街的人以兄弟情誼，我們要想在第五大道繁榮區找到善良公民的美德則是徒勞的。一方面，城裏的貧民窟自由發展，無人過問；另一方面，城邊碼頭仍然是一派繁忙景象，城裏的倉庫也愈添愈滿——財富與匱乏就是如此結伴相行——但人民心中的愛國熱情卻熄滅了。

早在建國之初，共和國的締造者們就已經看到，城市是他們規劃中的危險之地。這裏潛伏著民主政府消亡的危機。建國之初，在美國，二十五人中只有一人生活在城市，而現在三人中就有一人生活在城市。除了商人的自私，如今又添上貧民窟的威脅。假如對貧民窟不聞不問，那麼試問：貧民窟將我們消滅之日會遠嗎。

換句話說，當你需要人們以自由者身份給你選票時，你就不能讓他們像豬一般生活，因為這是一種危險的做法。你不能奪走一個小孩的童年，奪走他的家園，奪走他的玩樂，奪走他那無憂無苦的自由，而同時又指望他長大成人時具備男性選民的成熟。兒童是我們的未來。今天我們怎麼塑造他們，明天他們也將怎麼對付我們。因此，貧民窟沒有任何安全可言。最危險的事、最危險的行為莫過於對家庭的打擊，因為公民責任源於家庭，而不是源於任何其他地方。

貧民窟是家庭的仇敵。由於貧民窟的存在，我們國土上的主要城市早被稱為「無家可歸的城市」，當這個國家被真正稱為「無家可歸的國家時」，國將不國。

有鑒於此，我認為，在與貧民窟的鬥爭中，我們要麼戰勝，要麼滅亡，沒有中間路可走。我們一定會勝利的，因為我們不會像祖輩那樣去維持現狀。但這將是一場持久戰，二年、十年、二十年都不夠。儘管如此，我們必須繼續戰鬥。假如，在我們的時代，能防止現在忘卻兄弟情誼的人的第三代和第四代遭受懲罰，我們也就心滿意足了。上帝的意旨是讓他的子孫有所收穫，如同人們對待兄弟一樣。上帝要讓我們用辛勤的淚水來領會概括於十誡中的教誨，只有這教誨才能使大地迎來未來的天國。

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The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters, of their environment; and it is a bad master. They drag one another always farther down. The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation. Then, given the crowd, you have the slum ready-made. The battle with the slum began the day civilization recognized in it her enemy. It was a losing fight until conscience joined forces with fear and self-interest against it. When common sense and the golden rule obtain among men as a rule of practice, it will be over. The two have not always been classed together, but here they are plainly seen to belong together. Justice to the individual is accepted in theory as the only safe groundwork of the commonwealth. When it is practised in dealing with the slum, there will shortly be no slum. We need not wait for the millennium, to get rid of it. We can do it now. All that is required is that it shall not be left to itself. That is justice to it and to us, since its grievous ailment is



that it cannot help itself. When a man is drowning, the thing to do is to pull him out of the water; afterward there will be time for talking it over. We got at it the other way in dealing with our social problems. The wise men had their day, and they decided to let bad enough alone; that it was unsafe to interfere with "causes that operate sociologically," as one survivor of these unfittest put it to me. It was a piece of scientific humbug that cost the age which listened to it dear. "Causes that operate sociologically" are the opportunity of the political and every other kind of scamp who trades upon the depravity and helplessness of the slum, and the refuge of the pessimist who is useless in the fight against them. We have not done yet paying the bills he ran up for us. Some time since we turned to, to pull the drowning man out, and it was time. A little while longer, and we should hardly have escaped being dragged down with him.

The slum complaint had been chronic in all ages, but the great changes which the nineteenth century saw, the new industry, political freedom, brought on an acute attack which put that very freedom in jeopardy. Too many of us had supposed that, built as our commonwealth was on universal suffrage, it would be proof against the complaints that harassed older states; but in fact it turned out that there was extra hazard in that. Having solemnly resolved that all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we shut our eyes and waited for the formula to work. It was as if a man with a cold should take the doctor's prescription to bed with him, expecting it to cure him. The formula was all right, but merely repeating it worked no cure. When, after a hundred years, we opened our eyes, it was upon sixty cents a day as the living wage of the working-woman in our cities; upon "knee pants" at forty cents a dozen for the making; upon the Potter's Field taking tithe of our city life, ten per cent each year for the trench, truly the Lost Tenth of the slum. Our country had grown great and rich; through our ports was poured food for the millions of Europe. But in the back streets multitudes huddled in ignorance and want. The foreign oppressor had been vanquished, the fetters stricken from the black man at home;

but his white brother, in his bitter plight, sent up a cry of distress that had in it a distinct note of menace. Political freedom we had won; but the problem of helpless poverty, grown vast with the added offscourings of the Old World, mocked us, unsolved. Liberty at sixty cents a day set presently its stamp upon the government of our cities, and it became the scandal and the peril of our political system. . . ,

Slow work, yes! but be it ever so slow, the battle has got to be fought, and fought out. For it is one thing or the other: either wipe out the slum, or it wipes out us. Let there be no mistake about this. It cannot be shirked. Shirking means surrender, and surrender means the end of government by the people.

If any one believes this to be needless alarm, let him think a moment. Government by the people must ever rest upon the people's ability to govern themselves, upon their intelligence and public spirit. The slum stands for ignorance, want, unfitness, for mob-rule in the day of wrath. This at one end. At the other, hard-heartedness, indifference, self-seeking, greed. It is human nature. We are brothers whether we own it or not, and when the brotherhood is denied in Mulberry Street we shall look vainly for the virtue of good citizenship on Fifth Avenue. When the slum flourishes unchallenged in the cities, their wharves may, indeed, be busy, their treasure houses filled—wealth and want go so together, —but patriotism among their people is dead.

As long ago as the very beginning of our republic, its founders saw that the cities were danger-spots in their plan. In them was the peril of democratic government. At that time, scarce one in twenty-five of the people in the United States lived in a city. Now it is one in three. And to the selfishness of the trader has been added the threat of the slum. Ask yourself then how long before it would make an end of us, if let alone.

Put it this way: you cannot let men live like pigs when you need their votes as freemen; it is not safe. You cannot rob a child of its childhood, of its home, its play, its freedom from toil and care, and expect to appeal to the grown-up voter's

manhood. The children are our to-morrow, and as we mould them to-day so will they deal with us then. Therefore that is not safe. Unsafest of all is any thing or deed that strikes at the home, for from the people's home proceeds citizen virtue, and nowhere else does it live. The slum is the enemy of the home. Because of it the chief city of our land came long ago to be called "The Homeless City." When this people comes to be truly called a nation without homes there will no longer be any nation.

Hence, I say, in the battle with the slum we win or we perish. There is no middle way. We shall win, for we are not letting things be the way our fathers did. But it will be a running fight, and it is not going to be won in two years, or in ten, or in twenty. For all that, we must keep on fighting, content if in our time we avert the punishment that waits upon the third and the fourth generation of those who forget the brotherhood. As a man does in dealing with his brother so it is the way of God that his children shall reap, that through toil and tears we may make out the lesson which sums up all the commandments and alone can make the earth fit for the kingdom that is to come.

卡麗.查普曼.卡特 (CARRIE CHAPMAN CART)

### 對婦女的偏見 Prejudice Against Women

婦女運動的全部目的就是要推翻婦女有必要服服貼貼的觀念，就是要教會婦女獲得自尊，使她們不聽命於人，教會男人充分理解平等，使他們不強求婦女服服貼貼。

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卡麗.查普曼.卡特(1859—1947)出生於威斯康辛州里彭，當過教師，中學校長，愛阿華州梅森城學校督學。卡特籌建有愛阿華婦女參政協會，創立了國際婦女參政聯盟，並改組了全美婦女參政協會，從而加強了其政治作用。第十九號修正案通過後，卡特將婦女參政協會改組為婦女選民聯盟。以下節選自卡特於 1902 年 2 月在華盛頓當選為全美婦女參政協會主席時的就職演說詞。

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……婦女參政是個簡單明瞭的問題。這一要求帶著尊嚴、有禮有節、順理成章。戰勝保守派，獲得男子普選權雖然是一大勝利，但將來獲得女子普選權的勝利則是不可估量的。攻克了許許多多被認為不可攻破的傳統思想的堡壘後，男子才爭取到選舉權。然而，與婦女選舉權面前一排排強大的反對勢力相比，那些堡壘充其量不過是唐吉訶德的風車。

婦女選舉權面臨的正是男子選舉權曾面對的所有反對勢力。可除此之外，婦女選舉權還得與性偏見作鬥爭。這種性偏見是人類最古老、最無理、最頑固的偏執症。何謂偏見，那就是一種毫無理由的觀點，一種聽不到論證，就作出的判斷，一種不知來處的莫名其妙的情緒。性偏見是剝奪婦女權益、剝奪婦女自由、剝奪婦女機會的一種先驗判斷，毫無根據地認為婦女沒有能力從事她們從未做過的事。女權運動迅速發展到今天，其道路上的最大障礙就是性偏見。這種偏見至今仍然是個巨大的障礙。

至少在美國，我們不需再為婦女與有識之士一道投票時有關智力、道德及身體方面的合格性作辯解。我們當中最佳公民的道理早已得到證實，我們論點的正確性也已得到公認，但我們還遠遠沒有戰勝性偏見。

當一個大教堂主持暴躁地宣佈說，婦女的要求不再那麼有節制時，男人可能重操舊業，溺死女嬰。當一個名聲赫赫的參議員宣佈說，沒有人能為婦女的選舉權找到理由時，當他以個人的地位和影響來反對時，當一個著名女作家將女權運動的代言人說成「尖聲呼叫的女性」時，當一個政治頭面人物說，「反對婦女選舉權就是否定獨立宣言」，而他自己卻希望婦女得不到選舉權時，問

題已經完全超越理智範圍，而回到性偏見的領域，邏輯與常識都無法打開的領域……

有四大原因導致婦女處於受支配的地位。按照男人是一個種族的唯一組成單位的理論，每個原因都是合乎邏輯的推斷。這四大原因是：服從，愚昧，否定個人自由，否定財產和報酬的享有權。這四種因素共起作用，使男人養成自私、霸道的習性，使婦女養成逆來順受的習慣……爲了使這些不利條件牢牢地套住婦女，世人的推理是男人代表整個種族，女人只是男人的附屬品，這樣他們的行爲便合乎邏輯了。將婦女永遠作爲附屬品來監護等於剝奪了婦女思想與行動的全部自由，剝奪了婦女的發展動力，使婦女順理成章地成爲世人所希望看到的空虛的弱者。婦女的地位又進一步強化了有關婦女低能的流行觀點。這世界不讓婦女學會任何技巧，卻說她們幹的活一文不值，這世界不許婦女持有個人見解，卻說婦女不善於思考，這世界不許婦女對公眾演講，卻說女性中沒有演說家，這世界不讓婦女上學校，卻說女性中沒有天才，這世界剝奪了婦女的一切責任，卻說女性軟弱無能，這世界要讓婦女明白她們的點滴快樂全是靠男人施捨的。當婦女按照人們所教的，塗脂抹粉，戴上精巧的羽飾，去尋求快活時，人們又說她們圖虛榮。

這就是文學作品所記奉的婦女形象，歌謠與傳說使之不朽，騎士爲之說盡發瘋般的甜言蜜語。正如狄德羅說的，「當女性是主題時，筆頭需浸滿彩虹，而紙張需用蝴蝶翅膀來擦乾。」人們讓婦女罩上這種神秘的光環，讓她們相信自己是受寵愛的。世人眼中理想的婦女形象是：漂亮，風流，多情，順從，謹卑，時而柔弱，時而激動得暴跳，但從來是愚昧無知，軟弱無能的。

當新的女性終於出現，高舉真理的火炬，有理有節，帶著尊嚴，要求分享這世上的教育、機會與責任時，難怪那些缺乏訓練，軟弱無能的婦女害怕地往後退，也難怪男人竟站出來為傳統婦女說話，因為他們已習慣於自己所鍾愛的女性。他們欣賞的正是婦女的軟弱與依賴性。他們喜歡把婦女想像成柔軟的攀援籐，而把自己看作粗壯的橡樹。男人打從騎士時代起，就崇拜女性的理想，似乎她們是女神，但卻一直控制她們，似乎女人又是白癡。男人根本沒有意識到，自己的這兩重地位是如何不協調，而錯以為這種關係正符合上帝的旨意……。

婦女運動的全部目的就是要推翻婦女有必要服服貼貼的觀念，就是要教會婦女獲得自尊，使她們不聽命於人，教會男人充分理解平等，使他們不強求婦女服服貼貼。正如約翰·斯圖亞特·穆勒談到男子獲得選舉權之前的情況所說的，「高貴者在社會階梯上一步步往下走，普通人一步步往上攀，每過五十年，他們就彼此更加靠近。」因此我們也可以說，在過去一百年裏，男性作為世界的主導力量一直往下降，女性一直往上攀，每過十年，他們都彼此更加靠近。反對婦女爭取選舉權是舊理論的最後一道防線。這種理論認為，只有男性才是種族的創造者，因此女性必須服服貼貼……

過去，婦女運動的全部努力在於推翻女性在家庭中的隸屬地位。這一目的已基本達到。一般受過教育的女子，在父親家中、在丈夫家中、在兒子家中，都享有個人自由的權利。一個女子不必再順從一個男子。在家裏以及在社會中，女子都享有自主權，現在的問題是：作為整體的女性是否應順從作為整體的男性。能否允許在生活的各個部門享有自治權的女子，在國家政治生活中也享有自治權。一個男子支配一個女子是不對的，整個男性支配整個女性也同樣不

對。一個男子支配其他男子是不對的，男性支配女性也同樣是不對的…。

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...The question of woman suffrage is a very simple one. The plea is dignified, calm and logical. Yet, great as is the victory over conservatism which is represented in the accomplishment of man suffrage, infinitely greater will be the attainment of woman suffrage. Man suffrage exists through the surrender of many a stronghold of ancient thought, deemed impregnable, yet these obstacles were the veriest Don Quixote windmills compared with the opposition which has stood arrayed against woman suffrage.

Woman suffrage must meet precisely the same objections which have been urged against man suffrage, but in addition, it must combat sex-prejudice, the oldest, the most unreasoning, the most stubborn of all human idiosyncracies. What is prejudice. An opinion, which is not based upon reason; a judgment, without having heard the argument; a feeling, without being able to trace from whence it came. And sex-prejudice is a pre-judgment against the rights, liberties and opportunities of women. A belief, without proof, in the incapacity of women to do that which they have never done. Sex-prejudice has been the chief hindrance in the rapid advance of the woman's rights movement to its present status, and it is still a stupendous obstacle to be overcome.

In the United States, at least, we need no longer argue woman's intellectual, moral and physical qualification for the ballot with the intelligent. The Reason of the best of our citizens has long been convinced. The justice of the argument has been admitted, but sex-prejudice is far from conquered.

When a great church official exclaims petulantly, that if women are no more modest in their demands men may be obliged to take to drowning female infants again; when a renowned United States Senator declares no human being can find an answer to the arguments for woman suffrage, but with all the force of his position and influence he will oppose it; when a popular woman novelist speaks of the

advocates of the movement as the "shrieking sisterhood;" when a prominent politician says "to argue against woman suffrage is to repudiate the Declaration of Independence," yet he hopes it may never come, the question flies entirely outside the domain of reason, and retreats within the realm of sex-prejudice, where neither logic nor common sense can dislodge it. . . .

Four chief causes led to the subjection of women, each the logical deduction from the theory that men were the units of the race— obedience, ignorance, the denial of personal liberty, and the denial of right to property and wages. These forces united in cultivating a spirit of egotism and tyranny in men and weak dependence in women. . . . In fastening these disabilities upon women, the world acted logically when reasoning from the premise that man is the race and woman his dependent. The perpetual tutelage and subjection robbed women of all freedom of thought and action, and all incentive for growth, and they logically became the inane weaklings the world would have them, and their condition strengthened the universal belief in their incapacity. This world taught woman nothing skillful and then said her work was valueless. It permitted her no opinions and said she did not know how to think. It forbade her to speak in public, and said the sex had no orators. It denied her the schools, and said the sex had no genius. It robbed her of every vestige of responsibility, and then called her weak. It taught her that every pleasure must come as a favor from men, and when to gain it she decked herself in paint and fine feathers, as she had been taught to do, it called her vain.

This was the woman enshrined in literature. She was immortalized in song and story. Chivalry paid her fantastic compliments. As Diderot said: "when woman is the theme, the pen must be dipped in the rainbow, and the pages must be dried with a butterfly's wing." Surrounded by a halo of this kind of mysticism woman was encouraged to believe herself adored. This woman who was pretty, coquettish, affectionate, obedient, self efface [sic], now gentle and meek, now furious and emotional, always ignorant, weak and silly, became the ideal woman of the world.



When at last the New Woman came, bearing the torch of truth, and with calm dignity asked a share in the world's education, opportunities and duties, it is no wonder these untrained weaklings should have shrunk away in horror. . . . Nor was it any wonder that man should arise to defend the woman of the past, whom he had learned to love and cherish. Her very weakness and dependence were dear to him and he loved to think of her as the tender clinging vine, while he was the strong and sturdy oak. He had worshiped her ideal through the age of chivalry as though she were a goddess, but he had governed her as though she were an idiot. Without the slightest comprehension of the inconsistency of his position, he believed this relation to be in accordance with God's command. . . .

The whole aim of the woman movement has been to destroy the idea that obedience is necessary to women; to train women to such self-respect that they would not grant obedience and to train men to such comprehension of equity they would not exact it. . . . As John Stuart Mill said in speaking of the conditions which preceded the enfranchisement of men: "The noble has been gradually going down on the social ladder and the commoner has been gradually going up. Every half century has brought them nearer to each other;" so we may say, for the past hundred years, man as the dominant power in the world has been going down the ladder and -woman has been climbing up. Every decade has brought them nearer together. The opposition to the enfranchisement of women is the last defense of the old theory that obedience is necessary for -women, because man alone is the creator of the race.

The whole effort of the woman movement has been to destroy obedience of woman in the home. That end has been very generally attained, and the average civilized woman enjoys the right of individual liberty in the home of her father, her husband, and her son. The individual woman no longer obeys the individual man. She enjoys self-government in the home and in society. The question now is, shall all women as a body obey all men as a body. Shall the woman who enjoys the right of self-government in every other department of life be permitted the right of

self-government in the State. It is no more right for all men to govern all women than it was for one man to govern one woman. It is no more right for men to govern women than it was for one man to govern other men. . . .

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯 (W. E.B. DU BOIS)

### 有才能的十分之一 The Talented Tenth

必須使黑人種族中有才能的十分之一成為本民族的思想領袖及文化傳教士。

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W. E. B. 杜波伊斯(1868－1963)是 20 世紀上半葉最有影響的黑人知識份子，出生於麻塞諸塞州的大巴靈頓，畢業於菲斯克大學，獲哈佛大學哲學博士學位。1903 年，在其最著名的著作《黑人的靈魂》中，杜波伊斯準確地預言到：「二十世紀的問題是種族歧視下的膚色界線問題。」由於發現社會科學不足以反抗歧視黑人的法律，不足以反抗剝奪公民權、私刑以及其他種族歧視的行為，杜波伊斯為了影響公眾輿論而轉向政治活動。作為全國有色人種協會(1909)的創建者之一，杜波伊斯從 1910 年至 1934 年一直擔任該會會刊《危機》的主編。杜波伊斯的一生，大部分時間都在與自己的矛盾傾向作鬥爭，一種為證明自己作為非裔美國人的身份而陷入的矛盾衝突。他在《黑人的靈魂》一書中寫道：「一個人總感到自己的雙重性——一方面是美國人，另一方面是黑人；兩顆靈魂，兩種思想，兩種無法妥協的抗爭，在同一個黑人身軀中兩種衝突的理想；只是其自身的頑強毅力才免使自己的身軀被撕得破碎。」

在 1903 年發表的《黑人問題》中，杜波伊斯批判了布克.T.華盛頓對黑人進行工藝教育的主張。問題的分歧在於什麼樣的教育才能最有效地使黑人從貧困中擺脫出來，獲得平等。杜波伊斯主張，黑人中「有才能的十分之一」應接受大學教育，使他們成為整個黑人種族的領袖。

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黑人種族，與其他任何一個種族一樣，將由本民族的非凡人材來拯救。因此，黑人的教育問題應首先解決其中「有才能的十分之一」。這一問題牽涉到

如何培養黑人種族中的精英，使他們能夠帶領群衆脫離本民族及其它民族中劣等人的致命感染。訓練人才是項艱巨複雜的任務，其技巧是教育專家的研究課題，其目的則體現了預言家的遠見。假如金錢作為訓練目的，我們將培養出賺錢的東西；假如我們將技術工藝作為教育目標，我們將擁有工匠，而從本質上看，並非人才。只有將塑造人格作為學校工作的目標，我們才能擁有人才。人格的培養目標包括：智力，寬厚的同情心，昨天與今天的世界知識，以及人類與世界關係的知識。這才是構成真實生活的高等教育所需的課程……打一開始，就是由黑人種族中受過教育的有識之士來領導和推動群眾。使他們的努力受阻、難以成功的唯一障礙是奴役制及種族偏見，因為奴役制除了將弱者的存在合法化，除了使種族內部領導的自然作用消失外，還能是什麼呢。……

今天有一種時髦的說法，……認為，假如擁有自由，黑人領袖本來應產生於莊稼漢，而不是產生於參議院。這是一種愚蠢而又有害的謊言。黑奴服苦役二百五十年之久，直到參議院通過戰爭修正案，他們的苦役一無所獲。今天半自由的黑奴，除非贏得政治權利，獲得有正當保護的公民地位，否則再過二百五十年，他們可能仍然在地裏服苦役，仍然像現在這樣，貧困交加、愚昧無知，成為流氓手中的玩物。這一點頭腦清醒的人嘴裏不敢說，但心裏卻很清楚……

那麼，一個正在鬥爭中的民族如何才能培養出自己的領袖，如何使已經站立起來的少數人增強手中的力量呢。答案只有一個：青年中最有能力的最佳人選必須接受本國的大學教育。我們不願為黑人大學到底該教什麼以及怎樣教而爭論——我們倒願意承認，每個人，每個民族都需要自己獨特的課程。然而有一點是肯定的，即，大學是人類的發明，它通過訓練聰明正直的人，使知識和文化一代代傳下去。人類的其他發明擔當不起這項工作，即使是職業和工藝學

校也擔當不起。

不是所有人都能上大學，但一部分人必須上大學。每個分離的團體，分離的民族都必須要有自己的「酵母」，必須為少數有才能的人建立培訓中心，在中心裏，人不必為了生存而從事繁重的勞役，「以致頭昏眼亂，以致除了果腹別無更高追求，以致崇拜金子勝過崇拜上帝。在中心裏，有真正的教育，起先只有自由人當中的上帝寵兒才能受到的教育。我們一開始本應從哪裡著手建設呢。老鼠把眼睛埋在土裏含糊其詞地說：「當然從底層開始。」不錯！就是要從底層開始，從最底一層開始，從知識大廈的最後一層開始，從知識海洋的最底層開始；在那裏，正義的根須深深地紮進真理土壤的最底層。人們起初就是照此開始行動的。他們創辦了大學，大學又萌發出師範學校，師範學校送出了教師，師範教師的周圍又聚集著一批批其他教師，他們前往公立學校任教。一所大學可使二千人學會希臘語、拉丁語及數學，這二千人可在道德與行為舉止方面培養出五萬人，這五萬人又可使五百萬人學會勤儉，學會字母。就是這五百萬人今天擁有三十億元的財產。這種培訓曾經創造出奇跡：十九世紀最為壯觀的和平之戰。可今天人們卻一笑置之，並且擺出一副盛氣凌人的架子告訴我們，這種做法令人驚訝，純粹是一種錯誤；還告訴我們，要建立一種教育制度，恰當的做法首先是把兒童召集在一起，給他們買上書本和鋤頭，然後可去尋找教師，假如碰巧找到了，就讓他們去教兒童怎麼勞動。至於生活，他們帶著茫然的神色反問道：「怎麼，勞動與生活有聯繫嗎。」

一個受過大學教育的黑人……是群眾領袖，理所當然的領袖。他為自己的生活社區樹立了理想，指導本社區的思想，指明本社區社會運動的航向。幾乎無需再爭論了，黑人要比大多數其他團體更需要社會領導，他們沒有可以仰靠

的傳統，沒有根深蒂固的習俗，沒有緊密的家庭紐帶，沒有明確的社會等級。所有這些東西都要經過漫長、痛苦的演化而成。即使在戰前，牧師就是黑人團體的領袖，教堂則是黑人最大的社會機構。自然，牧師是無知的，而且常常是缺德的。由受過更好教育的人來取代老式的人一直是個難題。受過大學教育的牧師，通過自己的工作，以及對其他牧師與教徒的直接影響，有機會進行改革，給人以道德啓發。這麼做具有莫大的意義。

但是，黑人大學的特殊作用卻在於培養教師。很少有人意識到靠這種作用人們完成了多重的任務，完成了多大的革命。在一代人中，爲五百萬甚至更多的無知的人提供他們同族、同血統的教師，不僅是項艱巨的任務，而且是項極其重要的任務，因爲它幾乎在每個黑人的眼前展現出一個可望追求到的理想，它使黑人群衆與現代文明接觸，使他們社區擁有自己的黑人領袖。擁有新一代的訓練員。在這一工作中，受過大學教育的黑人先成爲教師，然後是教師的教師。這裏的關鍵所在是，大學教育提供的廣博文化具有獨特的價值。缺乏生活知識，不瞭解其更廣泛的意義是黑人愚昧無知的最根本原因。培養出爲了人類文化而不僅僅爲養家餬口的教師，對於教育這些人來說，具有難以估價的意義……

就南部黑人而言，主要問題是：在目前情形下，現有的教育制度該做什麼來盡可能提高黑人的文明程度。答案似乎很清楚，即，必須強化黑人的品性，增加黑人的知識，教會他們如何謀生。毫無疑問，這些事不能同時並舉，一揮而就，同時也不能專顧某個人而忽略其他人。我們可以讓黑人兒童找到活幹，但僅僅這點還不能使先前爲奴隸的種族文明化；我們也可以增加他們的世界知識，但這並不一定能使他們誠實地運用這些知識；我們也可以努力強化黑人的

品性和意志，但要是他們沒吃沒穿，這又有何用。學校建築不是教師——磚頭、灰漿與機器不能造就出人才。受過訓練，經過長期的研究與思考，有造詣的活靈魂，才能給男女兒童注入真正的生活氣息，使他們成為真正意義上的人，不管他們是黑人還是白人，是希臘人、俄羅斯人還是美國人……

我不否認(或者似乎只是眼下否認)教會黑人工作的絕對必要性，教會黑人不斷熟練地工作的必要性。我似乎欣賞不了工藝學校為達到這一目的必定能起到的重大作用。但我的的確確要說，而且堅持認為，展望成功而被衝昏頭腦的工業主義者只是憑想像以為他們的工作能得以完成，而根本不需要為男女提供廣博的文化教育，使他們成為教師的教師，以此類推又培養出公立學校的教師……

我是極力倡導為黑人兒童、同時也為白人兒童提供體力勞動培訓及職業教育的。我認為，戰後，除了創辦黑人辦學，黑人教育中最有價值的就是為黑人兒童增加工藝訓練。但我堅持認為，一切真正教育的目的不是使人成為木匠，而是使木匠成為人材。要使木匠成為人才，有二種同等重要的做法，一是讓他們在自己勞動的社團和社區中擁有受過文科教育的教師和領導，讓這些人給他們及其家屬講明生活的意義，二是讓他們提高智力和技術工藝，使他們成為有效率的勞動者。要達到第一個目標需要有黑人大學以及受過大學教育的人才——不需要很多這樣的大學，而只需要幾所質量上乘的大學；不需要太多受過大學教育的人才，但要有足夠的數量能使「麵團」發酵，能激勵群眾。使其中「有才能的十分之一」成為領袖。要達到第二個目標需要有一個完善的普通學校體系，教學質量好，地點方便，設備齊全……

美國同胞，你們眼前的問題很清楚：這且是一個由你們罪惡、愚蠢的祖先移植來的種族。不管你們喜歡與否，數百萬黑人已在此地，並將繼續呆下去。假如你們不將他們拉起來，他們就將把你們拖下去。教育與工作是提高民族素質的槓桿。除非有正確理想的鼓舞，有智慧的指引，否則，僅有工作是不行的。教育不能只教工作——教育必須教會生活。必須使黑人種族中有才能的十分之一成為本民族的思想領袖及文化傳教士。沒有其他人能勝任這項工作，因此黑人大學必須為之培養人才。黑人種族，跟其他任何民族一樣，將由本民族的非凡人才來拯救。

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The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. . . . From the very first it has been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were slavery and race prejudice; for what is slavery but the legalized survival of the unfit and the nullification of the work of natural internal leadership. ...

It is the fashion of today to. . . say that with freedom Negro leadership should

have begun at the plow and not in the Senate—a foolish and mischievous lie; two hundred and fifty years that black serf toiled at the plow and yet that toiling was in vain till the Senate passed the war amendments; and two hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of today may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will still remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. This all sane men know even if they dare not say it. . . .

How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained and the hands of the risen few strengthened. There can be but one answer: The best and most capable of their youth must be schooled in the colleges and universities of the land. We will not quarrel as to just what the university of the Negro should teach or how it should teach it—I willingly admit that each soul and each race-soul needs its own peculiar curriculum. But this is true: A university is a human invention for the transmission of knowledge and culture from generation to generation, through the training of quick minds and pure hearts, and for this work no other human invention will suffice, not even trade and industrial schools.

All men cannot go to college but some men must; every isolated group or nation must have its yeast, must have for the talented few centers of training where men are not so mystified and befuddled by the hard and necessary toil of earning a living, as to have no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training, and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedmen trained.... Where ought they to have begun to build. At the bottom, of course, quibbles the mole with his eyes in the earth. Aye! truly at the bottom, at the very bottom; at the bottom of knowledge, down in the very depths of knowledge there where the roots of justice strike into the lowest soil of Truth. And so they did begin; they founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in



morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who today hold \$300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle — the most wonderful peace-battle of the nineteenth century, and yet today men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake; that a proper way to found a system of education is first to gather the children and buy them spelling books and hoes; afterward men may look about for teachers, if haply they may find them; or again they would teach men Work, but as for Life—why, what has Work to do with Life, they ask vacantly. . . .

The college-bred Negro . . . is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thoughts, and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the Negro people need social leadership more than most groups; that they have no traditions to fall back upon, no long-established customs, no strong family ties, no well-defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the Negroes, and the church their greatest social institution. Naturally this preacher -was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by direct influence on other preachers, and on congregations, the college- bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the Negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood, in one generation, was not only a very difficult undertaking, but a very important one, in that it placed before the eyes of almost every Negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred Negroes were first teachers, and then teachers of teachers. And here it

is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning has been the point of Negroes' deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been simply for breadwinning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men. . . .

The main question, so far as the Southern Negro is concerned, is: What, under the present circumstance, must a system of education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization. The answer to this question seems to me clear: It must strengthen the Negro's character, increase his knowledge, and teach him to earn a living. Now it goes without saying, that it is hard to do all these things simultaneously or suddenly, and that at the same time it will not do to give all the attention to one and neglect the others; we could give black boys trades, but that alone will not civilize a race of ex-slaves; we might simply increase their knowledge of the world, but this would not necessarily make them wish to use this knowledge honestly; we might seek to strengthen character and purpose, but to what end if this people have nothing to eat or to wear. . . . Schoolhouses do not teach themselves—piles of brick and mortar and machinery do not send out men. It is the trained, living human soul, cultivated and strengthened by long study and thought, that breathes the real breath of life into boys and girls and makes them human, whether they be black or white, Greek, Russian, or American. . . .

I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I do say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk with its vision of success to imagine that its work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to teach the teachers of the public schools. . . .

I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys,

and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important; the first is to give the group and community in which he works liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient work- man; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located, and properly equipped....

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯

(W. E. B. DU BOIS)

對一黑人女孩的忠告

Advice to a Black Schoolgirl

愚昧無知解決不了任何問題。

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賓夕法尼亞州伯溫的一位白人中學教師寫信給杜波伊斯，告訴他說，有位黑人學生「非常聰明」，但拒絕學習，因為她覺得「將來決不會有運用自己知識的機會」。1905年1月7日，杜波伊斯給這位名叫韋妮利亞·法雷娜的學生寫信。全文如下：

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我想知道，你是否願意讓我這個陌生人給你談談你的情況。我聽說，你是位頗有才能的年輕姑娘，但卻在荒廢學業，因為你對將來能在世上有所作為已不抱希望。對此我深感遺憾。任何人，擁有生活於二十世紀的好運氣，但竟然在通常看來頗為有利的條件下，對生活失去信心，這幾乎是令人難以置信的。不僅如此，假如這個人，像我一樣，是個黑人，而且億萬人在某種程度上都依靠她的奮鬥，對她傾注了所有的希望和期盼，那麼，她的抱怨近乎犯罪。

在今日美國，成千上萬的黑人女孩假如擁有你現在正要丟棄的受教育機會，她們將會感到無比幸福。假如你能培養自己，就像你現在可以輕而易舉地辦到一樣，那麼，在你的前頭將出現奇妙的用武之地：你可以加入現在擁有一萬五千名女性的教師隊伍，加入成百上千的護士和醫生隊伍，加入人數愈來愈多的職員和速記員的隊伍，而且最緊要的是，你還可以加入家庭主婦的行列。愚昧無知解決不了任何問題。當你接受了有可能得到的最佳教育，機遇之門就將在你面前敞開，就像為你成千上萬的夥伴敞開一樣。另一方面，一個黑人每錯過一次機會，就使同種族中的其他人更難獲得這樣的機會。你想斷送明日男女兒童的機會嗎。

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I wonder if you will let a stranger say a word to you about yourself. I have heard that you are a young woman of some ability but that you are neglecting your school

work because you have become hopeless of trying to do anything in the world. I am very sorry for this. How any human being whose wonderful fortune it is to live in the 20th century should under ordinarily fair advantages despair of life is almost unbelievable. And if in addition to this that person is, as I am, of Negro lineage with all the hopes and yearnings of hundreds of millions of human souls dependent in some degree on her striving, then her bitterness amounts to crime.

There are in the U.S. today tens of thousands of colored girls who would be happy beyond measure to have the chance of educating themselves that you are neglecting. If you train yourself as you easily can, there are wonderful chances of usefulness before you: you can join the ranks of 15,000 Negro women teachers, of hundreds of nurses and physicians, of the growing number of clerks and stenographers, and above all of the host of homemakers. Ignorance is a cure for nothing. Get the very best training possible & the doors of opportunity will fly open before you as they are flying before thousands of your fellow's. On the other hand every time a colored person neglects an opportunity, it makes it more difficult for others of the race to get such an opportunity. Do you want to cut off the chances of the boys and girls of tomorrow.

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯  
(W. E. B. DU BOIS)

### [尼亞加拉運動之原則聲明](#)

#### **The Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles**

只是由於種族或膚色不同而加以歧視，這是野蠻行徑，無論習俗、權術和偏見如何使之神聖化，我們全然不管。

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W. E. B. 杜波伊斯發起並推動了尼亞加拉運動。尼亞加拉運動是非裔美國人著名領袖的組織。這些人於 1905 年夏天在尼亞加拉瀑布首次聚會，目的是要走一條與布克.T.華盛頓的遷就政策相對立的強硬路線。但由於等不到資金，因此無法配備長期的專職人員，無法設立總部，後來面臨以往試圖建立黑人抗

議組織的同樣命運。

但1908年，在林肯故鄉，伊利諾斯州普林菲爾德的種族暴行促使一批白人起來籌建新組織，為黑人權利而弘揚廢奴主義者的精神。社會工作者瑪麗、懷特、歐文頓，新聞工作者威廉、英格利什、沃林，《紐約時報》出版商奧斯瓦爾德、加裡森、維拉德召集了一次全國會議，呼籲恢復「爭取政治自由和公民自由的鬥爭」。白人領袖與尼亞加拉運動的黑人領袖攜手創建了全國有色人種協會。尼亞加拉運動的原則成為這一協會的原則。

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進展：尼亞加拉運動會議成員1905年7月11日、12日和13日於布法羅召集年會，慶賀美國黑人在已往十年中無可置疑的進展，特別是在提高文化、購置產業、控制犯罪、提高家庭生活水平、發展文藝方面的進展，以及在管理宗教、經濟和教育機構中所表現出來的建設性與行政能力的進展。

選舉權：同時，我們認為美國公民中的這一階級應著重不斷地反對剝奪他們的政治權利。我們認為成年人應有選舉權；我們相信，沒有人會善良、聰明和富有到人們可以將其鄰居的福利全部委託給他。

公民自由：我們還支援反對剝奪我們民權的鬥爭。所有美國公民均應根據其行為和品德，有權在公共娛樂場所享有平好待遇。

謀生機會：我們對於經濟生活中被剝奪平等機會，尤其不滿；在南部鄉村，這種不平等發展為勞役償債和實際上的奴役制；在整個南部，它趨於擠垮勞方和小型企業；在各地，往往在不公正的法律支援下，美國人的偏見使美國黑人要想獲得像樣的生活水平更為困難。

教育：應為所有美國兒童實施小學義務教育。應充分地向所有人提供中等學校教育；在我們這個全民國家的任何地區，任何階級或種族均無權壟斷高等

教育。我們認為，爲了保護我們自己的民族結構，尤其是在南部，美國應資助公立小學教育。我們特別主張應對此進行一致的宣傳。我們主張在南部增加公立高中教育的設施，在那裏美國黑人幾乎全部沒有此種條件。我們贊成有設備完善的職業和技術學校以培訓技藝人員。給予幾所高等院校充分而慷慨的捐贈，而且必須專款專用於具有誠摯、善良願望，爲種族謀福利的人身上。

法院：我們要求法院的法官必須正直，陪審團的遴選不應有膚色的歧視，對黑人和白人的犯法者，應實施一樣的懲罰和同樣的改造。我們要求爲無人贍養的孩子設立孤兒院和農業學校，爲少年犯設立少年教養所，廢除野蠻殘忍的租用罪犯勞役的制度。

民意：我們嚴正指出，這個國家在人權問題、共和政府、人類的兄弟情誼等問題上，聽取充分的公眾輿論的傾向已明顯衰退。我們祈求上帝，不要讓這個國家墮落成爲一夥吹牛者和壓迫者的爲非作歹之地，而應恢復先輩們的信仰，即人人生來自由平等，並享有若幹不可剝奪的權利。

衛生：我們要求衛生條件——要求有機會住於像樣的住房和地區，要求有機會在身心健康的環境中養育我們的孩子。

僱主和工會：我們把人們這樣對待兩個對立階級的行徑公之於衆，使公眾對之深惡痛絕：雇方一方在緊急情況下招進無辜的美國黑人工人，然後既不給他們提供保護，也不讓他們長期就業；而工會一方則只因爲他們是黑人，便排斥、抵制並欺壓這批成千上萬的勞苦工友。這種做法已經加強並且還將加強勞資雙方之間的敵對，而且使雙方臉上都不光彩。

抗議運動：我們決不容許人們繼續保留這種印象，即美國黑人甘願低人一

等，會在壓迫下退讓，在侮辱面前低三下四。雖然在孤立無援時，我們會忍受，但是只要美國還存在不平等，千百萬美國人的抗議呼聲決不會停止撞擊他們同胞的耳鼓。

膚色界線：只是由於種族或膚色不同而加以歧視，這是野蠻行徑，無論習俗、權術和偏見如何使之神聖化，我們全然不管。由於愚昧、道德低下和疾病原因而加以區別對待，這是向惡勢力作鬥爭的合法手段，我們對此無可非議；但是，純粹由於生理上的特徵，出生地點不同，膚色差異而加以歧視，這是毫無理智的人類獸性的陳跡，全世界將會，也必然會因此而感到羞恥。

「黑人專用」車輛：我們反對「黑人專用」車輛，因為其作用是而且必定是要我們為三等的設備付頭等的費用，叫我們在光天化日之下遭受侮辱，使我們惶惶不安，讓人隨心所欲地摧殘我們的男人、女人的尊嚴與自尊。

士兵：我們遺憾的是，這個國家從不認為應該充分酬答黑人士兵；他們曾在五次戰爭中以鮮血保衛國家，國家卻從上到下都不按他們的才能予以提拔。我們認為，將黑人子弟排除在陸軍和海軍訓練學校門外，是不公正的。

戰爭修正法案：我們要求議會通過適當的立法以保證充分實施有關自由的條款，包括美國憲法第十三，第十四，第十五修正案。

壓迫：我們拒絕接受這樣荒謬的原則即壓迫者是被壓迫者一切權利的至高無上的支配者。美國黑人被偷、被槍、被鄙視，在重重困苦與壓迫中掙扎；他們需要同情，但得到的卻是非難；需要幫助，但得到的卻是阻撓；需要保護，但得到的卻是暴力；需要正義，但得到的卻是施捨；需要領導，但得到的卻是應該懦弱、卑躬的教導；需要麵包，但得到的卻是石塊的襲擊。此等串若不改



變，上帝決不會認為這個國家是公道的。

教會：當前基督教會的態度，尤其使我們驚詫不已——它們要求人們屈從於種族偏見的態度加強了，要求減少人類兄弟手足情的態度加強了，要求將黑人隔離於聖殿之外的態度加強了。對於二十世紀文明來說，這是錯誤的，非基督教的、不光彩的。

鼓動工作：對於上述不平之事，我們毫不猶豫地進行控訴，不斷大聲地疾呼。無視、忽略或者原諒這些惡行，只能說明我們自己不配有自由。不斷進行果敢的鼓動工作才能走向自由之路，爲了走向這一目標，「尼亞加拉運動」已開始尋求各種族一切人的合作。

援助：同時，對於我們的同情者，從昔日的廢奴主義者直至今日仍主張機會均等的人，以及那些曾以錢財和貧困幫助過而且至今仍在幫助我們進步的人，我們謹致以衷心的感謝。

責任：我們要求，我們應當要求而且將繼續要求獲得上面列舉的權利。同時上帝也決不容許我們竟敢忘記落在人民肩上的相應的義務：

投票的義務。

尊重他人權利的義務。

工作的義務。

遵紀守法的義務。

講究衛生的義務。

送孩子上學的義務。

尊重他人的同時，自尊自重的義務。

我們將此宣言、控訴和祈求呈交美國人民，呈交萬能的上帝！

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.附註：此宣言可能為杜波伊斯博士起草。

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*Progress:* The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

*Suffrage:* At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in man-hood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

*Civil Liberty:* We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment according to their behavior and deserts.

*Economic Opportunity:* We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery: all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro-Americans to earn a decent living.

*Education:* Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our

common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

*Courts:* We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

*Public Opinion:* We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

*Health:* We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

*Employers and Labor Unions:* We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

*Protest:* We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American

assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

*Color-Line:* Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color of skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

*"Jim Crow" Cars:* We protest against the "Jim Crow" car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

*Soldiers:* We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and naval training schools.

*War Amendments:* We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

*Oppression:* We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs

protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

*The Church:* Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—of an increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men to some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

*Agitation:* Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the cooperation of all men of all races.

*Help:* At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the Abolitionist down to those who today still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

*Duties:* And while we are demanding and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

The duty to vote.

The duty to respect the rights of others.

The duty to work.

The duty to obey the laws.

The duty to be clean and orderly.

The duty to send our children to school.

The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.

This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and

Almighty God.

阿伯特.馮.梯爾澤，傑克.諾沃思

(ALBERT VON TILZER AND JACK NORWORTH)

帶我出去看球賽

Take Me Out to the Ball Game



第一場世界盃比賽在 1903 年於波士頓舉行。

「帶我出去看球賽」是全國性娛樂之「國歌」。這首歌是棒球賽「從第七局往前衝」時演唱的，由二位流行歌曲圈裏的健將創作而成。一位是阿伯特.馮.梯爾澤，另一位是傑克.諾沃思。為這首歌譜曲的馮.梯爾澤從未看過棒球賽。梯爾澤曾與各種抒情詩人一道創作了當時的許多著名歌曲，其中包括《戲弄》(1904)，《將我摟緊，寶貝》(1910)及《與你相會在蘋果紅透時》(1920)。馮.梯爾澤的真名是岡姆，出生於音樂之家，其兄弟哈里曾創作有《我想娶的女子正像老父親當年娶的那樣》(1910)及《當我的寶貝兒向我微笑時》(1920)。諾沃思是個老資格的輕歌舞劇作家，本身也能歌善舞，曾為美國戲劇監製人齊格飛 1908 年的「齊格飛舞女」創作過《滿月，閃耀吧》。

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凱特.卡西是個棒球迷，        著迷入魔演  
起發燒戲；        為給自家隊員加把油，

每個子兒都可往外丟。

年輕男友週六來邀請，

問她可想出去看電影，

凱特小姐搖頭說個「不」』

「能幹什麼由我來作主。」

(合唱)

帶我出去看那棒球賽，

帶我出去進入人的海，

給我買些上等花生米，

回不回來我再不願提。

讓我加油加油為咱隊，

要是不贏他們可慚愧，

因為三擊不中便淘汰，

棒球老賽規則自明白。

凱特.卡西場場球賽到，

隊員姓名個個都知道；

要是裁判老是判不公，

Katie Casey was baseball mad,  
Had the fever and had it bad;  
Just to root for the home town  
crew, ev'ry sou, Katie blew  
On a Saturday, her young beau  
Called to see it' she'd like to go,  
To see a show but Miss Kate said,  
"No,  
I'll tell you what you can  
do": CHORUS:

Take me out to the ball game,  
Take me out with the crowd  
Buy me some peanuts and  
crackerjack,  
I don't care if I never get back,  
Let me root, root, root for the  
home team,  
If they don't win it's a shame  
For it's one, two, three strikes  
you're out,  
At the old ball game. Katie Casey  
saw all the games,  
Knew the players by their first  
names;  
Told the umpire he was -wrong,  
all along, good and strong  
When the score was just two to  
two,  
Katie Casey knew just what to do,

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>坦誠相告但決不放鬆。</p> <p>每當比分恰好二比二，</p> <p>凱特.卡西曉得該如何，</p> <p>小夥舊交需要鼓鼓氣，</p> <p>她讓那幫把這歌唱起。</p> | <p>Just to cheer up the boys she<br/>knew,</p> <p>She made the gang sing this song:</p> |
|--|---|

喬.希爾

(JOE HILL)

### 傳教士與奴隸

#### The Preacher and the Slave

約瑟夫.希爾斯特羅姆(約 1879—1915)於 1902 年從瑞典移居美國，先是流浪一段時間，後於 1910 年加入激進的世界產業工人聯合會。世界產聯成員反對美國工聯，因為美國工聯接受資本主義制度，並拒絕組織非熟練工人。世界產聯的革命熱情就連激進的社會主義領袖尤金.維克多.德布斯都認為過於偏激，因而他退出該聯合會。希爾雖然是位工人組織者，但他編寫「模仿作品」的名聲更大，比如他的《傳教士與奴隸》影響尤其廣泛。1914 年 1 月希爾因被指控犯有謀殺罪被捕。根據「間接證據」被判有罪後，希爾被關入獄中達二年之久，同時法律上訴無效。1915 年 11 月，被槍決前，希爾打電報給產業工人聯合會主席海伍德：「不要浪費時間哀悼我，組織起來吧。」希爾死後成了傳奇式人物。阿爾弗雷德.海斯歌頌道：「昨晚我夢中見到了喬.希爾。」

《傳教士與奴隸》用仿真手法，採用了《好時光慢慢之會來到》的曲調，被收入美國勞聯一產聯的官方歌曲集。

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>傳教士夜夜來佈道，          告訴你啥壞啥</p> <p>是好；          你若問為何餓肚皮，</p> | <p>Long-haired preachers come out<br/>every' night,</p> <p>Try to tell you what's wrong and</p> |
|--|---|



他就好聲氣回答你：

(合唱)

天堂裏有的是麵包，

到時候你會吃得到；

先幹活祈禱睡稻草，

死去時天堂有甜包。

挨餓軍街頭來傳教，

唱聖歌拍手又祈禱；

敲洋鼓掏盡你腰包，

而再罵你是窮赤佬。

假如爲妻兒苦抗爭 ——

假如你今生要翻身 ——

他們說你是罪有餘，

死去後一定下地獄。

全世界工友團結起，

爲自由並肩戰到底；

當世界財富奪到手，

騙子們聽我歌一首：

(最後合唱)

what's right;

But when asked how 'bout  
something to eat

They will answer with voices so  
sweet: CHORUS:

You will eat, bye and bye,

In that glorious land above the sky;

Work and play, live on hay,

You'll get pie in the sky when you  
die

And the starvation army they play,

And they sing and they clap and  
they pray.

Till they get all your coin on the  
drum,

Then they tell you when you are on  
the bum

If you fight hard for children and  
wife-

Try to get something good in this  
life@

You're a sinner and bad man, they  
tell,

When you die you will sure go to  
hell.

Workingmen of all countries unite,

Side by side we for freedom will  
fight:

When the -world and its wealth we

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>到時候你會得到，</p> <p>只要你學會去烹炒；</p> <p>只要你學會去砍柴，</p> <p>好時光慢慢就來到。</p>   | <p>have gained</p> <p>To the grafters we'll sing this<br/>refrain: LAST CHORUS:</p> <p>You will eat, bye and bye.</p> <p>When you've learned how to cook<br/>and to fry;</p> <p>Chop some wood, 'twill do you<br/>good,</p> <p>And you'll eat in the sweet bye and<br/>bye.</p> |
| <p>喬伊斯.基爾默</p> <p>(JOYCE KILMER)</p> <p>詠樹</p> <p>Trees</p> <p>《詠樹》是喬伊斯.基爾默 (1886-1918) 的最著名詩歌。基爾默既是詩人，又是新聞記者兼文學評論家，第一次世界大戰中在法國的瑪恩河大戰中降亡。基爾默出生於新澤西州新不倫類克，畢業於拉特格斯大學和哥倫比亞大學，1911 年出版了第一本詩集 《愛之夏》。《詠樹》於 1913 年先發表於《詩刊》，後作為基爾默詩集《詠樹及其它詩篇》(1914)的題名詩。其他著作有《馬戲團及其它雜文》，《大街及其它詩篇》，《創作中的文學》，以及現代天主教詩歌集《夢想和幻象》。基爾默死後被迫授予法國軍功十字章。</p> |   |
| <p>永遠見不到一首詩，我想</p> <p>得像棵樹一樣。</p>  | <p>能夠可愛</p> <p>樹嘴飢渴地緊貼著</p> <p>I think that I shall never see<br/>A poem lovely as a tree. A tree<br/>whose hungry mouth is prest</p>   |

大地

胸膛裏流淌的乳水如蜜。

樹木一整天仰望著上帝，

為祈禱舉起繁茂的手臂。

樹的頭髮裏也許戴上了

夏日中知更鳥兒築的巢。

一朵朵雪花撲進她胸懷，

一滴滴雨水與她親又愛。

做詩的個個像我是蠢貨，

樹木只能是上帝的創作。

Against the earth's sweet flowing  
breast; A tree that looks at God all  
day,

And lifts her leafy arms to pray; A  
tree that may in Summer weal

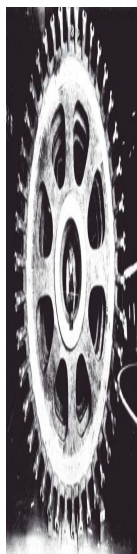
A nest of robins in her hair; Upon  
whose bosom snow has lain;

Who intimately lives with  
rain. Poems are made by fools like  
me,

But only God can make a tree.

伍德羅·威爾遜 (WOODROW WILSON)

新自由 The New Freedom



工業化及大量生產的技術，改變了許多美國人工作場所的本質

民族的新生不是來自上層階級而是來自下層民眾。

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(托馬斯) 伍德羅．威爾遜(1856-1924) 出生於佛吉尼亞州，父親是位嚴厲的長老會牧師。青少年時代，威爾遜曾在佐治亞州及南卡羅來納州生活過，置身於內戰留下的一片荒涼之中。威爾遜畢業於北卡羅來納州戴維森學院，普林斯頓大學，並在約翰.霍普金斯大學獲得歷史學和政治學的博士學位。威爾遜有關時事問題的演說和文章使他舉國聞名。1910 年，威爾遜當選為新澤西州州長。依靠民主黨中的進步力量，威爾遜於 1912 年獲民主黨總統候選人的提名。由於共和黨中威廉.霍華德.塔夫特及西奧多.羅斯福的二派支持者鬧分裂，威爾遜贏得了競選。

下面文章節選自威爾遜競選總統演講集《新自由》一書。「新自由」是威爾遜進步演說的口號。

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當我回首歷史進程，當我回顧美國的誕生，我發現每一頁都寫有：民族的新生不是來自上層階級而是來自下層民眾；從默默無聞的民眾行列裏脫穎而出的天才是使人民重獲青春活力的天才。我的全部歷史知識，以及有助於我思想的點滴經驗和觀察，都使我堅信：人類生活的真正智慧是由普通人的經歷累積而成的。生活之效用，生活之活力，生活之果實不是自上而下地形成，而是像一棵大樹的自然生長一樣，從土壤向上形成樹幹，樹幹長出樹枝，樹枝長出葉子，結出果實。默默無聞、奮鬥不息的偉大民眾，位於萬事萬物之底，是提高社會水準的動力。一個民族之偉大體現於，也只能體現於，其普通民眾之偉大。

因此，當今我們國家的首要之急，就是要使那些將成為我們未來領袖，將復活美國生機的偉大的無名人士出來參政。我已表明對普通人的信任；同時，我還要表明，我對自己所說的一清二楚。一個逆流而上的人知道水力；一個正

在格鬥的人知道打了幾拳，知道何處流了血；一個正在熱心追求向上的人，是當今美國之事的評判人。這評判人是正在爲自己爲他人的生活而鬥爭的人，他熱愛別人勝過愛護自己。這樣的人將以其判斷使你明白當今美國正在發生的事。拿我來說，我希望能以這人的判斷爲指導。

我們沒有公正的陪審團，一群不公的人——不，我不願說一群不公的人，而只是極少數人——左右著美國的政策。普通人沒有發言權，由於害怕永遠不會有發言權而開始感到失望，或害怕將來會再度失去發言權而開始感到失望。因此，我們必須建立一個與美國全體民眾同心同德的政府，一個願意在行動前盡可能最廣泛地徵求美國人民意願的政府。執政的首要問題就是要瞭解普通人正在做什麼，想什麼。我們大都是普通人；除非突然走運，很少人會高出我們社區的一般水平。因此，有普通人思想的人，有普通人經歷的人，通常總是能正確解釋美國的人。這難道不正是我們把有關亞伯拉罕·林肯的故事引以自豪的原因嗎。林肯來自普通民眾，與來自特權階級或受過教育的階級裏的人相比，林肯更瞭解美國。

美國今天與未來的希望都與昨天的毫無二致，即，希望並相信，從默默無聞的家庭中將出現一批人，一批能成爲工業界及政界主人的人。美國的富強存在於普通人的希望，普通人的福利，普通人的事業心及普通人的積極性之中。我們不會因少數紳士指揮工業而富有；我們的富有是因爲我們擁有自己的智慧，擁有自己的工業。美國不是由名字見報的人組成的，美國不是由政治上想成爲政治領袖的人組成的，美國也不是由誇誇其談的人組成的——只有當這些人爲我們國家的主體，我們國家的原動力，千百萬無聲無息的偉大民眾說話的時候，才談得上他們的重要性。不能想民眾之所想，不能爲民眾激情所動的人，

是不會為美國及其未來目標說話的。能代表美國說話的只能是瞭解偉大的公民主體思想的人，只能是每日忙於公務的人，只能是日夜辛勞的人，只能是夜晚拖著疲憊的身軀回家的人，只能是繼承我們引為自豪的事業的人。

你們知道，我們有時熱血沸騰，是因為我們想到，地球上所有其他國家正等著瞧美國如何以其力量而有所作為，以其物力，以其豐富的資源，以其巨大的財富而有所作為。這些國家正在靜觀我們這個年輕的民族以自己完整的青春活力將會幹出何種事業。我們不禁為自己的強大而自豪。但什麼東西能使我們強大呢。那就是幹百萬人的艱苦勞動，這些人從不誇誇其談，毫不出眾，而是一天又一天過著謹慎的日子；正是勞動者這一偉大主體才使美國強大。沒有人能預測出，我們國家的未來領袖將出自哪個家庭，出自哪個地區，甚至哪個種族。這正是我們這片國土上的一大榮耀。這個國家的偉大領袖並非常常來自那些根基堅固的「成功」之家。

我記得不久前我在一所學校講過一番話。我知道那裏幾乎所有年輕人都是有錢人家的子弟。我讓他們明白，我覺得他們很可憐，因為我說：「你們當中大部分同學注定不會有出息。你們不會有所作為，你們也永遠不會去爭取有所作為。當我們國家的偉大任務正等待人們去完成時，很可能就是你們將拒絕接受任務。那種『上頓不接下頓』的人，那種離群獨立的人，那種背受貧困鞭打的人，將從群眾中脫穎而出，將證明他理解群眾，瞭解一個統一而非分裂的國家之利益，將挺身而出成為我們的領袖。」

以我親身經歷為例，我發現，由「普通人」組成的聽眾，比起我教過的許多大學生來，能更快地抓住一個要點，能更快地接受一種論點，能更快地明白

一種傾向，能更快地領會一種原則——並不是說大學生智力低下，而是他們與生活實際脫節，而「普通」公民天天置身於日常生活中。對觸到他們痛處的東西，你無需向他們解釋。

關於社會自下而上不斷獲得新生的意義，有這麼個例證，一直使我深感興趣。中世紀的政府，在當時甚行的貴族制度下，並沒有腐朽不堪，其唯一原因是，有那麼多人，作為政府中卓有成效的工具，是來自教會——那時的唯一教會，偉大的宗教團體，就是我們今天有別於其他宗教團體的羅馬天主教會。羅馬天主教會在當時乃至今天實行的是一種偉大的民主制。那時，沒有一個農民會因為地位謙卑而成不了神父；沒有一個神父會因為毫無名氣而成不了教宗。那時，歐洲的各大使館，各個法庭都是由學問淵博，訓練有素，深有造詣的人來掌管，由一個佔統治地位的偉大團體，即牧師界來掌管。使中世紀政府富有活力的正是從社會底層不斷上升的元氣，就是靠從牧師制敞開的渠道裏獲得的這一偉大團體中普通民眾的元氣。在我看來，這是一個非常有趣，令人信服的例子，可作為我現在所涉及之事的一個例證。

政府要保持廉潔，其唯一途徑就是要保持各種渠道暢通無阻；這樣，沒有人會因為自以為地位謙卑而成不了國家的一個組織成分；這樣，國家的血脈裏將不斷擁有新鮮血液來補充；這樣，沒有人會因為曾經默默無聞而無法從自己所屬的階級中脫穎而出，一躍而上，加入國家領袖的行列。任何壓制他人的事，任何將一個機構擺在個人之上的事，任何阻礙貧民百姓，使他們灰心喪氣的事，都是有悖於進步之原則的。

當我看到商界巨頭與政界大亨建立了聯盟時，當我看到他們還在繼續這麼

做時，我便知道，事情不妙了，這種事定會阻礙社會進步，使社會失去活力。高高在上的這類聯盟，旨在壓制下層人民，使他們原位不動，甚至使他們降到更低點因此，開明政治應不斷打碎這種同盟，在政府組織與偉大的民眾主體之間重新搭起橋樑。

今日，我們政府已經淪入特權人物的手中；今日，有一種默契，即只有少數遴選出的上層階級才擁有執政的必備條件；今日，如此眾多勤勤懇懇的公民遭受社會不公的痛苦打擊，成為荒謬絕倫的犧牲品，說麼人民將從仁慈的受委託掌管鉅額財富的人手中獲得一個仁慈的政府，說什麼僱員們盡職盡責，其福利的保衛者將給他們一個仁慈的政府——時至今日，當務之急應使這個國家記住：一個國家要麼由深臥於她胸膛內的力量來拯救，要麼滅亡；國家的新希望、新道德、新威力是由其長湧不息的古井甘泉來澆灌的，而不是靠上層，靠貴族庇護來實現的。花朵不會生根，而是根須長出花朵。天宇清風中萬般美貌芳容總是從其根須獲得元氣。所有生命，除非從深深根植於普通土壤裏的梗莖中汲取養分。否則，決不可能開花結果。玫瑰花兒的所有豔麗，包括其溫柔的面頰帶有的紅潤之色，全都歸因於躺在土壤深處，無聲無息的生命源泉的神奇作用。從土壤裏，從無聲無息的地球懷抱，往上湧出生命之流、力量之流。從普普通通的土壤裏，從人民沈靜的心靈裏將升騰起今日幸福之流、希望之流、決心之流，它們必定會使大地舊貌換新顏，增添一片光輝。

聽著，我們時代的所謂激進主義，只不過是將人民心中的能量釋放出來的自然之功。美國，這一偉大民族，正處於正義之底，美德之底，希望之底；民族存在的根子紮進美麗純潔的土地，榮譽的土地。當前需要的正是這種激進主



義，它將爲我們實現一個強大民族的雄心壯志而掃清道路。

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When I look back on the processes of history, when I survey the genesis of America, I see this written over every page: that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people. Everything I know about history, every bit of experience and observation that has contributed to my thought, has confirmed me in the conviction that the real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The utility the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom it comes like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file.

So the first and chief need of this nation of ours to-day is to include in the partnership of government all those great bodies of unnamed men who are going to produce our future leaders and renew the future energies of America. And as I confess that, as I confess my belief in the common man, I know what I am saying. The man who is swimming against the stream knows the strength of it. The man who is in the melee knows what blows are being struck and what blood is being drawn. The man who is on the make is the judge of what is happening in America, not the man who has made good; not the man who has emerged from the flood; not the man who is standing on the bank looking on, but the man who is struggling for his life and for the lives of those who are dearer to him than himself. That is the man whose judgment will tell you what is going on in America; that is the man by whose judgment I, for one, wish to be guided.

We have had the wrong jury; we have had the wrong group, — no, I will not say the wrong group, but too small a group, — in control of the policies of the United

States. The average man has not been consulted, and his heart had begun to sink for fear he never would be consulted, and his heart had begun to sink for fear he never would be consulted again. Therefore, we have got to organize a government whose sympathies will be open to the whole body of the people of the United States, a government which will consult as large a proportion of the people of the United States as possible before it acts. Because the great problem of government is to know what the average man is experiencing and is thinking about. Most of us are average men; very few of us rise, except by fortunate accident, above the general level of the community about us; and therefore the man who thinks common thoughts, the man who has had common experiences is almost always the man who interprets America aright. Isn't that the reason that we are proud of such stories as the story of Abraham Lincoln, — a man who rose out of the ranks and interpreted America better than any man had interpreted it who had risen out of the privileged classes or the educated classes of America.

The hope of the United States in the present and in the future is the same that it has always been: it is the hope and confidence that out of unknown homes will come men who will constitute themselves the masters of industry and of politics. The average hopefulness, the average welfare, the average enterprise, the average initiative, of the United States are the only things that make it rich. We are not rich because a few gentlemen direct our industry; we are rich because of our own intelligence and our own industry. America does not consist of men who get their names into the newspapers; America does not consist politically of the men who set themselves up to be political leaders; she does not consist of the men who do most of her talking, — they are important only so far as they speak for that great voiceless multitude of men who constitute the great body and the saving force of the nation. Nobody who cannot speak the common thought, who does not move by the common impulse, is the man to speak for America, or for any of her future purposes. Only he is fit to speak who knows the thoughts of the great body of citizens, the men who go about their business every day, the men who toil from

morning till night, the men who go home tired in the evenings, the men who are carrying on the things we are so proud of.

You know how it thrills our blood sometimes to think how all the nations of the earth wait to see what America is going to do with her power, her physical power, her enormous resources, her enormous wealth. The nations hold their breath to see what this young country will do with her young unspoiled strength; we cannot help but be proud that we are strong. But what has made us strong. The toil of millions of men, the toil of men who do not boast, who are inconspicuous, but who live their lives humbly from day to day; it is the great body of toilers that constitutes the might of America. It is one of the glories of our land that nobody is able to predict from what family, from what region, from what race, even, the leaders of the country are going to come. The great leaders of this country have not come very often from the established, "successful" families.

I remember speaking at a school not long ago where I understood that almost all the young men were the sons of very rich people, and I told them I looked upon them with a great deal of pity, because, I said: "Most of you fellows are doomed to obscurity. You will not do anything. You will never try to do anything, and with all the great tasks of the country waiting to be done. probably you are the very men who will decline to do them. Some man who has been 'up against it,' some man who has come out of the crowd, somebody who has had the whip of necessity laid on his back, will emerge out of the crowd, will show that he understands the crowd, understands the interests of the nation. united and not separated, and will stand up and lead us."

If I may speak of my own experience, I have found audiences made up of the "common people" quicker to take a point, quicker to understand an argument, quicker to discern a tendency and to comprehend a principle, than many a college class that I have lectured to, — not because the college class lacked the intelligence. but because college boys are not in contact with the realities of life, while "common" citizens are in contact with the actual life of day by day: you do

not have to explain to them what touches them to the quick.

There is one illustration of the value of the constant renewal of society from the bottom that has always interested me profoundly. The only reason why government did not suffer dry rot in the Middle Ages under the aristocratic system which then prevailed was that so many of the men who were efficient instruments of government were drawn from the church,— from that great religious body which was then the only church, that body which we now distinguish from other religious bodies as the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church was then, as it is now, a great democracy. There was no peasant so humble that he might not become a priest, and no priest so obscure that he might not become Pope of Christendom; and every chancellery in Europe, every court in Europe, was ruled by these learned, trained and accomplished men,— the priesthood of that great and dominant body. What kept government alive in the Middle Ages was this constant rise of the sap from the bottom, from the rank and file of the great body of the people through the open channels of the priesthood. That, it seems to me, is one of the most interesting and convincing illustrations that could possibly be adduced of the thing that I am talking about.

The only way that government is kept pure is by keeping these channels open, so that nobody may deem himself so humble as not to constitute a part of the body politic, so that there will constantly be coming new blood into the veins of the body politic; so that no man is so obscure that he may not break the crust of any class he may belong to, may not spring up to higher levels and be counted among the leaders of the state. Anything that depresses, anything that makes the organization greater than the man, anything that blocks, discourages, dismays the humble man, is against all the principles of progress. When I see alliances formed, as they are now being formed, by successful men of business with successful organizers of politics, I know that something has been done that checks the vitality and progress of society. Such an alliance, made at the top, is an alliance made to depress the levels, to hold them where they are, if not to sink them; and, therefore, it is the

constant business of good politics to break up such partnerships, to re-establish and reopen the connections between the great body of the people and the offices of government.

To-day, when our government has so far passed into the hands of special interests; to-day, when the doctrine is implicitly avowed that only select classes have the equipment necessary for carrying on government; to-day when the doctrine is implicitly avowed that only select classes have the equipment necessary for carrying on government; to-day, when so many conscientious citizens, smitten with the scene of social wrong and suffering, have fallen victims to the fallacy that benevolent government can be meted out to the people by kind-hearted trustees of prosperity and guardians of the welfare of dutiful employees—to-day, supremely, does it behoove this nation to remember that a people shall be saved by the power that sleeps in its own deep bosom, or by none; shall be renewed in hope, in conscience, in strength, by waters welling up from its own sweet, perennial springs. Not from above; not by patronage of its aristocrats. The flower does not bear the root, but the root the flower. Everything that blooms in beauty in the air of heaven draws its fairness, its vigor, from its roots. Nothing living can blossom into fruitage unless through nourishing stalks deep-planted in the common soil. The rose is merely the evidence of the vitality of the root; and the real source of its beauty, the very blush that it wears upon its tender cheek, comes from those silent sources of life that lie hidden in the chemistry of the soil. Up from that soil, up from the silent bosom of the earth, rise the currents of life and energy. Up from the common soil, up from the quiet heart of the people, rise joyously to-day streams of hope and determination bound to renew the face of the earth in glory.

I tell you, the so-called radicalism of our times is simply the effort of nature to release the generous energies of our people. This great American people is at bottom just, virtuous, and hopeful; the roots of its being are in the soil of what is lovely, pure, and of good report, and the need of the hour is just that radicalism that will clear a way for the realization of the aspirations of a sturdy race.

威廉.門羅.特羅特 (WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER)

### 對威爾遜總統的抗議 Protest to President Wilson

你給美國白人以「新自由」，而給非裔美國同胞以「新奴隸制」嗎。天理不容！

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1912 年，威爾遜競選總統時，許下「新自由」的諾言。作為總統候選人，威爾遜寫信給一位黑人領袖，許諾說，如果當選總統，「黑人...保證將得到絕對公平的待遇。」然而，威爾遜當選不久，其政府在財政部和郵政部實行種族隔離。

發展中的全國有色人種協進會向威爾遜送交了一份抗議，但毫無效果。一年後，1914 年 11 月 12 日，總統會見由威廉.門羅.特羅特(1872 — 1934)帶領的一個非裔美國人代表團。特羅特是波士頓一黑人報紙的編輯，他作了底下的這篇演說。威爾遜對此惱羞成怒，對該代表團說，除非他們更換領導，否則再不會與他們會面。

特羅特生於俄亥俄的一個中產階級家庭，但在波士頓舒適的郊區長大。他上過哈佛大學，並在一年級作為第一個黑人學生被選進全美優秀學生聯誼會。短時經商後，特羅特創辦了《波士頓工報》，為種族平等而頑強戰鬥。他針對威爾遜的這一演講，重印於這家美國黑人報刊。

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一年前，我們呈交了由三十八州非裔美國人簽署的全民請願，抗議在你的政府部門，財政部和郵政部裏，對全部帶有或部分帶有非洲血統的僱員實行種族隔離。我們曾向你呼籲，要求你履行總統職責，實踐你當選前的諾言，結束這種種族隔離。我們曾宣佈，在種族隔離制度下，尤其是在政府僱員中只對眾多種族中的一個種族實行種族隔離，是絕對談不上有什麼自由，談不上尊重他人，談不上公民平等。如此隔離僱員意味著政府指控人們身體不潔，或患有傳染病，或意味著指控人們是低等動物，願意聽從另一部分公民的偏見，願意接

受自身的劣等地位。我們抗議在工作場所、在餐桌、在更衣室、在洗手間、在衣帽間、尤其是在政府建築公共衛生間的種族隔離做法。我們曾宣佈，這種種族隔離是公眾的恥辱和墮落，完全欠妥，並將產生深遠的不良影響。這對於每個忠於國家的公民來說，是個無理的打擊；對於資助你登上我們共同國家的總統位置的許許多多的人來說，也是個無理的打擊。

當時你曾宣佈，你會親自調查有關情況。可現在，一年過後，我們又找上門來，原因是我們發現，對非洲血統的政府僱員實行種種種族隔離不僅存在於財政部和郵政部，而且在某種程度上已經蔓延到其他政府部門。

在財政部的刻印局，不僅更衣室有種族隔離，而且辦公地點也有。非裔美國僱員吃飯時被人趕到隔離餐桌去，要方便時被人趕到隔離洗手間去。在海軍部，他們也被趕到隔離的餐桌和隔離的洗手間去。在郵政部，非裔美國婦女在工作中被隔離到第八層的凹壁裏，非裔美國男僱員則被趕到第七層的隔離房間去，甚至連進入同一層白人職員的鄰室也不允許。被隔離在第六層的非裔美國男僱員，其隔離洗手間卻在第八層。在財政部總部大樓，非裔美國男僱員的洗手間被隔離在地下室。在內政部，也有隔離的洗手間，我們的第一次申訴還特別對你提到這點。在國務院及其它部門也有隔離的洗手間。在海軍醫院大樓，儘管那裏只有一個非裔美國職員，也同樣設有隔離洗手間。在軍事部有隔離的洗手間。在財政部大樓有隔離的洗手間。在政府印刷辦裝訂科的五樓，非裔美國婦女被趕到隔離的工作場所和隔離的洗手間。自從我們向你申訴以來，這個科的頭頭又規定了新的隔離手段。洗手間的這種種族隔離是最墮落，最大的污辱。非裔美國僱員在他們工作的樓層裏，若使用公共洗手間就要受警告；上司

警告他們不得無禮取鬧。

經代表團全體投票通過，我們前來，將這種種族隔離毫無疑問仍在繼續的情況，一五一十地擺在你面前，並再次抗議，要求你在政府行政部門，取消對非裔美國僱員的種族隔離。

美國黑人公民驚恐不安，派我們前來，因為我們相信，你不可能置自己的諾言於不顧。他們意識到，假如在國家首都的政府部門裏，他們可以遭隔離，受恥辱，那麼，使南部生命財產受威脅的那種誣告和迫害就要開始蔓延，他們公民權的整個基礎結構也就動搖了。

在去年的全民反隔離請願中，他們已讓你明白他們的反對意見，今年在投票箱前，他們再次以投票方式表示抗議。對民主黨人，除了那些直言不諱地反對種族隔離外，他們一概投反對票。在東部各州，唯一當選州長的民主黨人是麻塞諸塞州州長沃爾什，因為他曾寫信給你，呼籲停止種族隔離。就是以這種方式，非裔美國人表示了對種族隔離的深惡痛絕。

事實上，我們有些家庭二代人一直冒著所有風險來促進民主黨。在你競選總統時，民主黨的復興仍是問題重重的，我們種族的選票舉足輕重，儘管內部有分歧，但仍然與民主黨合作。可如今他們怨聲載道，這一支援運動很可能要破產。

僅僅兩年前，你或許被捧為林肯第二，可現在支援你的非裔美國人領袖成了他們種族的叛徒，背情棄義的領袖，遭受圍攻。種族隔離導致了多大的變化啊！

你說過：「你的黑人同胞在美國可依靠你實現增進他們種族利益的所有願



望。」面對仍在持續的種族隔離，請你想想你的諾言！同胞情與公民權意味著融合，而種族隔離摧毀了同胞情誼與公民權利。在國家首都的街道上，任何一個過路人，不管是黑人還是白人，都可以進入政府大樓，使用公共洗手間，而為政府工作的黑人公民卻不行，請想想看這成何體統！

作為平等的公民，有鑒於你公開的許諾，我們有權在你手中享有在政府工作中不受歧視的自由，不受限制的自由，不受非難的自由，不受污辱的自由。你給美國白人以「新自由」，而給非裔美國同胞以「新奴隸制」嗎。天理不容！

我們受委託要求你頒佈一項行政命令，反對在政府僱員中因種族、膚色的不同而實行任何及所有形式的種族隔離，我們受委託問你是否願意這麼做。我們等待著你的答覆，這樣我們就可以將你的答覆轉達給正在等待中的非洲血統的美國公民。

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One year ago we presented a national petition, signed by Afro-Americans in thirty-eight states, protesting against the segregation of employes of the National government whose ancestry could be traced in whole or in part to Africa, as instituted under your administration in the treasury and postoffice departments. We then appealed to you to undo this race segregation in accord with your duty as president and with your pre-election pledges. We stated that there could be no freedom, no respect from others, and no equality of citizenship under segregation for races, especially when applied to but one of many racial elements in the government employ. For such placement of employes means a charge by the government of physical indecency or infection, or of being a lower order of beings, or a subjection to the prejudices of other citizens, which constitutes inferiority of status. We protested such segregation as to working conditions, eating tables, dressing rooms, rest rooms, lockers and especially public toilets in government

buildings. We stated that such segregation was a public humiliation and degradation. entirely unmerited and far-reaching in its injurious effects, a gratuitous blow against ever loyal citizens and against those many of whom aided and supported your elevation to the presidency of our common country.

At that time you stated you would investigate conditions for yourself. Now, after the lapse of a year, we have come back having found that all the forms of segregation of government employees of African extraction are still practiced in the treasury and postoffice department buildings, and to a certain extent have spread into other government buildings.

Under the treasury department, in the bureau of engraving and printing there is segregation not only in dressing rooms, but in working positions, Afro-American employees being herded at separate tables, in eating, and in toilets. In the navy department there is herding at desks and separation in lavatories. In the postoffice department there is separation in work for Afro-American women in the alcove on the eighth floor, of Afro-American men in rooms on the seventh floor, with forbidding even of entrance into an adjoining room occupied by white clerks on the seventh floor, and of Afro American men in separate rooms just instituted on the sixth floor, with separate lavatories for Afro-American men on the eighth floor; in the main treasury building in separate lavatories in the basement; in the interior department separate lavatories, which were specifically pointed out to you at our first hearing; in the state and other departments separate lavatories; in marine hospital service building in separate lavatories, though there is but one Afro-American clerk to use it; in the war department in separate lavatories: in the postoffice department building separate lavatories; in the sewing and bindery divisions of the government printing office on the fifth floor there is herding at working positions of Afro-American women and separation in lavatories, and new segregation instituted by the division chief since our first audience with you. This lavatory segregation is the most de grading, most insulting of all. Afro-American employees who use the regular public lavatories on the floors where they work are

cautioned and are then warned by superior officers against in subordination.

We have come by vote of this league to set before you this definite continuance of race segregation and to renew the protest and to ask you to abolish segregation of Afro-American employees in the executive department.

Because we cannot believe you capable of any disregard of your pledges we have been sent by the alarmed American citizens of color. They realize that if they can be segregated and thus humiliated by the national government at the national capital the beginning is made for the spread of that persecution and prosecution which makes property and life itself insecure in the South, the foundation of the whole fabric of their citizenship is unsettled.

They have made plain enough to you their opposition to segregation last year by a national anti-segregation petition, this year by a protest registered at the polls, voting against every Democratic candidate save those outspoken against segregation. The only Democrat elected governor in the eastern states, was Governor Walsh of Massachusetts, who appealed to you by letter to stop segregation. Thus have the Afro Americans shown how they detest segregation.

In fact, so intense is their resentment that the movement to divide this solid race vote and make peace with the national Democracy, so suspiciously revived when you ran for the presidency, and which some of our families for two generations have been risking all to promote, bids fair to be undone.

Only two years ago you were heralded as perhaps the second Lincoln, and now the Afro American leaders who supported you are bounded as false leaders and traitors to their race. What a change segregation has wrought! You said that your "Colored fellow citizens could depend upon you for everything which would assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." Consider this pledge in the face of the continued color segregation! Fellow citizenship means congregation. Segregation destroys fellowship and citizenship. Consider that any passerby on the streets of the national capital, whether he be black or white, can enter and use the

public lavatories in government buildings while citizens of color who do the work of the government are excluded.

As equal citizens and by virtue of your public promises we are entitled at your hands to freedom from discrimination, restriction, imputation and insult in government employ. Have you a "new freedom" for white Americans and a new slavery for your Afro-American fellow citizens. God forbid!

We have been delegated to ask you to issue an executive order against any and all segregation of government employes because of race and color, and to ask whether you will do so. We await your reply, that we may give it to the waiting citizens of the United States of African extraction.

埃德加.李.馬斯特斯

(EDGAR LEE MASTERS)

安妮.拉特利奇

Anne Rutledge

埃德加.李.馬斯特斯(1869 — 1950)在伊利諾伊州的一個農場裏長大，後成為一名律師。馬斯特斯雖然寫有許多詩歌、戲劇、小說及傳紀，但最為人知的還是《斯蓬河詩集》。它是一組自由詩體獨白，一首詩代表對虛構的斯蓬河鎮的一位居民的悼念，每一首都揭示出一個小城鎮裏某個居民一生的挫折和失望，其中最著名的大概便是為安妮.拉特利奇寫的悼亡詩。安妮.拉特利奇是林肯年輕時代的女友，死於 1835 年，死時約十九歲。

我無爲、無名的身軀，      顫動著永不消逝的  
音樂之聲；      「對誰都不懷惡意，對誰  
都懷有善意。」  
我的身軀傳遞的是千百萬人

Out of me unworthy and  
unknown  
The vibrations of deathless  
music;  
"With malice toward none,  
with charity for all."

|  |   |
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| <p>對千百萬人的寬容，</p> <p>映照出一個民族的友善臉龐，</p> <p>它閃耀著正義與真理的光芒。</p> <p>沈眠於這堆荒草下面的，</p> <p>便是我，安妮.拉特利奇。</p> <p>林肯生前熱愛我，</p> <p>我與他成婚，沒有名義上的結合，</p> <p>卻是事實上的分離。</p> <p>啊，從我胸膛的塵埃裏，</p> <p>將升起永遠怒放的共和國之花！</p> | <p>Out of me the forgiveness of<br/>millions toward millions,<br/>And the beneficent face of a<br/>nation<br/>Shining with justice and<br/>truth.<br/>I am Anne Rutledge who<br/>sleep beneath these weeds,<br/>Beloved in life of Abraham<br/>Lincoln,<br/>Wedded to him, not through<br/>union,<br/>But through separation.<br/>Bloom forever, O Republic,<br/>From the dust of my bosom!</p> |
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羅伯特.弗羅斯特

(ROBERT FROST)

未選擇的路

The Road Not Taken

羅伯特.弗羅斯特(1874 — 1963)是在麻塞諸塞州勞倫斯上的中學，也在達特第斯學院和哈佛大學讀過一段時間。獲得詩名之前，弗羅斯特時而務農，時而到中學教希臘語和拉丁語。他的第一部詩集出版於 1913 年。1916 年後，他一直在著名學府任職，通常的身份是「住校詩人」。弗羅斯特的詩歌備受喜愛，原因之一是未受過多少學校教育的人都看得懂。當許多詩人熱衷於搞詩歌試驗時，他卻堅持使用日常語言，描寫自己觀察入微的日常事件。弗羅斯特的許多詩歌反映了他與大自然的貼近。他通過自然來表達一種象徵意義，而不是什麼田園式的思鄉情調。《未選擇的路》是弗羅斯特的一首名詩，作於 1915 年。

黃葉林中出條岔路，        無奈一人  
難於兼顧，        順著一條蜿蜒小路，

久久佇立極目遠眺，

只見小徑拐進灌木。

接著選擇了另一條，

同樣清楚似乎更好，

引人踩踏鋪滿茂草，

踏在其間難分彼此，

儘管真有兩條道。

清晨裏躺著兩條路，

一樣葉被無人踏躋，

願將第一條來日補，

但知條條相連遠途，

懷疑日後怎能回返。

在很久以後某一地，

我將歎息訴說於人，

兩路岔開在樹林裏，

我選的那條足跡稀，

而一切差別由此起。

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,  
And sorry I could not travel both  
And be one traveler, long I stood  
And looked down one as far as I could  
To where it bent in the  
undergrowth; Then took the other, as just  
as fair,  
And having perhaps the better claim,  
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;  
Though as for that the passing there  
Had worn them really about the same,  
And both that morning equally lay  
In leaves no step had trodden black.  
Oh, I kept the first for another day!  
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,  
I doubted if I should ever come back. I  
shall be telling this with a sigh  
Somewhere ages and ages hence;  
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—  
I took the one less traveled by,  
And that has made all the difference.

艾麗斯.杜爾.米勒

(ALICE DUER MILLER)

## 進 化

### Evolution

艾麗斯.杜爾.米勒(1874 — 1942)出生於紐約市，1899 年畢業於巴納德學院。她為婦女普選權運動撰寫通俗消遣詩歌，為這被人稱為「毫無幽默」的事業增添生氣。以下一首選自她於 1915 年出版的詩集《女人是人嗎？普選時代的韻文》。

瓊斯先生 1910 年把口開： 「女人，依附男  
人實應該。」 1911 年有人聽他引用道：

「女性不投票，男子霸世道。」

到了 1912 年，他又認為應如是：

「當所有女性都需要時。」

到了 1913 年，他滿臉愁容但卻宣告：

普選之日必將來到。

今年我聽他說的真高傲：

「女人那邊，理由太少。」

他一直是婦女參政的擁護者。

其實更為奇怪的是他自己，

竟也以爲自己說的都是真理。

Said Mr. Jones in 1910:

"Women, subject  
yourselves to men."

Nineteen-Eleven heard him  
quote:

"They rule the world  
without the vote."

By Nineteen-Twelve, he  
would submit

"When all the women  
wanted it."

By Nineteen-Thirteen,  
looking glum,

He said that it was bound  
to come.

This year I heard him say  
with pride

"No reasons on the other  
side!"

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|  | <p>By Nineteen-Fifteen, he'll<br/>insist<br/>He's always been a<br/>suffragist.<br/>And what is really stranger,<br/>too,<br/>He'll think that what he<br/>says is true.</p> |
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卡爾.桑德堡

(CARL SANDBURG)

芝 加 哥

Chicago

卡爾.桑德堡(1878－1967)生於伊利諾州的蓋爾斯堡，父母都是瑞典移民。他打過工，參加過西美戰爭，後入蓋爾斯堡的倫巴學院，並學成畢業。他當過新聞記者，廣告撰寫人，威斯康辛州社會民主黨的組織人，還做過社會主義者，密爾沃基市市長的助理。

桑德堡的詩歌首印於 1914 年的《詩刊》。二年後，他出版了《芝加歌詩集》。《芝加哥》是這第一部詩集中的一首。1918 年第二部詩集《剝玉米殼的人》問世後，同行詩人及廣大詩歌愛好者公認，桑德堡是顆舉足輕重的詩壇新星。他的自由詩語言通俗、純樸明快、富有新意。他還出版過兩部歌謠集。1919 年及 1950 年，桑德堡兩度獲普利茲詩歌獎，並於 1939 年以其 6 卷本巨著《林肯傳》獲普利茲歷史獎。

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| <p>世界的屠宰場， 工具製造所，小麥的堆<br/>積地， 鐵路的玩弄者和國家的運輸所；</p> | <p>Hog Butcher for the World,<br/><br/>Tool maker, Stacker of Wheat,</p> |
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| <p>急躁暴烈，魁梧結實，吵吵鬧鬧，</p> <p>你這肩寬膀闊的城市：</p> <p>他們告訴我，你心術不正。我相信</p> <p>他們，因為我曾看見你那濃妝豔抹的女</p> <p>人在煤氣燈</p> <p>下勾引農村來的青年。</p> <p>他們又告訴我，你心思邪惡，我答道：</p> <p>是的，一點不錯；我見過強盜殺人，自</p> <p>由地逃</p> <p>走，再去殺人。</p> <p>他們又告訴我，你野蠻殘酷，我的回答</p> <p>是：</p> <p>在婦女和孩子的臉上，我看到了飢餓的</p> <p>菜色。</p> <p>這樣回答後，我又向那些嘲笑我這都市</p> <p>的人們，反</p> <p>唇相譏道：</p> <p>來吧，給我舉出另一個城市，他生氣勃</p> <p>勃，</p> | <p>Player with Railroads and the<br/>Nation's Freight</p> <p>Handler;</p> <p>Stormy, husky, brawling,</p> <p>City of the Big Shoulders:</p> <p>They tell me you are wicked and I<br/>believe</p> <p>them, for I have seen your<br/>painted</p> <p>women under the gas lamps<br/>luring the</p> <p>farm boys.</p> <p>And they tell me you are crooked<br/>and I answer:</p> <p>Yes, it is true I have seen the<br/>gunman</p> <p>kill and go free to kill again.</p> <p>And they tell me you are brutal<br/>and my reply</p> <p>is: On the faces of women<br/>and children I</p> |
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粗壯狡獪，也同樣高傲地昂首高歌。

在堆積職業的勞作中間投之以怪有魅力  
的詛咒，這

是個高大魯莽的重擊手與柔和的小城市  
形成的鮮

明對照。

兇猛得像條舔嘴吐舌、準備戰鬥的狗，  
狡獪得像個

與荒原搏鬥的蠻人，

光著腦袋，

揮舞鐵鍬，

破壞不停，

設計不止，

建造、破壞、重建，

頭上一片煙霧，嘴上儘是塵埃，

露出白牙轟笑著，

在可怕的命運重壓下，像年輕人一樣轟  
笑著，

轟笑著，甚至像個從沒輸過的傻鬥士，

have seen the marks of  
wanton hunger.

And having answered so I turn  
once more to

those who sneer at this my  
city, and I

give them back the sneer and  
say to

them:

Come and show me another city  
with lifted

head singing so proud to be  
alive and

coarse and strong and  
cunning.

Flinging magnetic curses amid the  
toil of piling

job on job, here is a tall bold  
slugger set

vivid against the little soft  
cities;

Fierce as a dog with tongue

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>自吹自擂，哈哈笑，手腕下面是人民的</p> <p>脈搏，肋骨</p> <p>下邊是人民的心臟跳躍。</p> <p>轟笑著！</p> <p>轟笑著年輕人的笑：急躁暴烈，粗重沙</p> <p>啞，吵吵鬧</p> <p>鬧；半裸身子，汗水淋淋，狂妄自負，</p> <p>因為是世</p> <p>界的屠宰場，工具製造所，小麥的堆積</p> <p>地，鐵路</p> <p>的玩弄者和國家的運輸所。</p> | <p>lapping for action,</p> <p>cunning as a savage pitted<br/>against the</p> <p>wilderness,</p> <p>Bareheaded,</p> <p>Shoveling,</p> <p>Wrecking,</p> <p>Planning,</p> <p>Building, breaking,<br/>rebuilding,</p> <p>Under the smoke, dust all over his<br/>mouth,</p> <p>laughing with white teeth,</p> <p>Under the terrible burden of<br/>destiny laughing</p> <p>as a young man laughs,</p> <p>Laughing even as an ignorant<br/>fighter laughs</p> <p>who has never lost a battle,</p> <p>Bragging and laughing that under</p> |
|--|--|

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <p>his wrist is</p> <p>the pulse, and under his ribs</p> <p>the heart of</p> <p>the people,</p> <p>Laughing!</p> <p>Laughing the stormy, husky,</p> <p>brawling laughter</p> <p>of Youth, half-naked,</p> <p>sweating, proud to</p> <p>be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker,</p> <p>Stacker of</p> <p>Wheat, Player with Railroads</p> <p>and Freight</p> <p>Handler to the Nation.</p> |
| <p>拉爾夫.查普林</p> <p>(RALPH CHAPLIN)</p> <p>永遠團結</p> <p>Solidarity Forever</p> <p>《永遠團結》被稱為勞工運動的聖歌，作者是拉爾夫.查普林(1888－1961)，是位詩人、作家、藝術家，同時又是一位世界產聯的組織者。世界產聯成員相信，變革須通過暴力階級鬥爭。他們活躍於 1905 至 1920 年間。他們的革命行動主義及革命詩篇同樣為人熟知。世界產聯成員贊成聯合所有工人，組成一個大一統的工業聯合會，而美國工聯的溫和派領袖卻喜歡按行業組織工人。世界產聯領袖曾受到誣告，遭到迫害，主要原因是他們反對美國加入第一次世界</p> |   |

大戰。《永遠團結》是世界產聯的最著名歌曲，是查普林於 1915 年在西佛吉尼亞創作的，當時他正在那裏幫助組織煤礦工人罷工。這首歌曲取調於《約翰·布朗的屍體》。

當工人的血液中流過                      團結的靈氣，

天底下去哪兒能收穫

更強的威力。

而再虛弱的也比不過

個人的氣力，

但團結使我們堅強。

(合唱)

永遠團結

永遠團結！

永遠團結！

因為團結使我們堅強。

不勞而獲他們掠走了

金銀無數萬，

若無咱們腦力與體力，

車輪怎能轉；

When the Union's inspiration  
through the

workers' blood shall run

There can be no power greater  
anywhere

beneath the sun.

Yet what force on earth is  
weaker than the

feeble strength of one.

But the Union makes us  
strong.

CHORUS:

Solidarity forever!

Solidarity forever!

Solidarity forever!

For the Union makes us strong

They have taken untold

要打碎他們強權爭得

自由需會算——

團結使我們堅強。

我們手中的威力強於

他們的金窟，

強於百萬大軍千倍餘

力量的增調；

我們能在舊世界廢墟

創造新世道，

因為團結使我們堅強。

millions, that they

never toiled to earn,

But without our brain and  
muscle not a single

wheel could turn;

We can break their haughty  
power, gain our

freedom when we learn —

That the Union makes us  
strong.

In our hands is placed a power  
greater than

their hoarded gold;

Greater than the might of  
armies magnified a

thousand fold,

We can bring to birth a new  
world from the

ashes of the old.

For the Union makes us strong.

(VACHEL LINDSAY)

《亞伯拉罕·林肯半夜行》和《呆滯的目光》

Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight and The Leaden-Eyed

瓦切爾·林賽(1879 — 1931)生於伊利諾州斯普林費爾德，曾在俄亥俄州海勒姆學院以及芝加哥和紐約的藝術學校學習。他一度曾想當一名傳教士，但後來轉而從事詩歌創作，詩中充滿教會精神。1912 年林賽從伊利諾州步行到新墨西哥，一路上靠朗誦自己的詩解決食宿。1913 年他發表了關於救世軍締造者的詩《威廉·布思將軍進天堂》，從而確立作為一名詩人的聲譽。他力圖恢復詩歌的口頭藝術形式的傳統，使詩歌能讓普通民眾所理解。當他朗讀詩作時，總是邀請聽眾和他一起念疊句。聽眾們叫嚷著要聽他朗誦《布賴恩，布賴恩，布賴恩》、《剛果河》、《桑特菲小道》這類詩歌。《亞伯拉罕·林肯半夜行》寫於 1914 年世界大戰在歐洲初起之時，是林賽最受歡迎的詩作之一。《呆滯的目光》一詩則發表於林賽的《剛果河》和其他詩作》一書。

亞伯拉罕，林肯半夜行

(在伊利諾斯斯普林費爾德)

多麼令人驚訝，多麼不尋常，  
夜半時分，在我們這小鎮上，  
一個悲哀的人一步也不停歇，  
踽踽獨行在古老的縣政府樓旁。

Abraham Lincoln Walks at  
Midnight

(In Springfield, Illinois)

A is portentous, and a thing of state  
That here at midnight, in our little  
town  
A mourning figure walks, and will  
not rest,  
Near the old court-house pacing up  
and down,  
Or by his homestead, or in  
shadowed yards

或許他徘徊在自家宅邊，陰暗的庭院裏，

他的孩子過去曾在那兒歡鬧嬉戲，

或許他踏著磨損的石子路，穿過市場，

大步行走直到星星化作晨曦。

臉色黝黑，個子瘦長一身黑色禮服，

著名的大禮帽和用舊的圍巾，

使他成為人們愛戴的奇偉人物

——草原律師，我們眾人的首領。

此刻他無法在他的小山坡上安眠，

一如往昔活在我們中間！

我們這些輾轉不能入睡的居民，

He lingers where his children used  
to play,

Or through the market, on the  
well-worn  
stones

He stalks until the dawn-stars burn  
away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of  
ancient black,

A famous high top-hat and plain  
worn shawl

Make him the quaint great figure  
that men love,

The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside  
now.

He is among us: — as in times  
before!

And we who toss and lie awake for  
long

Breathe deep, and start, to see him  
pass the  
door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on  
men and  
kings.

Yea, when the sick world cries, how  
can he



激動地看見他經過門前。

他低頭沈思，想到民眾和皇帝。

是啊，這世界因病痛叫喊，他又怎能安  
寢。

有多少農民打仗，卻不知爲什麼原因，

有多少家庭在恐懼中哭泣。

軍閥們的罪孽燒灼著他的心房，

他看見一艘艘無畏戰艦橫行在海上。

此刻他圍巾緊裹的雙肩，

擔起了痛苦、愚行和悲傷。

他不能安息，除非心靈的破曉來臨

——自由歐洲的希望大放光明：

理智的人民結成同盟，工人的世界，

sleep.

Too many peasants fight, they know  
not why,

Too many homesteads in black  
terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn  
his heart.

He sees the dreadnaughts scouring  
every main

He carries on his shawl-wrapped  
shoulders

now

The bitterness, the folly and the  
pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn

Shall come; — the shining hope of

Europe free

The league of sober folk, the

Workers' Earth,

Bringing long peace to Cornland,

Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must  
murder still,

"That all his hours of travail here for  
men

Seem yet in vain. And who will  
bring white

peace

給土地、高山和大海帶來持久和平。

國王們仍在殺人害命，令他心碎，

他為民眾瀝心瀝血，一切努力皆似白費。

有誰能帶來聖潔的和平，

讓他在小山上安睡。

### 呆滯的目光

且莫讓年輕人在大顯身手、創造奇蹟之前，

就被壓得透不過氣來。

這世界摧殘自己的孩子，真是罪孽，

窮苦人似牛馬，步履蹣跚，目光發呆。

可怕的不是他們食不果腹，而是在飢餓中失去了夢；

可怕的不是他們辛勤耕種，而是他們難

That he may sleep upon his hill  
again.

### The Leaden-Eyed

Let not young souls be smothered  
out before

They do quaint deeds and fully  
flaunt their  
pride.

It is the world's one crime its babes  
grow dull,

Its poor are oxlike, limp and  
leaden-eyed.

Not that they starve, but starve so  
dreamlessly;

Not that they sow, but that they  
seldom reap;

Not that they serve, but have no  
gods to serve;

Not that they die, but that they die  
like sheep.

得收穫；

可怕的不是他們侍候別人，而是沒有神  
靈可以侍奉；

可怕的不是他們難免一死，而是死得像  
頭動物。

阿爾弗雷德.布賴恩，阿爾.皮安塔多西  
(ALFRED BRYAN *and* AL PIANTADOSI)

我養大兒子不是爲讓他當兵

I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier

阿爾弗雷德.布賴恩寫抒情詩，而阿爾.皮安塔多西為《我養大兒子不是爲讓他當兵》這首 1915 年的流行歌曲譜曲。這首歌切中美國公眾避開歐洲戰禍的願望。布賴恩是個出色的抒情詩人，他創作的詩歌包括《佩格，我的寶貝》、《約瑟芬來乘坐我的飛機》、《爹爹，您待我就像慈母一般》。皮安塔多西是紐約人，曾在酒吧間彈琴或為歌舞雜耍表演伴奏。他譜寫了大批商業上獲利的歌曲，包括三首以種族問題為主題的歌(《我是個猶太牛仔》、《我是個愛爾蘭人，我太高興啦》和《那塊義大利布》)。他的兩首民歌(《我如此需要你》和《痛苦的心在詛咒》)印成活頁樂譜售出一百萬張以上。

一千萬士兵走上前線，

他們可能一去不再回返。

Ten million soldiers to the war have gone,

Who may never return again.

Ten million mothers' hearts must break

For the ones who died in vain.

一千萬母親爲白白送死的人  
們，悲痛欲絕，膽肝俱裂。

一個母親滿懷著哀思，

孤苦伶仃度過餘年，

我聽她低聲哭訴淚漣漣：

(合唱)

我養大兒子不是爲讓他當  
兵，

我盼他成爲我的驕傲和歡  
喜。

誰竟敢把步槍放在他肩頭，

令他向另一位母親的愛子射  
擊？

但願各國將未來的爭端交付

Head bowed down in sorrow

In her lonely years,

I heard a mother murmur thro' her  
tears: CHORUS:

I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier,

I brought him up to be my pride and joy,

Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder,

To shoot some other mother's darling boy. Let  
nations arbitrate their future troubles,

It's time to lay the sword and gun away,

There'd be no war today,

If mothers all would say,

I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.

What victory can cheer a mother's heart, When  
she looks at her blighted home.

What victory can bring her back

All she cared to call her own.

Let each mother answer

In the year to be,

Remember that my boy belongs to me!

仲裁，

將刀劍和槍炮放置一邊。

如果母親們全都大聲疾呼，

我養大兒子不是爲讓他當  
兵，

今天便不會有戰爭和殺戮。

當一個母親已家破人亡，

還有什麼勝利能使她高興？

有什麼勝利能給她帶回

她樂意稱爲自己的一切？

讓每一位母親在今後歲月

用這樣的話語回敬：

請記住，我的兒子屬於我自  
己！

阿倫.西格

(ALAN SEEGER)

### 我與死神有個約會

#### I Have a Rendezvous with Death

阿倫.西格(1888 — 1916)生於紐約。1910 年他從哈佛大學畢業，1913 年去巴黎。大戰爆發後西格加入法國的外國軍團，在索姆戰役中陣亡。《我與死神有個約會》是他戰地詩作中最有名的一首，最初發表於 1916 年 10 月的《北美評論》。

我與死神有個約會，

地點在雙方爭奪的  
街壘。

當樹葉沙沙，大地春  
回，

空中充滿了蘋果花  
香——

我與死神有個約會

當春天帶回晴朗的  
藍天。

I have a rendezvous with Death

At some disputed barricade,

When Spring comes back with rustling shade

And apple blossoms fill the air—

I have a rendezvous with Death

When Spring brings back blue days and fair. It may be  
he shall take my hand,

And lead me into his dark land,

And close my eyes and quench my breath—  
it may be I shall pass him still.

I have a rendezvous with Death

On some scarred slope of battered hill, When  
Spring comes round again this year

And the first meadow flowers appear.

God knows 'twere better to be deep

Pillowed in silk and scented down,

Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,

也許他將牽著我手，  
把我引入黑暗王國，  
停止我的呼吸，合上  
我的眼——

也許我將從他身邊  
逃脫。

我與死神有個約  
會，

在遭到炮擊、彈痕  
纍纍的山坡。

當今年春天又來  
臨，

鮮花初開在草地。

絲綢作衾被，

Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,  
Where hushed awakenings are dear. . .  
But I've a rendezvous with Death  
At midnight in some flaming town,  
When Spring trips north again this year;  
And I to my pledged word am true,  
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

芬香沁心脾，

戀人相擁入夢鄉，

脈搏、呼吸彙成一  
個節奏

夢醒更覺寧靜溫  
柔……

但是我卻與死神有  
個約會，

夜半相聚在燃燒的  
小城，

當春天又輕快地移  
向北方；

我發誓一定要遵守  
諾言，

這約會絕不讓對方  
失望。



伍德羅·威爾遜 (WOODROW WILSON)

## 關於宣戰對國會的演講 War Message to Congress

世界應該讓民主享有安全。

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1914 年夏，歐洲的同盟國(德國和奧匈帝國)與協約國(英國、法國和俄國)之間爆發了戰爭。美國人從未參與歐洲的戰爭，而且伍德羅·威爾遜總統宣稱，美國人應當「名符其實地保持中立……表裏一致地保持公正。」華盛頓和傑斐遜的這一重要規定經門羅主義得到進一步強調，即美國應避免捲入國際政治鬥爭。但事實證明，保持中立是十分困難的。1915 年 5 月，一艘德國潛艇擊沈了英國客輪「露西塔尼亞」號，包括一百二十八名美國人在內共有約一千二百人喪生，於是輿論譁然。

1916 年威爾遜仰賴「他使我們避開了戰爭」這一口號在總統競選中再次獲勝。威爾遜認為他能夠促使交戰的雙方和解，因此將助手派往歐洲，試圖找到可能結束戰爭的條件。1917 年 1 月，威爾遜對國會發表講話，談及他正努力尋找一個方案以達到「沒有勝利的和平」，即既無贏家也無輸家的解決辦法，一個將由國際「和平聯盟」確保的解決辦法。威爾遜頗有遠見地警告說，一種帶懲罰性質的和平會給另一場歐洲衝突種下禍根。

德國保證不再突然襲擊非武裝船隻，但在 1917 年初重新開始了毫無節制的潛艇進攻，擊沈了幾艘美國商船。威爾遜對德國的政策忍無可忍，遂於 1917 年 4 月 2 日請求國會批准宣戰。這裏節錄的威爾遜關於宣戰的演講，將一百多萬美軍投入世界歷史上最血腥的衝突之一。

大戰結束時，威爾遜倡議建立國際聯盟。當他從歐洲召開的和會返回美國時，肩負爭取民眾支援和平條約和國際聯盟的任務，因為共和黨人已控制了參

議院。他的跨國旅行日程安排太緊，損害了健康。1919年9月威爾遜終於病倒，無法繼續承擔總統職責。

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……今年1月3日我正式通知你們，德意志帝國政府爲表了異乎尋常的通告，宣稱從1月1日起它的宗旨是把法律的限制或仁慈的考慮統統拋置一邊，用它的潛艇去擊沈任何駛近英國和愛爾蘭港口的船隻，或駛近歐洲西海岸或地中海內德國的敵人所控制的任何港口的船隻。這似乎是德國潛艇戰在大戰之初的目標。但從去年4月起，德意志帝國對其潛艇指揮官們多少有所限制，以實踐當時它對我們許下的諾言即不擊沈客輪，對其他它的潛艇可能摧毀的船隻，只要不作抵抗、留在原地，便會向它們預先發出警告，而且讓它們的船員至少有機會在不設防的船上逃生。在殘酷無情的戰爭中，一樁樁令人悲痛的事件證明，德方的克制是很不夠的，而且帶有任何性，但確實有一定程度的節制。而新政策把任何限制都取消了。任何種類的船隻，不論它掛什麼旗，具有什麼性質，載什麼貨，駛向何處，完成什麼使命，全都被擊沈，不給預先警告，也全然不顧船上人員的死活；友好中立國的船隻與敵國的船隻同樣對待。甚至連醫護船以及向比利時死傷慘重的人民運送救濟物資的船隻——後者被德國政府允許安全通過禁海而且帶有明確無誤的標記——同樣也被喪失同情心和原則性的德軍擊沈。

有一度我無法相信，這種行徑竟然真是一個一貫贊同文明世界人道慣例的政府的所作所爲。國際法起源於人類試圖制訂的某種的海洋上得到尊重和遵守的法律，該法律規定，任何國家無權統治海洋，世界各國的船隻都可以在海上自由

航行。……德國政府以報復和必需為藉口，已將這起碼的法律規定一腳踢開，因為德國在海上除了毫不顧忌人道，蔑視對國際交往的共識，窮兵黷武之外，幹不了什麼別的事。我現在想到的不是德國在海上造成的財產損失，儘管損失慘重，而是對大批平民生命肆無忌憚的屠殺，而這些男人、婦女和兒童所追求的目標向來——甚至在現代歷史最黑暗的時期——被認為是無辜和合法的。財產可以賠償，而和平無辜人民的生命則無法賠償。目前德國對付海上貿易的潛艇戰其實是以人類為敵。

這是針對所有國家的戰爭。美國船隻被擊沈，美國公民葬身海底，消息傳來令人震驚。但其他中立或友好國家的船隻和人員在海上遭到相同的厄運，沒有什麼差別。這是對整個人類的挑戰。每個國家必須獨自決定它應如何對付這一挑戰。我們必須適應我國的特點和宗旨審時度勢，謹慎考慮，以作出我們自己的決定。我們絕對不應感情用事。我們的動機既非為復仇也不是為了耀武揚威，而僅僅是為維護權利，維護人權，在這場鬥爭中我們國家僅僅是一名鬥士……

我深刻認識到我正採取的步驟的嚴重乃至悲劇的性質，以及它所包含的重大責任，但是我對履行自己由憲法規定的義務毫不遲疑。正是以這樣的態度我建議國會宣佈，德意志帝國最近的行動事實上已是對美國政府和人民發動了戰爭；美國正式接受已強加於它的交戰國地位；美國將立即行動，不僅使國家處於完全的防禦狀態，而且將竭盡全力，使用一切手段迫使德國政府屈服，結束戰爭。……

當我們採取行動，這些重大行動的時候，我們自己應當清楚，也應讓全世界明

白我們的動機和目的是什麼。……我們的目的……是維護國際生活的和平與正義的原則，反對自私和專制的力量，我們要在世界上真正自由和自治的各國人民之中確立一種意志與行動的概念，有了它就能保證這些原則得到遵循。當問題涉及世界和平，涉及世界各國人民的自由時，當組織起來的勢力支援某些專制政府按自己的意志而非人民的意志獨斷專行，從而對世界人民的和平與自由構成威脅時，中立便不再是可行或可取的了。我們看到，在這種情況下中立已成為歷史。我們處在一個新時代的開端，在這個時代中人們堅決要求，凡文明國家每個公民遵循的關於行為和承擔罪責的準則，各個國家和它們的政府也必須同樣遵循。

我們與德國人民之間不存齟齬。對他們，我們除了同情和友誼沒有別的情感。他們的政府投入戰爭並不是因為人民的推動，他們事先一無所知，並未表示贊同。決定打這場戰爭與過去不幸的歲月中決定打一場戰爭的方式相同。舊時統治者從不徵求人民的意見，戰爭的挑起和發動全都是為著王朝的利益或是為野心勃勃的人組成的小集團的利益，這些人慣於利用同胞作為走卒和工具。……

我們接受這一敵意的挑戰，因為我們知道與這樣一個採用這種手段的政府是絕對不可做朋友的；只要它組織起來的力量埋伏著準備實現不可告人的目的，世界上一切民主政府便無法得到安全保障。我們接受的將是一場與這個自由的天敵展開的宏大戰役，如有必要，將動用我國的全部力量去制止和粉碎敵人的意圖和勢力。我們感到欣慰，因為敵人撕去偽善的面紗，使我們看清了真相，這樣我們將為世界最終和平，為世界各國人民包括德國人民的解放而戰：為大大小小各國的權利和世界各地人們選擇自己的生活與服從權威的方式的特權而

戰。世界應該讓民主享有安全。世界和平應建立在政治自由歷經考驗的基礎上。我們沒有什麼私利可圖。我們不想要征服，不想要統治。我們不為自己索取賠償，對我們將慷慨作出的犧牲不求物質補償。我們只不過是為人類權利而戰的鬥士之一。當各國的信念和自由能確保人類權利不可侵犯之時，我們將心滿意足。

在我們面前很可能有曠日持久的戰火考驗和慘重犧牲。把我們偉大、愛好和平的人民領入戰爭是件可怕的事。因為這場戰爭是有史以來最血腥最殘酷的，甚至文明自身似已岌岌可危。然而權利比和平更寶貴。我們將為自己一向最珍惜的東西而戰——為了民主，為人民服從權威以求在自己的政府中擁有發言權，為弱小國家的權利和自由，為自由的各國人民和諧一致共同享有權利以給所有國家帶來和平與安全，使世界本身最終獲得自由。為完成這樣一個任務，我們可以獻出我們的生命財產，獻出我們自己以及我們所有的一切；我們滿懷自豪，因為我們知道，這樣的一天已經到來：美國有幸得以用她的鮮血和力量捍衛那些原則，正是它們給予她生命和快樂，給予她一向珍視的和平。上帝保佑她，她別無選擇。

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...On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed

to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. . . . This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale

destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. . . .

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. . . .

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. . . . Our object. . . is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world

as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and selfgoverned peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools....

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized powder, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose



their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them....

There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, "with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

喬治.諾裡斯 (GEORGE NORRIS)

反對參戰 Against Entry into the War



以下這篇演講是諾裡斯於1917年4月4日作的，就在兩天前威爾遜請求國會宣戰。當時在美國反戰觀點不得人心，但諾裡斯卻在內布拉斯加州再次被他的選民選為國會議員。

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為數眾多的美國公民覺得，加入這場戰爭是我們對人類應盡的義務。其實交戰雙方皆有許多殘酷無情的劣跡。但人們常因自己的感情和利益在判斷中帶有偏見。我認為，我們從一開始就應嚴守中立。假如我們以前按此行事，現在也就不會瀕臨戰爭。作為一個國家，我們有權在自己認為需要的時候中止中立立場。我們根據法律有權尊重英國的海上戰區，無視德國的海上戰區，但我們不能既這麼做又保持中立。我並不想跟那個不願讓我國保持中立的人爭吵。我相信，有許多誠實、愛國的公民往往因為誤解了現實情況才認為我們應該投入這場戰爭，支援總統關於對德宣戰的要求。我認為，這些人判斷失當，而且由於大財團幾乎完全一致的要求的錯誤誘導，他們在很大程度上沒能弄清歷史和現實的實際情況。在這場爭論中我們已向盟國借出若干億美元。這種行動是國際法所允許和鼓勵的，但同時我也確信我國向盟國提供的大量貸款已被用來造成一種公眾情緒，它支援我國採取一個能使每張一美元債券值一百美分，使每筆債務能得到可靠償還的方針。借助這一手段以及其他——他們不僅在製造軍火中大發橫財，而且一旦我國被拖入戰禍，他們將指望賺更多的錢——的手段，大批美國著名報紙和新聞社身不由己地投入了世界歷史上最大的宣傳攻勢，以煽起贊成戰爭的情緒。現在有人要求將美國公民當作保險單用以確保軍火安全交付給交戰各國。我們參戰肯定會進一步增加軍火製造商、證券和債券經紀人的鉅額利潤。這樣就便我們面臨當前的局面，即，在總統的催促和虛假民眾情緒

的支援下，國會即將宣戰，從而把我國投入世界有史以來最大的一場屠殺中。……戰爭給誰帶來好運呢。不是給士兵帶來好運，他為每個月十六美元的慷慨補償扛著步槍進入戰壕，獻出鮮血甚至生命；不是給悲痛欲絕的寡婦帶來好運，她等待丈夫血肉模糊的屍體從前線運回；不是給為失去勇敢的兒子而哭泣的母親帶來好運；不是給冷得發抖的兒童帶來好運；不是給飢腸轆轆的嬰孩帶來好運；不是給幾百萬懷著破碎的心走向墳墓的母親和女兒帶來好運。戰爭不能給廣大的普通愛國公民帶來好運。它給胼手胝足，竭盡全力維持生計的人們帶來的是生活費用飛漲。戰爭給華爾街的股票賭徒則帶來紅運，而這類人已擁有難以變為現錢或享用不盡的巨大財富。一個華爾街經紀人說，如果我們無法弄到戰爭，「這卻是個高明的想法：戰備計劃將在很大程度上使未能激發實際戰爭的損失得到補償。」也就是說，如果我們無法參戰，那麼讓我們盡可能接近該目標。倘若我們不能參戰，那就讓我們高喊需要增加艦艇、增加槍炮、增加軍火、增加一切將把我們引向戰爭邊緣的東西。但一旦戰爭來臨，這類人會肩扛步槍進入戰壕嗎。

他們要戰爭、要戰備，其目的全在賺錢發財。人民遭受苦難、犧牲生命是必要的，但華爾街只看重美元。華爾街所描繪的錦繡前程，衝鋒陷陣、流血犧牲的人們絲毫不沾邊。那些證券經紀人當然不會上前線，他們導致參戰的目的是取得紅利，所以他們必須呆在華爾街的辦公室裏分享他們自己所說的戰爭帶來的繁榮。志願兵的軍官，甚至徵兵的軍官是見不到這類闊佬的。他們藏在華爾街富麗堂皇的辦公室裏，坐在紅木書桌後面，桌上擺滿了剪下的息票——帶著勤懇的勞動者汗水的息票，帶著母親們眼淚的息票，被他們的同胞鮮血染紅的息

票。

今天我們正採取一個極其危險的步驟。我們正在奉金錢之命投入戰爭。我們將冒這種風險，即犧牲數百萬同胞的性命以便讓另一些美國人把他們的鮮血鑄成金錢。即便我們不去大西洋彼岸走進戰壕，我們也將債臺高築，以致未來好幾代人民群眾將辛勤勞作償還債務。目前尚未出世的千百萬人將彎腰曲背埋頭苦幹，為我們今天要採取的步驟付出代價。我們正按照金錢的可怕命令行事。我們的行動將使千百萬同胞遭受苦難，其結果很可能是我們數百萬弟兄血濺沙場；數百萬婦女泣不成聲；數百萬兒童衣不禦寒；數百萬嬰兒活活餓死。而這一切都是因為我們要維護美國公民將軍火輸送給交戰各國的商業權。

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There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. Many instances of cruelty and inhumanity can be found on both sides. Men are often biased in their judgment on account of their sympathy and their interests. To my mind, what we ought to have maintained from the beginning was the strictest neutrality. If we had done this I do not believe we would have been on the verge of war at the present time. We had a right as a nation, if we desired, to cease at any time to be neutral. We had a technical right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone, but we could not do that and be neutral. I have no quarrel to find with the man who does not desire our country to remain neutral. While many such people are moved by selfish motives and hopes of gain, I have no doubt but that in a great many instances, through what I believe to be a misunderstanding of the real condition, there are many honest, patriotic citizens who think we ought to engage in this war and who are behind the President in his demand that we should declare war against Germany. I think such

people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war. We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the allies in this controversy. While such action was legal and countenanced by international law, there is no doubt in my mind but the enormous amount of money loaned to the allies in this country has been instrumental in bringing about a public sentiment in favor of our country taking a course that would make every bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar and making the payment of every debt certain and sure. Through this instrumentality and also through the instrumentality of others who have not only made millions out of the war in the manufacture of munitions, etc., and who would expect to make millions more if our country can be drawn into the catastrophe, a large number of the great newspapers and news agencies of the country have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war. It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further increased by our entrance into the war. This has brought us to the present moment, when Congress, urged by the President and backed by the artificial sentiment, is about to declare war and engulf our country in the greatest holocaust that the world has ever known.,..

To whom does the war bring prosperity. Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of \$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the brokenhearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no

prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed. [A Wall Street broker] says if we can not get war, "it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war." That is, if we can not get war, let us go as far in that direction as possible. If we can not get war, let us cry for additional ships, additional guns, additional munitions, and everything else that will have a tendency to bring us as near as possible to the verge of war. And if war comes do such men as these shoulder the musket and go into the trenches.

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary, but Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents. The men who do the fighting, the people who make the sacrifices, are the ones who will not be counted in the measure of this great prosperity he depicts. The stock brokers would not, of course, go to war, because the very object they have in bringing on the war is profit, and therefore they must remain in their Wall Street offices in order to share in that great prosperity which they say war -will bring. The volunteer officer, even the drafting officer, will not find them. They "will be concealed in their palatial offices on Wall Street, sitting behind mahogany desks, covered up with clipped coupons—coupons soiled with the sweat of honest toil, coupons stained with mothers' tears, coupons dyed in the lifeblood of their fellow men.

We are taking a step today that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money. And even if we do not cross the Atlantic and go into the trenches, we

are going to pile up a debt that the toiling masses that shall come many generations after us will have to pay. Unborn millions will bend their backs in toil in order to pay for the terrible step we are now about to take. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate. By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

喬治.M.科漢

(GEORGE M. COHAN)

去 那 裏

Over There

喬治.M.科漢(1878—1942)生於7月3日，但他把自己的生日更動了一天，這樣他就可以說，他確實像自己創作的一首流行歌曲的標題那樣，是個「[揚基少爺](#)」了。他小小年紀便隨父母、姐姐一起參加歌舞雜耍巡迴演出。作為一個典型的歌舞表演家，科漢逐漸成名，被人們稱為「百老匯先生」。他的不少歌曲成為經典作品，其個包括《你是面了不起的旗》、《代我向百老匯致意》和《瑪麗是個美妙的名字》。

科漢的《去那裏》是第一次世界大戰美國人的主題歌。1917年末這首歌在紐約馬戲場首次演出，受到「狂熱」歡迎。這首歌的曲子是根據召集部隊上前線的號聲改編而成的。科漢因譜寫該歌曲獲得國會榮譽獎章。

約翰尼拿起槍，拿起槍，拿起槍，

Johnnie get your gun, get your gun, get  
your



|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 拿起槍向前跑，向前跑，向前跑；   | gun,  |
| 聽見他們呼喚我和你；        | Take it on the run, on the run, on the run;   |
| 每一個屬於自由的兒子。       | Hear them calling you and me;                 |
| 立即行動莫遲疑，今天就走，     | Ev'ry son of liberty.                         |
| 讓你的父親爲自己的好兒郎感到榮耀， | Hurry right away, no delay, go today,         |
| 告訴你的戀人別難過莫憔悴，     | Make your daddy glad, to have had such a lad, |
| 應該爲她的男友站在隊伍中感到自豪。 | Tell your sweetheart not to pine,             |
| (合唱)              | To be proud her boy's in line. CHORUS:        |
| 去那裏，去那裏，          | Over there, over there,                       |
| 把這話兒捎去那裏。         | Send the word, send the word over there,      |
| 揚基要來了，            | "That the Yanks are coming,                   |
| 揚基要來了，            | the Yanks are coming,                         |
|                   | The drums rum-tumming ev'ry where—            |
|                   | So prepare, say a pray'r,                     |
|                   | Send the word, send the word to beware,       |
|                   | We'll be over, we're coming over,             |
|                   | And we won't come back till it's over over    |
|                   | there. Johnnie get your gun, get your gun,    |
|                   | gun,  |
|                   | Johnnie show the Hun, you're a son            |
|                   | Hoist the flag and let her fly,               |
|                   | Like true heroes, do or die.                  |
|                   | Pack your little kit, show your grit, (       |
|                   | Soldiers to the ranks from the town'          |
|                   | tanks,  |
|                   | Make your mother proud of you,                |
|                   | And to liberty be true.                       |

鼓聲咚咚震大地——

一個祈禱者說，準備好，

把話兒捎去叫他們小心，

我們要來了，

我們要來了

這場戰爭我們決意奉陪到底。

約翰尼拿起槍，拿起槍，拿起槍，

叫德國兵明白，他們是畜生。

升起軍旗，高高飄揚，

像真正的英雄，血戰沙場。

收拾行裝，鬥志昂揚，去盡一份力，

城鎮來的士兵、坦克兵，

讓你們的母親為你們驕傲，

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| 忠實於自由決不動搖。 |  |
|------------|--|

附註：

1776 年 7 月 4 日，北美第二次「大陸會議」宣佈 13 個殖民地獨立，建立新國家。

歐文.柏林

(IRVING BERLIN)

唉，我多恨在早晨起床

Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning

歐文.柏林(1888－1989)出生於俄國，於 1893 年被家人帶到美國。本名小伊斯瑞爾.巴林。八歲時父親去世，他便輟學去掙錢貼補家用。起初他在街頭賣報，以後在紐約下東區的酒吧間賣唱。十九歲時，他發表了第一首自己創作的歌曲，但他的姓名錯印成「I.柏林」，於是他決定以後就沿用這一名字。他的第一首引起轟動的歌是《亞歷山大的拉格泰姆樂隊》(1911)。在柏林三十歲之前，他是美國音樂史上最成功的歌曲作者之一。雖然他從未學過識譜和譜曲，他竟創作了一千五百首歌曲，包括非常流行的《藍色天空》(1927)、《上帝保佑美國》(1938)和《有雷的耶誕節》(1942)。

第一次世界大戰期間，歐文.柏林應徵入伍，在紐約長島厄普頓營步兵團當軍士。當兵期間，他演出了一個提高士氣，完全演士兵的戲《汪，汪，汪汪叫》，其中包括《唉，我多恨在早晨起床》(1917)。這首歌也編入1942年他所創作的音樂喜劇《這就是軍隊》中。

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| 幾天前我巧遇一個當兵的朋友。 | The other day I chanced to meet a<br>soldier |
|----------------|--|

他在軍營住了幾星期看上去很帥：

臉頰紅潤，肌肉發達，

我問他軍隊生活怎樣，這是他的回答：

(合唱)

唉，我多恨在早晨起床，

唉，我多想在床上再躺一躺；

最令人討厭的是聽見號聲：

「你得起來，你得起來，今天早晨你得起床！」

總有一天我將殺了那個號手，

總有一天人們會發現他的屍首；

我要把他的起床號砸碎再重重踩上一腳，

friend of mine.

He'd been in camp for sev'ral weeks  
and he

was looking fine;

His muscles had developed and his  
cheeks

were rosy red

I asked him how he liked the life and  
this is

what he said: CHORUS:

Oh! How I hate to get up in the  
morning,

Oh! how I'd love to remain in bed:

For the hardest blow of all, is to hear  
the

bugler call;

"You've got to get up, you've got to  
get up,

you've got to get up this morning!"

Someday I'm going to murder the  
bugler,

Someday they're going to find him  
dead;

I'll amputate his reveille, and step  
upon it

heavily,

And spend the rest of my life in bed.

A bugler in the army is the luckiest of  
men,

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 這輩子就能在床上高枕無憂。         | He wakes the boys at five and then<br>goes back<br>to bed again; |
| 陸軍的號手真是得天獨厚，          | He doesn't have to blow again until<br>the<br>afternoon,         |
| 他五點鐘喚醒大兵自己卻又爬回床<br>頭， | If ev'rything goes well with me I'll be<br>a bugler<br>soon.     |
| 直到下午他才再吹一次喇叭，         |  |
| 假如一切順利我很快也要當個號手。      |  |
| 啊！朋友，一旦戰爭結束，          |  |
| 啊！朋友，一旦敵人滅亡；          |  |
| 我將立刻脫下軍裝去費城，          |  |
| 一輩子舒舒服服躺在床上。          |  |

Oh! boy the minute the battle is over,  
 Oh! boy the minute the foe is dead;  
 I'll put my uniform away, and move to  
 Philadelphia,  
 And spend the rest of my life in bed.

## 海軍陸戰隊讚歌

### The Marines' Hymn

《海軍陸戰隊讚歌》作者不詳，但它作為一首軍歌大受歡迎則是確切事實。這首歌的曲子可以追溯到雅克·奧芬巴克的歌劇《布拉邦特的吉納維夫》(1868)中的一首《兩個軍人之歌》。1868年10月22日該歌劇在紐約市上演。關於這首歌的歌詞作者有幾種說法，但沒人擁有版權。目前所知最早刊載歌詞的是1917年6月16日的《全國警察報》。海軍陸戰隊報紙《匡提刻海軍陸戰隊士兵》於1918年7月刊登了第一詩節。美國海軍陸戰隊本身於1918年8月1日全文印發了這首歌的詞曲。

從[蒙提祖馬](#)的大廳，

到的黎波里海岸；

我們為祖國戰鬥，

在陸地也在海洋；

首先為權利和自由，

也為我們的榮譽而戰；

當一名海軍陸戰隊  
員，

我們心中充滿自豪。

From the halls of Montezuma

To the shores of Tripoli;

We fight our country's battles

On the land as on the sea;

First to fight for right and freedom

And to keep our honor clean;

We are proud to claim the title

Of United States Marine. Our flag's unlurid to  
every breeze

From dawn to setting sun;

We have fought in ev'ry clime and place

Where we could take a gun;

In the snow of far off Northern land

And in sunny tropic scenes;

You will find us always on the job

The United States Marines.

我們的戰旗迎風招展

從黎明直到太陽下山；

我們在任何地方作戰，

只要能拿起槍桿；

從白雪皚皚的北方，

到赤日炎炎的熱帶，

你都能看到我們在忙碌，

美國海軍陸戰隊員。

為你的健康也為陸戰隊乾杯

我們驕傲地組成這支

部隊；

我們經歷了多少次生  
死搏鬥

從未有過驚慌失措和  
後退；

如果陸軍和海軍兄  
弟，

放眼看看天堂的景  
象；

他們將發現大街由我  
們警衛

美國海軍陸戰隊員。

Here's health to you and to our Corps  
Which we are proud to serve;  
In many a strife we've fought for life  
And never lost our nerve;  
If the Army and the Navy  
Ever look on Heaven's scenes;  
They will find the streets are guarded  
By United States Marines.



附註：

蒙提祖馬(1466－1520)，墨西哥阿茲台克第九代皇帝。

埃德蒙.I.格魯伯  
(EDMUND I.GRUBER)

野戰炮之歌  
**The Field Artillery Song**

《戰炮之歌》更以《炮兵彈藥車之歌》的標題聞名。它是埃德蒙.I.格魯伯中校(以後升為準將)於 1907 年創作的，他當時在菲律賓服役。傑出的樂隊指揮兼作曲家約翰.菲利浦.索薩於 1918 年為這首歌譜寫了器樂曲，使它廣為流傳。《野戰炮之歌》是一首生氣勃勃的行軍歌，在第一次世界大戰和第二次世界大戰期間很受大後方的軍隊和民眾歡迎。

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 翻過山丘，越過溪谷，<br><br>我們前進在塵土飛揚<br>的小路，<br><br>炮兵彈藥車隆隆駛<br>過。 | Over hill, over dale,<br><br>As we hit the dusty trail,<br><br>And the caissons go rolling along.<br><br>In and out, hear them shout<br><br>Counter march and right about,<br><br>And the caissons go rolling along.Then it's hi! hi!<br><br>hee! in the field artillery<br><br>Shout out your numbers loud and strong,<br><br>For where e'er you go, |
|---|---|

道路蜿蜒，他們高呼：

反向行進，向右轉彎，

炮兵彈藥車隆隆駛  
過。

「嗨！嗨！」在野戰炮  
兵隊伍，

喊著你們的番號大聲  
招呼，

因為你們不論走到何  
處，

毫無例外，總會知道，

炮兵彈藥車隆隆駛  
過。

You will always know  
That the caissons go rolling along.

卡爾.桑德伯格

(CARL SANDBURG)

## 草 Grass

卡爾·桑德伯格的《草》是關於第一次世界大戰最感人、最令人難忘的詩歌中的一首。它於 **1918** 年刊載在《剝玉米皮的人》一書中。

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 把屍體堆積在奧斯特裡茨<br>和滑鐵盧，<br><br>把它們鏟進坑，然後讓我<br>來做——<br><br>我是草，我覆蓋一切。<br><br>把屍體堆積在普梯斯堡，<br><br>把屍體堆積在伊普爾和凡<br>爾登，<br><br>把它們鏟進坑，然後讓我<br>來做。 | Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo<br>Shovel them under and let me work—<br>I am the grass; I cover all.And pile them high<br>at Gettysburg<br>And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun.<br>Shovel them under and let me work.<br>Two years, ten years, and passengers ask<br>the<br>conductor:<br>What place is this.<br>Where are we now.I am the grass<br>Let me work. |
|--|--|

兩年，十年過去，旅客問  
乘務員；

這是什麼地方.

我們到了何處.

我是草，

讓我幹活。

尤金.維克托.德布斯(EUGENE VICTOR DEBS)

對法庭的聲明Statement to the Court

只要有一個人關在獄中，我就不是自由人。

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尤金.維克托.德布斯(1855－1926)是個工運組織者，社會黨創始人，六次被提名為社會黨總統候選人。德布斯出生於印第安那州的台熱霍特，十四歲便在鐵路上做工，最後成為一名機車司爐工。到二十歲時他參加了機車司爐工兄弟會的組織工作。1893年德布斯當選為新美國鐵路工會主席。翌年，他領導

了反對普爾門豪華車公司的大罷工，結果聯邦軍隊進駐芝加哥，德布斯因蔑視法庭被監禁六個月。在獄中德布斯廣泛閱讀社會主義的文獻。1898 年他協助創立以後稱為美國社會黨的組織，並於 1900 年成為該黨總統候選人。

德布斯和其他社會黨人反對美國 1917 年捲入世界大戰。由於他嚴厲批評威爾遜政府，於 1918 年 6 月以違犯 1917 年間諜法被捕。在德布斯發表了以下這篇講話後，法官判他十年徒刑。哈定總統 1921 年給予他減刑。1920 年德布斯雖然仍在獄中，但作為總統候選人卻贏得了他歷次競選中的最高選票數（九十一萬五千票）。

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閣下，若干年以前我自認與一切生物有親屬關係，並判定我比世界上最卑賤者好不了一分一毫。當時我說過，現在仍這麼說：只要有一個下層社會，我便是其中一員；只要有一個犯罪成分，我就是由它組成；只要有一個人關在獄中，我就不是自由人。

我在這法庭上聽了所有支援這一起訴和為之辯護的言詞，但我的想法依然如故。我把間諜法看成是與民主原則和自由制度的精神公然對抗的專橫的法令。……

閣下，在法庭上我已說過，我反對我們置身於其中的社會制度；我相信有必要作一番根本的改變——盡可能採用和平的、循序漸進的手段。

今天上午站在這裏，我回憶起自己的童年。我 14 歲便在一鐵路工廠幹活；16 歲在一輛貨運機車上當司爐。對早年的艱苦和貧困我記憶猶新；從那時起直到現在，我的心始終和工人階級在一起。我早就可能進入國會了，但我寧可進監獄。

此時此地我想到工廠裏的男工，想到礦山和鐵路上的男工。我想到爲微薄的工資被迫出賣勞力的婦女；想到那些在這個制度下被剝奪了童年，小小年紀便落入貪婪之神殘酷魔掌的孩子們，他們被驅入工業牢籠成爲機器怪獸的食物，心靈和肉體受盡折磨。我看見他們發育不良，疾病纏身，幼小的生命慘遭蹂躪，因爲在這 20 世紀上半期，基督教文明的金錢仍比兒童的血肉重要得多。事實上，金子仍是當今的上帝，以無情的權勢執掌著人類的事務。

我們這個國家得天獨厚：我們有最富饒肥沃的遼闊土地、取之不盡用之不竭的原料資源、世界上生產能力最強的機器設備，有千百萬樂意爲每個公民、每個兒童的福祉使用這些機器努力製造出大量產品的工人。而如果我國仍有爲數眾多的人民淪爲貧窮的犧牲品，一輩子苦苦掙扎，直到死亡給予他們解脫，讓他們的心不再痛苦，把這些不幸的受害者們誘入無夢的長眠，那罪責不在上帝：不能歸咎於自然，而完全應歸咎於我們置身其中的畸形社會制度，這種社會制度應該消滅，這不僅是爲了勞動大眾的利益，也爲所有人類的最高利益。

閣下，我同其他社會黨人一樣都認爲，這個國家應當擁有並控制它自己的工業。我與其他社會黨人都認爲，一切爲人們共同需要和使用的東西應歸人們共同所有——作爲社會生活基礎的工業不應成爲少數人的私有財產，爲他們發財致富而運作，工業應成爲全體人民的共同財產，應當爲全體人民的利益對其施行民主化的管理。

我反對一種社會秩序，它可以讓一個對社會毫無貢獻的人積累起億萬美元的財富，而讓千百萬一生辛勞的男人和女人掙扎在貧困線上。

這種秩序不可能持久。我已表達了我對它的抗議。我承認自己的努力微不足道，但幸運的是我並非孤軍作戰。千千萬萬人跟我一樣意識到，我們必須把社會組織在共同與合作的基礎上才能真正享受文明生活的幸福；為此目標我們已組織起一個席捲全球的偉大的經濟政治運動。

如今已有超過六百萬社會黨人，他們不分國籍、種族、宗教、膚色、性別，都對這一事業忠貞不渝。他們正投身共同的事業。他們不知疲倦地廣泛宣傳新的社會秩序。他們在等待，在觀察，滿懷著希望夜以繼日地工作。他們仍是少數派，但他們知道該如何耐心地等待時機。他們感覺到——他們確實明白——儘管阻力重重，遭受迫害，這樣的一天正在到來；解放的福音將傳遍各國人民；這一少數派將成為勝利的多數派，掌握政權，開始歷史上最偉大的社會和經濟變革。

到那時我們將實現世界聯邦——國與國之間攜手並肩，融洽合作。...

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Your honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element, I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.

I listened to all that was said in this court in support and justification of this prosecution, but my mind remains unchanged. I look upon the Espionage Law as a despotic enactment in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and with the spirit of free institutions. . . .

Your Honor, I have stated in this court that I am opposed to the social system in

which we live; that I believe in a fundamental change—but if possible by peaceable and orderly means....

Standing here this morning, I recall my boyhood. At fourteen I went to work in a railroad shop; at sixteen I was firing a freight engine on a railroad. I remember all the hardships and privations of that earlier day, and from that time until now my heart has been with the working class. I could have been in Congress long ago. I have preferred to go to prison. . . .

I am thinking this morning of the men in the mills and factories; of the men in the mines and on the railroads. I am thinking of the women who for a paltry wage are compelled to work out their barren lives; of the little children who in this system are robbed of their childhood and in their tender years are seized in the remorseless grasp of Mammon and forced into the industrial dungeons, there to feed the monster machines while they themselves are being starved and stunted, body and soul. I see them dwarfed and diseased and their little lives broken and blasted because in this high noon of our twentieth-century Christian civilization money is still so much more important than the flesh and blood of childhood. In very truth gold is god today and rules with pitiless sway in the affairs of men.

In this country, the most favored beneath the bending skies— we have vast areas of the richest and most fertile soil, material resources in inexhaustible abundance, the most marvelous productive machinery on earth, and millions of eager workers ready to apply their labor to that machinery to produce an abundance for every man, woman, and child— and if there are still vast numbers of our people who are the victims of poverty and whose lives are an unceasing struggle all the way from youth to old age, until at last death comes to their rescue and stills their aching hearts and lulls these hapless victims to dreamless sleep, it is not the fault of the Almighty: it cannot be charged to nature, but it is due entirely to the outgrown social system in which we live, that ought to be abolished not only in the



interest of the toiling masses but in the higher interest of all humanity. . . .

I believe, Your Honor, in common with all Socialists, that this nation ought to own and control its own industries. I believe, as all Socialists do, that all things that are jointly needed and used ought to be jointly owned— that industry, the basis of our social life, instead of being the private property of the few and operated for their enrichment, ought to be the common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all. . . .

I am opposing a social order in which it is possible for one man who does absolutely nothing that is useful to amass a fortune of hundreds of millions of dollars, while millions of men and women who work all the days of their lives secure barely enough for a wretched existence.

This order of things cannot always endure. I have registered my protest against it. I recognize the feebleness of my effort, but fortunately I am not alone. There are multiplied thousands of others who, like myself, have come to realize that before we may truly enjoy the blessings of civilized life, we must reorganize society upon a mutual and co-operative basis; and to this end we have organized a great economic and political movement that spreads over the face of all the earth.

There are today upwards of sixty millions of Socialists, loyal, devoted adherents to this cause, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color, or sex. They are all making common cause. They are spreading with tireless energy the propaganda of the new social order. They are waiting, watching, and working hopefully through all the hours of the day and the night. They are still in a minority. But they have learned how to be patient and to bide their time. They feel— they know, indeed— that the time is coming, in spite of all opposition, all persecution, when this emancipating gospel will spread among all the peoples, and when this minority will become the triumphant majority and, sweeping into power, inaugurate the greatest

social and economic change in history.

In that day we shall have the universal commonwealth— the harmonious co-operation of every nation with every other nation on earth....

瑪格麗特.桑格(MARGARET SANGER)

人身的權利The Right to One's Body

一個婦女不能稱自己為自由人，除非她擁有和掌握自己的身體。

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瑪格麗特.桑格(1883 — 1966)因她為推廣節育作出堅韌不拔的鬥爭而成為國際知名人物。她出生於紐約科寧，在全家七個孩子中排行第六。桑格曾在貧困的紐約市下東區當護士，親眼目睹了當地母親和嬰兒高死亡率的悲慘情景。當時法律規定，提供節育知識是有罪的。桑格同這種法律規定進行了鬥爭。

1914 年桑格出版了叫作《婦女反叛者》的雜誌（以後更名為《節育週刊》），發表了一本標題為《家庭人口限制》的小冊子。因為當時印發或傳播這種資訊是非法的，所以她被指控郵寄違法材料，但此案法院未予受理。1916 年桑格在布魯克林創辦了全國第一家節育診所；她因「公妨罪」被捕，在感化院呆了三十天。

桑格周遊世界，宣傳節育的重要意義。隨著時間的推移，許多州對人們獲取節育知識放寬限制。1973 年，最高法院在《羅對韋德》一書中抨擊了禁止節育的法律。但 1989 年最高法院又裁定，美國只在很窄的範圍內允許墮胎。

以下這篇文章摘自桑格的《婦女和新人類》一書。

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節育的問題直接產生於婦女掙脫束縛，爭取自由的努力。婦女以自己的生育能力造成了這種束縛，她們在使自己受到奴役的同時亦使世界受到奴役。

需要解除的主要是婦女的肉體上的痛苦。她的愛情生活首先是因為生育過多而遭到損害，完全窒息。人類的未來取決於婦女自身——或成之或毀之全在她們。所有這些值得考慮的問題明白無誤地表明一個事實——掌握自由的手段既是婦女的特權，也是婦女的義務。不論男人可能做些什麼，婦女無法逃避此責任。長期以來，她們被剝奪了履行這種義務的機會。如今她們正從軟弱無能的狀況中挺身而出。甚至就如沒人能分擔操勞過度的婦女的痛苦一樣，沒有人能代替她們履行義務。別人可以助一臂之力，而只有婦女自己才能解放自己。

世界的基本自由是婦女的自由。一個自由的民族不可能由當奴隸的母親們生出。一個被鐵鏈鎖住的母親別無選擇。只能把這種束縛分給她的子女。一個婦女不能稱自己為自由人，除非她擁有和掌握自己的身體。一個婦女不能稱自己為自由人，除非她能自覺地決定是否將做個母親。

這並不能大大改變這種情況，即有些婦女因自食其力稱自己為自由人，而另一些婦女因蔑視兩性關係的傳統而自稱自由人。自立的婦女確實獲得了不應低估的自由，但這種自由除了不受限制地決定是否求偶、是否做母親，在質和量兩方面都不足掛齒。她們至少不必乞求自己的伴侶恩賜以維持生活，但自食其力並不能賦予她們自在性慾的發展，這種慾望比外在的表現更深刻、更強烈。為了求得這種發展，她們還是必須面對和解決當母親的問題。

對於在擇偶問題上無視傳統習俗的女性，她們的自由在很大程度上是個性格和勇氣的問題。即便她們能不受限制地擇偶，還是逃脫不出因自己的生育能力造成的受奴役的地位。實際上，比起有幸能與自己選擇的男人結婚的婦女，對於

不合法結婚的婦女，法律和習俗的壓力更大，更使她們淪為奴隸。

不論你從哪種觀點看問題，提出什麼解決辦法，不論這觀點或解決辦法是因循守舊還是離經叛道，是法律允許的還是違抗法律的，歸根結底婦女仍處在原先的地位，除非她們能自己決定是否當母親，生幾個孩子，這一不容迴避的問題本身就足以使節育成為一個首先是婦女的問題。從表面上看，當母親應出於自願主要是婦女關切的事。

但是有人堅持認為，既然性愛表現為雙方的動作，控制其後果的責任便不該只歸婦女。有人發問：既然她們或許不如配偶強健，不論怎樣每月都來例假，難道保護她們的任務不該交給男人，反而該由婦女們完成嗎。

我們必須從兩個角度——理想以及實現理想的條件——來審視婦女問題的這個側面。在一個理想社會中，節育無疑將成為男人和婦女共同關切的事。我們今天所面臨的嚴酷而無法逃避的事實是，男人不僅拒絕承認這類責任，而且獨自或聯合起來力圖阻止婦女為自己承擔此責任而獲取知識。今天她們仍處於從屬的地位，因為她們的配偶拒絕撇開自己的需要把她們看作獨立的個人。她們仍是受束縛的，因為過去她們已把解決這問題的主動權交給了男人，從而發現，她們除了已取得的祈求、哄勸、欺騙的特權，別無其他權利。既然讓男人來解決這問題，婦女便按他們的慾望受到利用、驅使和奴役。

誠然，這種情況結果使男人遭受很多不幸，但婦女的痛苦深重得多。誠然，應該讓男人醒悟，弄清這些痛苦的起因，但我們知道，他們每天回家都對女人拳打腳踢。是婦女經年累月肩負著懷孕、生育、培養多餘子女的重擔。……看著

畸形、瘦弱、營養不良、勞累過度的孩子，是婦女的心最先、最多、最深地受到刺痛。因為害怕再次懷孕，是她們的愛情生活最先窒息。是她們的自我表現機會因此最先喪失。

是條件而不是理論，是事實而不是夢想決定這一問題的解決方式。它們把它壓在婦女肩上。她們已懂得，不論在這方面男人的道德責任是什麼，他們不履行該責任。她們已懂得，不論某一個別丈夫會多麼溫柔體貼，婦女從男人的總體休想得到什麼，因為制訂法律、頒佈規章的是男人。她們知道，不論現實應當是怎樣，嚴峻的，不容迴避的事實是，婦女將永遠不得自由，除非她們為自己奪取自由。

婦女已經有了很多認識，但還有她們應該明白的事情。婦女們總是傾向於步男人的後塵，模仿男人的思維方式，竭力用男人的方法去解決生活的一般問題。倘若獲得自由之後，婦女接受了政府、工業、藝術、道德和宗教領域的現狀，那麼她們將只是從男人的書上撕下的一頁而已。婦女無須做男人的工作，無須有男人的思想。即使幾乎普遍佔統治地位的男性的頭腦無法再照料自己了，婦女也無須害怕。婦女們的使命不是去增強男性的精神，而是表達女性的心聲；她們的使命不是去維持一個男人創造的世界，而是通過將女性的成分注入社會的一切活動創造一個人類世界。

婦女不應接受，而應挑戰。她們不應被周圍的一切既成事實所嚇倒，而應尊重自身爭取表現的力量。她們的眼睛應少盯著現實，多注視奮鬥目標。對男人社會已成教條的那些觀點，她們不應聽信，而應抱坦率的懷疑態度。當她們選擇

自己新的、自由的行動方向時，應根據自己的觀點——自己的直覺。只有這樣，她們才能充分發揚女性的精神。只有這樣，她們才能把配偶從束縛中解放出來，這種束縛是男人強加在她們身上的同時套在自己身上的。只有這樣，她們才能讓男人恢復在限制她們的同時自己身上所喪失的品格。只有這樣，她們才能重建世界。……

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The problem of birth control has arisen directly from the effort of the feminine spirit to free itself from bondage. Woman herself has wrought that bondage through her reproductive powers and while enslaving herself has enslaved the world. The physical suffering to be relieved is chiefly woman's. Hers, too, is the love life that dies first under the blight of too prolific breeding. Within her is wrapped up the future of the race—it is hers to make or mar. All of these considerations point unmistakably to one fact— it is woman's duty as well as her privilege to lay hold of the means of freedom. Whatever men may do, she cannot escape the responsibility. For ages she has been deprived of the opportunity to meet this obligation. She is now emerging from her helplessness. Even as no one can share the suffering of the overburdened mother, so no one can do this work for her. Others may help, but she and she alone can free herself.

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchained cannot choose but give a measure of that bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

It does not greatly alter the case that some women call themselves free because they earn their own livings, while others profess freedom because they defy the

conventions of sex relationship. She who earns her own living gains a sort of freedom that is not to be undervalued, but in quality and in quantity it is of little account beside the untrammelled choice of mating or not mating, or being a mother or not being a mother. She gains food and clothing and shelter, at least, without submitting to the charity of her companion, but the earning of her own living does not give her the development of her inner sex urge, far deeper and more powerful in its outworkings than any of these externals. In order to have that development, she must still meet and solve the problem of motherhood.

With the so-called "free" woman, who chooses a mate in defiance of convention, freedom is largely a question of character and audacity. If she does attain to an unrestricted choice of a mate, she is still in a position to be enslaved through her reproductive powers. Indeed, the pressure of law and custom upon the woman not legally married is likely to make her more of a slave than the woman fortunate enough to marry the man of her choice.

Look at it from any standpoint you will, suggest any solution you will, conventional or un-conventional, sanctioned by law or in defiance of law, woman is in the same position, fundamentally, until she is able to determine for herself whether she will be a mother and to fix the number of her offspring. This unavoidable situation is alone enough to make birth control, first of all, a woman's problem. On the very face of the matter, voluntary motherhood is chiefly the concern of the woman.

It is persistently urged, however, that since sex expression is the act of two, the responsibility of controlling the results should not be placed upon woman alone. Is it fair, it is asked, to give her, instead of the man, the task of protecting herself when she is, perhaps, less rugged in physique than her mate, and has, at all events, the normal, periodic inconveniences of her sex.

We must examine this phase of her problem in two lights— that of the ideal,

and of the conditions working toward the ideal. In an ideal society, no doubt, birth control would become the concern of the man as well as the woman. The hard, inescapable fact which we encounter to-day is that man has not only refused any such responsibility, but has individually and collectively sought to prevent woman from obtaining knowledge by which she could assume this responsibility for herself. She is still in the position of a dependent to-day because her mate has refused to consider her as an individual apart from his needs. She is still bound because she has in the past left the solution of the problem to him. Having left it to him, she finds that instead of rights, she has only such privileges as she has gained by petitioning, coaxing and cozening. Having left it to him, she is exploited, driven and enslaved to his desires.

While it is true that he suffers many evils as the consequence of this situation, she suffers vastly more. While it is true that he should be awakened to the cause of these evils, we know that they come home to her with crushing force every day. It is she who has the long burden of carrying, bearing and rearing the unwanted children. . . . It is her heart that the sight of the de- formed, the subnormal, the undernourished, the overworked child smites first and oftenest and hardest. It is her love life that dies first in the fear of undesired pregnancy. It is her opportunity for self expression that perishes first and most hopelessly because of it.

Conditions, rather than theories, facts, rather than dreams, govern the problem. They place it squarely upon the shoulders of woman. She has learned that whatever the moral responsibility of the man in this direction may be, he does not discharge it. She has learned that, lovable and considerate as the individual husband may be, she has nothing to expect from men in the mass, when they make laws and decree customs. She knows that regardless of what ought to be, the brutal, unavoidable fact is that she will never receive her freedom until she takes it for herself.

Having learned this much, she has yet something more to learn. Women are too



much inclined to follow in the footsteps of men, to try to think as men think, to try to solve the general problems of life as men solve them. If after attaining their freedom, women accept conditions in the spheres of government, industry, art, morals and religion as they find them, they will be but taking a leaf out of man's book. The woman is not needed to do man's work. She is not needed to think man's thoughts. She need not fear that the masculine mind, almost universally dominant, will fail to take care of its own. Her mission is not to enhance the masculine spirit, but to express the feminine; hers is not to preserve a man-made world, but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities.

Woman must not accept; she must challenge. She must not be awed by that which has been built up around her; she must reverence that within her which struggles for expression. Her eyes must be less upon what is and more clearly upon what should be. She must listen only with a frankly questioning attitude to the dogmatized opinions of man-made society. When she chooses her new, free course of action, it must be in the light of her own opinion — of her own intuition. Only so can she give play to the feminine spirit. Only thus can she free her mate from the bondage which he wrought for himself when he wrought hers. Only thus can she restore to him that of which he robbed himself in restricting her. Only thus can she remake the world. . . .

埃德娜.聖文森特.米萊

(EDNA ST.VINCENT MILLAY)

第一顆無花果

First Fig

埃德娜.聖文森特.米萊(1892 — 1950)從小在緬因州長大，孩童時期便給一本兒童雜誌《聖尼古拉斯》投稿。她和兩個姐妹由當護士的母親撫養。米萊因家庭經濟拮据不指望上大學。1912 年她的詩《復興》在全國比賽中獲獎，年輕的

埃德娜(她自稱文森特)遂從紐約的一位資助人那兒得到幫助，得以進入大學就讀。米萊在大學一年級時便已被公認為一名頗有造詣的詩人。1917 年她從瓦薩學院畢業。以後米萊在紐約市的格林威治村生活和工作，成為那個時期文學叛逆者的中心人物。她的第一部詩集《<復興>和其他詩篇》於 1917 年出版。1923 年她因《「用豎琴編織的人」和其他詩篇》獲普利茲詩歌獎。雖然米萊創作了許多優美的抒情詩，她的被引用最頻繁的一首詩是《從薊上摘下的幾顆無花果》(1920)一書中的《第一顆無花果》。在很多人的心目中，埃德娜·聖文森特·米萊代表二十年代新的解放了的女性，而這首詩則恰切地反映出當時焦躁不安的青年浪漫和憤世嫉俗的精神。

我的蠟燭兩頭燃燒，

天亮之前就要熄滅；

可是呵，我的敵人，我的朋友 ——

燭光閃爍多麼可愛！

My candle burns at both ends;

It will not last the night;

But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends —

It gives a lovely light!

## 天使島的詩

### Poems of Angel Island

19 世紀中葉西海岸發現金礦時，中國移民開始來到這裏，他們許多人參入了中部太平洋鐵路的鋪設。但種族偏見和就業競爭導致加州和地方頒佈了排華法規。雖然這些種族歧視的法律中有很多被法院所否定，排華情緒還是促

成了 1882 年華人排斥法的通過，該法令禁止大多數華人移民遷入。

儘管有限制性的法規，從 1910 年至 1940 年成千上萬的華人仍源源不斷地來到美國。他們首先到達以西部的埃利斯島聞名的舊金山灣天使島。天使島既是個入關口岸，又是中國和日本待批入境的移民以及被驅逐等待離境者的拘留所。有些被拘留者在木板棚屋的牆上寫下詩句，表述自己關於飄洋過海、思念家鄉和拘留生活的感想。

在以下這首詩中，「花旗」是廣東話對美國的稱呼，指它色彩斑斕的國旗。

花旗之國最富庶，

I used to admire the land of the Flowery Flag  
as a country of abundance.

湊足盤纏來美洲。

I immediately raised money and started my  
journey.

風浪顛簸一月餘，

For over a month, I have experienced enough  
winds and waves.

如今身陷牢獄苦。

Now on an extended sojourn in jail, I am  
subject to the ordeals of prison life.

抬頭望見奧克蘭，

I look up and see Oakland so close by.

但願回鄉荷耕鋤。

I wish to go back to my motherland to carry  
the farmer's hoe.

飢腸轆轆難入眠，

Discontent fills my belly and it is difficult for  
me to sleep.

聊寫數行表心曲。

I just write these few lines to express what is  
on my mind.

揚希爾.康(YOUNGHILL KANG)

## 一個朝鮮人發現紐約 A Korean Discovers New York

早先我一貫夢見紐約——不是巴黎，不是倫敦，不是柏林，不是慕尼黑，不是維也納，也不是被歲月掩埋的羅馬。

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揚希爾.康(1903—1972)生於朝鮮，1921年移居美國，他是位教師、翻譯家、小說家和回憶錄作者。通過自己的創作，康試圖向美國讀者介紹亞洲。他出版的第一部書是《東方詩篇譯本》(1921)。他一共寫了好幾本書，包括自傳性的《茅草屋頂》(1931)和《從東到西》(1937)。以下這篇典型的關於移民經歷的敘述便是摘錄自《從東到西》一書。

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我從具有千年歷史、以詩人和學者眾多聞名於世的城牆環繞的古城——漢城，來到紐約。我不是直接到達的，但可以說幾乎是如此。駛自遠東的一艘大輪船把我載到加拿大溫哥華，然後我在美洲大陸作橫跨三千英里的旅行，其路程之遙超過從橫濱到溫哥華的一半距離。在哈利法克斯我登上另一艘班船駛向紐約。到了紐約我才感覺到自己注定要真正「下船」了。我的新生活的開端必須在這裏奠定基礎。在朝鮮，「下船」是個習語，意為「出生」，因為「子宮」和「船」為同一個詞。有個故事講述一位朝鮮幽默家身無分文卻需要過河。船夫將他擺渡到對岸後，向他要船錢。可是這位幽默大師對剛下船的船夫說：「你不會向自己的兄弟要船錢，是嗎。我們倆從同一船上下來。」於是他就不用付船錢了。對於在美國的白皮膚多數人種中作一次跨行星的旅行，我的唯一懇求與那位幽默家的滑稽說法一樣。當我進入一個對月亮陰暗的部分不屑一顧、講求

實際的國家時，僅是個兩手空空的無名小卒。我恰巧是在反東方移民法通過前夕到達美國的。

然而這些年來，紐約，這個建立在岩石上但根基不牢，緊張不安，熙熙攘攘，多彩如夢的神奇城市卻成了我的巨型機械孵卵器。

早先我一貫夢見紐約——不是巴黎，不是倫敦，不是柏林，不是慕尼黑，不是維也納，也不是被歲月掩埋的羅馬。那時我才十八歲，青春年少，美國對我來說僅是個名稱，我竟天真地逕自作出反應，這確實令人不可思議……猶如固執的飛蛾遵照某種深奧莫測的法則確定自己的飛行方向。但是我對自己說：「我既不要夢想也不要詩意，更不要一切傳統，決不要滿月。」即使在分崩離析的狀態，朝鮮也擁有這些，而等待著她的是死亡。我渴望快捷、不受阻礙的行動、流動性以及難以名狀的新奇。由行動產生夢，產生詩。唯靜止的夢才是毫無用處的荒原。所以我懷著對新月的崇拜來到這裏，那新月不是金秋時節的圓月，而是冬臨大地時的一彎弦月。

「終於到紐約啦！」我聽見四周的旅客們說。而這一資訊是不需要通報的。這城市屹立在神秘的白色和紫紅色中，屹立在白色的朦朧中，宛如昨夜的夢，新鮮、新奇、難以置信……但它確實屹立在揚揚自得的物質主義的高傲和自豪中。這是些年輕、苗條、端莊、一千層樓(或許只是對我來說顯得這麼高，因為我來自一個國家，那兒的建築從不敢向地球挑戰)的怪物，一個個都像通天塔，高塔林立，參差不齊地插入雲天，不啻通天塔之城。這些女性巨人，命運女神，密密麻麻地站立在美國的邊緣。她們不是為一位帝王、一個幽靈或任何人的宗

教而建造的，而是由幾個生硬、冰冷、神奇的單詞——機會、事業、繁榮、成功——物化而成，而這些商業辭彙來源於一個自然資源豐富的國家世界規模的貿易活動。這些白色的建築物聳立在岩石上。她們的裙子不沾一點兒泥土。她們就如智慧女神一般被構思出來，躍入視野；她們藐視地球。沒有什麼比美國更稱得上是機器時代的豐碑了。

我來到這紐約，沒有任何地方能比它離我的家鄉更遠。我們的住房低矮，飽經風霜，長滿苔蘚，憎惡毫無生氣的線條——確定、有限、冷漠之物，喜愛迴旋曲和向上的筆觸。屋頂像船似地翹起，總忘不了興風作浪的自然力。我的家鄉恰好距離這裏半球之遙，再往前走便意味著縮短而不是加大距離。我那茅屋錯落，群山懷抱的小村離這巨大的叛逆之城紐約是何等遙遠啊！而紐約的反叛精神激動著我的心。它的野性將大塊混凝土層層壘起，在最後一刻彷彿躊躇再三才加蓋，頂部皆似精巧的冰山；它的揮霍未經祈禱便為獲取光明劫掠煤礦和瀑布，用鑽石般璀璨奪目的無數電燈裝飾這座超脫自然的偉大城市——這一切令我，一個亞洲人心醉神迷。在紐約身上我看到的不是彌爾頓筆下的撒旦，而是布萊克的撒旦。

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From an old walled Korean city some thousand years old—Seoul— famous for poets and scholars, to New York. I did not come directly. But almost. A large steamer from the Orient landed me in Vancouver, Canada, and I travelled over three thousand miles across the American continent, a journey more than half as far as from Yokohama to Vancouver. At Halifax, straightway I took another liner. And this time for New York. It was in New York I felt I was destined really "to come off

from the boat." The beginning of my new existence must be founded here. In Korea to come out from the boat is an idiom meaning to be born, as the word "pai" for "womb" is the same as "pai" for "boat"; and there is the story of a Korean humorist who had no money, but who needed to get across a river. On landing him on the other side, the ferryman asked for his money. But the Korean humorist said to the ferryman who too had just stepped out, "You wouldn't charge your brother, would you. We both came from the same boat." And so he travelled free. My only plea for a planet-ride among the white-skinned majority of this New World is the same facetious argument. I brought little money, and no prestige, as I entered a practical country with small respect for the dark side of the moon. I got in just in time before the law against Oriental immigration was passed.

But New York, that magic city on rock yet ungrounded, nervous, flowing, million-hued as a dream, became, throughout the years I am recording, the vast mechanical incubator of me.

It was always of New York I dreamed— not Paris nor London nor Berlin nor Munich nor Vienna nor age-buried Rome. I was eighteen, green with youth, and there was some of the mystery of nature in my simple immediate response to what was for me just a name . . . like the dogged moth that directs its flight by some unfathomable law. But I said to myself, "I want neither dreams nor poetry, least of all tradition, never the full moon." Korea even in her shattered state had these. And beyond them stood waiting— death. I craved swiftness, unimpeded action, fluidity, and amorphous New. Out of action rises the dream, rises the poetry. Dream without motion is the only wasteland that can sustain nothing. So I came adoring the crescent, not the full harvest moon, with winter over the horizon and its waning to a husk.

"New York at last!" I heard from the passengers around me. And the information was not needed. In unearthly white and mauve, shadow of white, the

city rose, like a dream dreamed overnight, new, remorselessly new, impossibly new. . . and yet there in all the arrogant pride of rejoiced materialism. These young, slim, stately things a thousand houses high (or so it seemed to me, coming from an architecture that had never defied the earth), a tower of Babel each one, not one tower of Babel but many, a city of Babel towers, casually, easily strewn end up against the skies— they stood at the brink, close-crowded, the brink of America, these Giantesses, these Fates, which were not built for a king nor a ghost nor any man's religion, but were materialized by those hard, cold, magic words — opportunity, enterprise, prosperity, success — just business words out of world-wide commerce from a land rich in natural resource. Buildings that sprang white from the rock. No earth clung to their skirts. They leaped like Athene from the mind synthetically; they spurned the earth. And there was no monument to the machine-age like America.

I could not have come farther from home than this New York. Our dwellings, low, weathered, mossed, abhorring the lifeless line— the definite, the finite, the aloof— loving rondures and an upward stroke, the tilt of a roof like a boat always aware of the elements in which it is swinging— most fittingly my home was set a hemisphere apart, so far over the globe that to have gone on would have meant to go nearer not farther. How far my little grass-roofed, hill- wrapped village from this gigantic rebellion which was New York! And New York's rebellion called to me excitedly, this savagery which piled great concrete block on concrete block, topping at the last moment as in an afterthought, with crowns as delicate as pinnacled ice; this lavishness which, without a prayer, pillaged coal mines and waterfalls for light, festooning the great nature-severed city with diamonds of frozen electrical phenomena— it fascinated me, the Asian man, and in it I saw not Milton's Satan, but the one of Blake.

斯蒂芬·文森特·貝內

(STEPHEN VINCENT BEN'ET)



## 美國的名字

### American Names

斯蒂芬.文森特.貝內 (1898-1943) 生於賓夕法尼亞，1919 年畢業於耶魯大學。他的父親是個熱愛詩歌的軍人，常給子女朗讀詩歌，而這幾個子女以後成了作家。斯蒂芬.文森特.貝內 17 歲時出版了第一本書。他是個多產的詩人，同時也創作長篇和短篇小說以及歌劇劇本。他和妻子羅斯瑪麗 1933 年合寫了《美國人的書》，為兒童描寫歷史人物。他兩次因詩獲普利茲獎。他的兩首獲普利茲獎的詩——《約翰.布朗的屍體》和《西方的星》——都是描述美國的過去。

我愛上了美國名字，  
  
這些生氣勃勃的名  
字絕對不會變得呆  
滯，  
  
礦區土地醒目的稱  
呼  
  
[梅迪辛哈特](#)用羽毛裝  
飾的武士帽，  
  
[圖森](#)、[戴德伍德](#)和[洛  
斯特繆爾平地](#)。

I have fallen in love with American names,  
  
The sharp names that never get fat,  
  
The snakeskin-titles of mining-claims,  
  
The plumed war-bonnet of Medicine Hat,  
  
Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule Flat.Seine and  
Piave are silver spoons,  
  
But the spoonbowl-metal is thin and worn,  
  
There are English counties like hunting-tunes  
Played on the keys of a postboy's horn,  
  
But I will remember where I was born.I will  
remember Carquinez Straits,  
  
Little French Lick and Lundy's Lane,  
  
The Yankee ships and the Yankee dates  
  
And the bullet-towns of Calamity Jane.  
  
I will remember Skunktown Plain.I will fall in  
love with a Salem tree  
  
And a rawhide quirt from Santa Cruz,

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|---|--|
| <p><a href="#">塞納河</a>和<a href="#">皮亞韋河</a>是<br/><a href="#">銀餐匙</a>，</p> <p>但這種餐匙的銀質<br/>既薄又陳舊，</p> <p>有些英國郡名就如<br/>打獵號角聲</p> <p>由驛車送信人的喇叭<br/>悠揚吹出，</p> <p>然而我卻牢記自己<br/>在那兒誕生。</p> <p>我將記住卡奎內斯<br/>海峽，</p> <p><a href="#">小弗蘭奇利克</a>和<a href="#">倫帝</a><br/><a href="#">小路</a>，</p> <p><a href="#">揚基</a>船和揚基日期</p> | <p>I will get me a bottle of Boston sea<br/>And a blue-gum nigger to sing me blues<br/>I am tired of loving a foreign muse.Rue des<br/>Martyrs and Bleeding-Heart-Yard,<br/>Senlis, Pisa, and Blindman's Oast,<br/>It is a magic ghost you guard<br/>But I am sick for a newer ghost,<br/>Harrisburg, Spartanburg, Painted Post.Henry<br/>and John were never so<br/>And Henry and John were always right.<br/>Granted, but when it was time to go<br/>And the tea and the laurels had stood all<br/>night,<br/>Did they never watch for Nantucket Light.<br/>I shall not rest quiet in Montparnasse.<br/>I shall not lie easy at Winchelsea.<br/>You may bury my body in Sussex grass,<br/>You may bury my tongue at Champmedy.<br/>I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.<br/>Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.</p> |
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還有掃帚星琴恩的  
槍彈城，

我將記住斯肯克頓  
普萊。

我將愛上塞勒姆的  
樹，

以及聖克魯斯的短  
柄皮鞭，

我將為自己裝一瓶  
波士頓海水，

一個藍色齒齦的黑  
人爲我唱布魯斯。

我不再熱愛一位外  
國繆斯。

烈士街和布利丁哈

[特場](#)，

[桑利](#)、[比薩](#)和[布萊德](#)

[曼斯歐斯特](#)，

你守衛的是個有魔  
力的鬼魂，

但是我渴望更新的  
鬼魂

[哈里斯堡](#)、[斯帕坦堡](#)

和[佩恩萊德波斯特](#)。

亨利和約翰從來不  
是這樣，

亨利和約翰難道一  
貫正確。

假定如此，然而當出  
發的時刻來到，

茶點和桂冠已等候

了一個通宵，

他們仍對南塔吉特  
燈塔瞧也不瞧？

我不會帶蒙帕那斯  
安息。

我不會在溫奇爾西  
長眠。

你們可以把我的軀  
體埋在蘇塞克斯草  
地，

你們可以把我舌頭  
埋在尙梅蒂。

我將不會帶那裏。我  
將復生又死去。

把我的心埋在傷膝  
溪。

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附註：

- 梅迪辛哈特：加拿大一城市，原文為是Medicine Hat, Hat "帽子"的意思。
- 圖森：美國亞利桑那州一城市。
- 戴德伍德：美國南達科他州西部城市，原文為Deadwood，意思是"枯木"。
- 洛斯特繆爾平地：美國地名，原文為 Lost Mule Flat, Lost Mule 意為"丟失的驢子"。
- 塞納河：法國著名河流。
- 皮亞韋河：義大利一河流。
- 銀餐匙："銀餐匙"比喻遺產。這一詩行暗示法國和義大利某些地理名稱令人聯想到部分美國人的歐洲祖居地和高貴血統。
- 小弗蘭奇利克：原文為Little French Lick, Lick意思是"舔"。
- 倫帝小路：地名，位於尼亞加拉瀑布城以西一英里，1814年7月美英雙方軍隊曾在此激戰。

- 揚基： "揚基"指美國佬。
- 掃帚星琴恩：掃帚星琴恩，曾結婚十二次，原文為Calamity Jane, Calamity 意為"實難"。
- 斯肯克頓普萊： 原文為Skunktown Plain, 意為"臭鼬鎮平原"。
- 塞勒姆： 美國麻塞諸塞州一港市。
- 聖克魯斯： 美國加州西部城市。原為 Santa Cruz，與"聖誕老人"的英文拼寫法相近。
- 波士頓： 美國麻塞諸塞州首府，港市。
- 布魯斯： 傷感的美國黑人民歌，原文為blues, 僅比blue(藍色)多一個字母。
- 繆斯： 希臘神話中的文藝與科學女神。
- 布利丁哈特場： 原文為 Bleeding—Heart—Yard, Bleeding—Heart 意為"荷包牡丹"。
- 桑利： 法國瓦茲省一城鎮。
- 比薩： 義大利著名城市。
- 布萊德曼斯歐斯特： 原文為 Blindman's Oast， 意為"盲人的啤酒花烘爐"。
- 哈里斯堡： 美國賓夕法尼亞州首府。

- 斯帕坦堡：美國南卡羅來納州北部城市。
- 佩恩萊德波斯特：原文為 **Painted Post**,意為"彩色的標柱"。
- 南塔吉特：美國麻塞諸塞州的一座島，曾是捕鯨業港口。
- 蒙帕那斯：蒙帕那斯是巴黎塞納河左岸的一個區。
- 溫奇爾西：位於英格蘭東部，歷史上英吉利海峽一重要港口，因航道淤塞，現僅存一小村。
- 蘇塞克斯：原英國南部一郡名。
- 傷膝溪：美國南達科他州西南部派恩裏奇印第安人保留區中的一個村莊，1890 年美軍在這裏屠殺二百名印第安人。原文為 **Wounded Knee**，意為「受傷的膝蓋」。

克勞德·麥凱

(CLAUDE MCKAY)

美國

America

克勞德·麥凱(1889-1948) 是二十年代哈萊姆文藝復興最早、最憤怒的聲音之一。那是個美國黑人作家、音樂家、表演家和美術家——其中許多人在紐約市哈萊姆區居住和工作——文藝創作蓬勃發展的時期。麥凱出生於牙麥



加，他的哥哥和一個英國人教他學法語、讀世界文學經典作品。他年輕時便出版了兩本詩集。1912 年麥凱來到美國，先後在塔斯基吉學院和堪薩斯州師範學院學習。1914 年他去紐約，參加政治和藝術領域的先鋒派運動。除了寫詩，麥凱也創作長篇和短篇小說。從 1922 年到 1923 年，麥凱在蘇聯逗留了一年，俄國革命的領袖們把他當作名流對待。接著他又在西班牙、摩洛哥和法國住了幾年。但麥凱逐漸對共產主義產生幻滅感，1934 年回到美國後發現自己與許多原先的夥伴觀點相左。1937 年麥凱出版自傳《遠離家鄉》。1944 年他的皈依羅馬天主教，晚年貧病交加，十分淒涼。

雖然她讓我飽嘗痛苦，  
用她的虎牙咬住我的喉嚨，  
令我窒息，我卻承認  
我熱愛這磨練我青春的人造地獄！  
她的氣勢如浪潮湧入我的血液，  
賦予我力量挺身反抗她的仇恨。  
她的巨大如洪水沖激著我的生命。  
然而就像一個造反者莊嚴地面對皇帝，  
我在她的圍牆內屹然站立，

Although she feeds me bread of  
bitterness,  
And sinks into my throat her tiger's  
tooth,  
Stealing my breath of life, I will confess  
I love this cultured hell that tests my  
youth!  
Her vigor flows like tides into my blood,  
Giving me strength erect against her  
hate.  
Her bigness sweeps my being like a  
flood.  
Yet as a rebel fronts a king in state,  
I stand within her walls with not a shred  
Of terror, malice, not a word of jeer.  
Darkly I gaze into the days ahead,  
And see her might and granite wonders  
there,  
Beneath the touch of Time's unerring  
hand,

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>沒有恐懼、惡意或嘲笑的言語。</p> <p>在暗中我展望未來的歲月，</p> <p>只見她宏偉的光崗石奇觀</p> <p>經準確無誤的時間巨手的觸摸，</p> <p>猶如無價珍寶陷入沙灘。</p>  | <p>Like priceless treasures sinking in the sand.</p>   |
| <p>康蒂.卡倫<br/>(COUNTEE CULLEN)</p> <p>但是我感到驚奇<br/>Yet Do I Marvel</p> <p>康蒂.卡倫(1903－1946)生於紐約市，並且在那裏成為詩人，獲得很多榮譽。早在中學時期他便在全市詩歌比賽中獲獎；在紐約大學他獲得一項重要的詩歌創作獎，被選入美國大學優秀生全國性榮譽組織PBK聯誼會。1925年卡倫出版第一部詩集《膚色》，蜚聲美國詩壇，並成為二十年代哈萊姆文藝復興的風雲人物之一。除了幾本詩集，他還寫了一部題為《通往天堂的一條路》的小說和幾本供兒童閱讀的書。1934年以後卡倫在紐約市初級中學任教。</p> |  |
| <p>我不懷疑上帝的仁慈、善良和好意，</p>  | <p>I doubt not God is good, well-meaning, kind,<br/>And did He stoop to quibble could tell</p> |

但若是他使用遁詞便能解釋，  
為何地下的鼯鼠仍然瞎眼，  
為何反映他形象的肉體總有一天要  
死去，  
說明坦塔羅斯受折磨的原因，  
是他被變化不定的果子吸引，  
闡明是否僅僅因蠻橫的任性，  
西西弗斯就注定得攀登無限高的階  
梯。  
  
上帝之道深奧莫測，  
對人們的詰問置之不理，  
他們的頭腦塞滿雞毛蒜皮  
無法理解操縱他巨手的智慧的威  
力。  
  
但我對這件怪事感到驚奇：  
  
造出黑膚色詩人，令他唱吟！

why  
The little buried mole continues blind,  
Why flesh that mirrors Him must some  
day die,  
Make plain the reason tortured Tantalus  
Is bailed by the fickle fruit, declare  
If merely brute caprice dooms Sisyphus  
To struggle up a never-ending stair.  
Inscrutable His ways are, and immune  
To catechism by a mind too strewn  
With petty cares to slightly understand  
What awful brain compels His awful  
hand  
Yet do I marvel at this curious thing:  
To make a poet black, and bid him sing!

附註：

- 坦塔羅斯：坦塔羅斯是希臘神話中宙斯之子，因洩露天機被罰永世站在  
上有果樹的水中，口渴想喝水時水即減退，腹饑欲吃果子時樹枝即升高。
- 西西弗斯：西西弗斯是希臘神話中古時的暴君，死後墮入地獄，被罰推  
石上山，但石頭在近山頂時又滾下，於是重新再推，如此迴圈不息。

詹姆斯.韋爾登.約翰遜

(JAMES WELDON JOHNSON)

黑膚色無名詩人啊

Black and Unknown Bards

詹姆斯.韋爾登.約翰遜(1871—1938)出生於佛羅里達州傑克遜維爾，是個很有天賦的人。他的當教員的母親對他進行過音樂和其他方面的培養訓練。1894 年他從亞特蘭大大學取得學士學位。他學習法律並於 1897 年在佛羅里達州取得做律師的資格(自從南北戰爭後的重建以來，他是第一個進入佛羅里達律師界的美國黑人)。1904 年約翰遜又從亞特蘭大大學取得碩士學位。與此同時，他在傑克遜維爾黑人中學擔任幾年校長。約翰遜和他的兄弟約翰.羅沙蒙德.約翰遜開始合寫歌曲。1901 年，兄弟倆遷入紐約，為百老匯寫了大約二百首歌。

對多數人來說，這或許足以構成一生的專業活動。但約翰遜精力過人，創作力旺盛。1906 年他被委任為美國駐委內瑞拉波多卡貝洛領事，在拉丁美洲的外交使團中工作到 1914 年。接著他在菲斯克大學任教，撰寫一部小說，

1916 年作為執行秘書成為全美有色人種促進會的職員。除了寫詩，約翰遜還編纂了幾本重要的黑人詩歌或黑人聖歌的選集。《黑膚色無名詩人啊》選自《聖彼得講述復活節的一件事》(1930)。

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 很久以前的黑膚色無名詩人啊，<br><br>你們的嘴唇何以觸碰到聖火。<br><br>何以在蒙昧中知曉<br><br>遊吟詩人豎琴的力量和美妙。<br><br>是誰最先在枷鎖中抬起目光。<br><br>是誰最先從淒清而漫長的夜晚，<br><br>感悟到先知們的古老信仰，<br><br>在黑暗的靈魂中站起，引吭歌唱。 | O black and unknown bards of long ago,<br>How came your lips to touch the sacred fire.<br>How, in your darkness, did you come to know<br>The power and beauty of the minstrel's lyre.<br>Who first from midst his bonds lifted his eyes.<br>Who first from out the still watch, lone and long,<br>Feeling the ancient faith of prophets rise<br>Within his dark-kept soul, burst into song. Heart of<br>what slave poured out such melody<br>As "Steal away to Jesus". On its strains<br>His spirit must have nightly floated free,<br>Though still about his hands he felt his chains.<br>Who heard great "Jordan roll". Whose starward<br>eye<br>Saw chariot "swing low". And who was he<br>That breathed that comforting, melodic sigh,<br>"Nobody knows de trouble I see". What merely<br>living clod, what captive thing,<br>Could up toward God through all its darkness<br>grope,<br>And find within its deadened heart to sing<br>These songs of sorrow, love and faith, and hope.<br>How did it catch that subtle undertone,<br>That note in music heard not with the ears.<br>How sound the elusive reed so seldom blown, |
|--|---|

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>是哪個奴隸的心唱出這樣的歌曲，</p> <p>如「逃出去尋找耶穌」.</p> <p>隨著它的旋律，</p> <p>他的靈魂每夜自由飛翔，</p> <p>雖然雙手仍緊鎖著冰冷的鐵鏈。</p> <p>是誰聽見了激動人心的「約旦鼓聲」.</p> <p>是誰的眼睛星星般明亮</p> <p>看見戰車「徐徐駛下」.</p> <p>是誰發出悠揚悅耳的詠歎：</p> <p>「沒人知道我經歷的苦難」.</p> | <p>Which stirs the soul or melts the heart to tears</p> <p>Not that great German master in his dream Of</p> <p>harmonies that thundered amongst the stars</p> <p>At the creation, ever heard a theme</p> <p>Nobler than "Go down, Moses." Mark its bars</p> <p>How like a mighty trumpet-call they stir</p> <p>The blood. Such are the notes that men have sung</p> <p>Going to valorous deeds; such tones there were</p> <p>That helped make history when Time was</p> <p>young. There is a wide, wide wonder in it all,</p> <p>That from degraded rest and servile toil</p> <p>The fiery spirit of the seer should call</p> <p>These simple children of the sun and soil.</p> <p>O black slave singers, gone, forgot, unfamed,</p> <p>You—you alone, of all the long, long line</p> <p>Of those who've sung untaught, unknown,</p> <p>unnamed,</p> <p>Have stretched out upward, seeking the</p> <p>divine. You sang not deeds of heroes or of kings;</p> <p>No chant of bloody war, no exulting paeon</p> <p>Of arms-won triumphs; but your humble strings</p> <p>You touched in chord with music empyrean.</p> <p>You sang far better than you knew; the songs</p> <p>That for your listeners' hungry hearts sufficed</p> <p>Still live,—but more than this to you belongs:</p> <p>You sang a race from wood and stone to Christ.</p> |
|--|---|

什麼牢中之物，是什麼活  
著的肉體，

能在黑暗中摸索通向上帝  
的路，

從自己麻木的心中找出

這些關於悲傷、愛情、忠  
誠和希望的歌曲。

它是怎樣領悟那微妙的含  
意，

即使耳朵無法聽到的聲  
音。

那很少被吹奏的難以捉摸  
的蘆笛，

其聲調如此感人肺腑，將  
心臟融化成淚滴。

即便那位傑出的德國大師

在夢中，

創作響徹雲霄的和聲，

也從未聽見一個主旋律

「下來吧，摩西」更加壯  
麗。請聽它的樂句，

就如嘹亮的號角令人熱血  
沸騰。

這些就是人們已唱過的歌  
曲，

當他們建立英雄業績：這  
些曲子喲

在時間年幼時創造歷史。

這一切令人不可思議：

那預言家火熱的激情竟喚  
起

這些太陽和泥土的純真孩



子

從偷閒和勞役中甦醒。

死去、被遺忘、不留名的  
黑人奴隸歌唱家啊，

你們——唯有你們，雖屬  
於苦眾生，

那些未受教育，默默無聞  
的無名歌者，

卻追求神聖向上伸出雙  
臂。

你們歌唱的不是英雄也不  
是皇帝，

不是血腥的戰爭，也不是  
歡樂曲，

慶祝武力贏得的勝利但卑  
微的弦啊

由你們撥響奏出天堂的音樂。

你們的歌聲比自己知道的更美；

這些歌曲曾滿足無數聽眾飢渴的心靈，

它們流傳至今，——但你們的功勞無可比擬：

向基督歌唱一個由樹木和石頭產生的人民。

蘭斯頓.休斯

(LANGSTON HUGHES)

《黑人談河流》和《我也》

The Negro Speaks of Rivers and I, Too

(詹姆斯.)蘭斯頓.休斯(1902—1967)是個多才多藝的作家。他既是詩人，也是散文家、記者、小說家、劇作家、選集編者、西班牙和法國文學翻譯家、抒情詩人和報紙專欄作家，在國際上享有盛名。早在年輕時他便以詩作聞名。他的詩《黑人談河流》1921年發表在《危機》上。1926年他的第一卷

詩集《睏倦的黑人民歌》問世。休斯是哈萊姆文藝復興最有天賦的詩人之一，從美國黑人的非洲傳統中挖掘寶藏。休斯一生共出版九部詩集。他的《我也》最初於 1925 年發表在《新黑人》中；它是對沃爾特·惠特曼的《我歌唱美國》一詩的呼應，肯定「膚色較黑的兄弟」也唱一首美國之歌而且將在美國佔據應有的位置。

## 黑人談河流

我熟悉河流：

我熟悉像世界一樣古老的  
河流。

比奔騰在人類血管裏的血  
液更古老的河流。

我的靈魂已變得似河流般  
深沈。

我沐浴在幼發拉底河中，在  
晨光微明的時分。

我把小屋蓋在剛果河畔，潺  
潺的水聲誘我進入夢鄉。

我觀賞尼羅河，在河邊建立

**The Negro Speaks of Rivers** I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and  
older than the

flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were  
young.

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me  
to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids  
above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe  
Lincoln

went down to New Orleans, and I've seen  
its muddy

bosom turn all golden in the sunset. I've known  
rivers:

Ancient, dusky rivers. My soul has grown  
deep like the rivers. **I, Too**

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.

They send me to eat in the kitchen

When company comes,

金字塔。

我聽見密西西比河的歌唱，

當亞伯.林肯順流直下

新奧爾良，我看見

它渾濁的胸膛在夕照中閃

著金光。

我熟悉河流：

古老、蒼茫的河流。

我的靈魂已變得似河流般

深沈。

我也

我也歌唱美國。

But I laugh,

And eat well,

And grow strong. Tomorrow,

I'll be at the table

When company comes.

Nobody'll dare

Say to me,

"Eat in the kitchen,"

Then.

Besides.

They'll see how beautiful I am

And be ashamed —

I, too, am America.

我就是那膚色較黑的弟兄。

當客人來訪，

他們便讓我到廚房吃飯。

可是我笑了，

吃得很香，

長得很健壯。

明天，當客人來訪

我將坐在餐桌旁。

到那時，

沒人敢

對我講，

「去廚房吃飯。」

此外，

他們將看到我是多麼漂亮

從而感到羞慚——

我，也是美國。

赫伯特·胡佛(HERBERT HOOVER)

### 美國的自治制度The American System Self-Government

自由主義的確是這種精神的力量，它出自對這一點的深切認識，即若是要保存政治自由，經濟自由便不能被剝奪。

赫伯特·胡佛(1874—1964)生於愛阿華州，在俄勒岡州長大，入史坦福大學讀工程。胡佛因在第一次世界大戰期間及其後向歐洲慘遭戰禍的地區分發價值一百萬美元的食品和其他援助物資的出色工作而贏得國際聲譽。1928年當他被共和黨提名為總統候選人時，已是個進步而務實的知名領袖。在救濟活動方面的經驗本該使他能較好地對付始於1929年10月證券市場崩潰的全國性災禍，但胡佛反對大規模公共工程計劃，反對向失業者直接提供政府援助。

1932年胡佛在競選中敗於弗蘭克林·D·羅斯福之手，這使許多人得出一個結論：胡佛的有限政府的哲學被明確否定了。但是即便新政在經濟上大大擴展了聯邦政府的職能，它卻並未像胡佛擔心的那樣損害自治和個人積極性。胡佛所表述的思想以後成為美國自我形象的一個基本主題，而且在八十年代後期贏得新的國際聲譽。八十年代後期社會主義國家開始拋棄中央計劃體制，嘗試推行政治多元化、市場經濟和私營企業。

這一講話是胡佛在1928年成功的競選運動中發表的。

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……在過去的一百五十年間，我們已建立了一種自治和社會制度的形式，它是

我們所獨創的，實質上有別於世界上任何別的政體。它是美國的制度，與迄今人類歷史上所建立的一切政治和社會制度一樣明確肯定。它建構在一個獨特的自治觀念上，這種觀念以分散的地方責任為基礎。而且它還建構在這一觀念上，即只有通過向個人提供符合規章的自由權、自由以及平等的機會，個人才能在進步的征程中充分發揮其主動性和創造性。而正是因為我們堅決主張機會均等，我們的制度才取得了比世界其他國家更快的發展。

在戰爭期間我們必然仰賴政府解決每一個經濟難題。既然政府為戰爭汲取了我國人民的全部能量，也就只能這麼解決問題了。為了捍衛國家，聯邦政府成為中央集權的專制政府，承擔前所未有的責任，實行獨裁，接管公民事務。在很大程度上我們暫時把全體人民組織成一個社會主義的國家。無論這種做法在戰時有多麼合理，在和平時期連續實行則不僅會毀壞我們美國的制度，而且將斷送我們的進步和自由。

當戰爭結束時，我國和全世界最重要的問題是，政府是否應繼續保持戰時對許多生產和分配手段的所有權及經營權。我們面臨挑戰，必須在和平時期在這二者之間作出選擇：要麼是美國質樸個人主義的制度，要麼是歐洲由恰好對立的兩種教義形成的哲學——家長式統治和國家社會主義。接受這兩種教義便意味著通過政府的中央集權破壞自治，意味著破壞個人的主動性和創造性。而我國人民因為有這種主動性和創造性已發展成舉世無雙的偉大人民。……

共和黨完全掌權後，它立刻堅決回到我們關於國家以及個人權利與責任的基本觀念上。由此它恢復了對美國人民的信任和希望，解放和刺激了企業的發展，

使政府從經濟活動參與者的位貴重新回到仲裁者的位置。正是由於這些原因，美國人民取得了進步，而世界其餘地區停滯不前，有些國家甚至倒退。如果有人研究一下歐洲復原遲緩的原因，他將發現主要是由於一方面扼殺了私人的積極性，另一方面政府經營管理的擔子太重。

但是在這次競選運動中有人重又提出了一系列建議，倘若它們被採納，就等於朝這一方向邁出一大步：摒棄我們美國的制度，聽任商業經營管理由政府處理產生破壞性的後果。』因為我國正面臨某些全國性問題——酒、農業救濟和電力問題——引起的困難和困惑，我們的對手建議，我們應讓政府深深介入引發這些問題的事務中。實際上，他們拋棄了自己政黨的原則，求助於國家社會主義以解決這三個問題所體現的困難。他們提議我們變禁酒為國家購銷酒類。如果他們的農業救濟方案有什麼意義的話，它意味著政府將直接或間接地購買、銷售農產品並決定其價格。而且我們將經營水力電力業務。換言之，我們面對著一個龐大的政府營業計劃。

因此，一個基本的原則性問題提到美國人民面前：我們是否將背離我們賴以取得比其他國家更大發展的美國的政治和經濟制度，以便採納動搖它根基的那些原則所派生的方法……

我想跟你們談談這個政府經營商業的規劃將會對我們的自治制度和經濟制度產生什麼影響。這種影響將涉及每個人的日常生活。它將削弱自由的基礎，對膨脹的官僚政治圈子內外的人來說都是如此。……

它是一種虛假的自由主義，把自由主義解釋為政府經營商業。使我國的商業官



僚化的每一步驟都動搖了自由主義——政治平等、言論自由、集會自由、出版自由和機會均等——的根基。這不是通向更大自由的道路，而是遏制自由的道路。自由主義的創立不是為擴充官僚政府，而是要限制它。真正的自由主義追求一切合法的自由。它首先堅信，倘若沒有這種自由，那麼對所有別的幸福和利益的追求都是徒勞。這一信念是美國一切進步——無論是政治上或經濟上——的基礎。

自由主義的確是這種精神的力量，它出自對這一點的深切認識，即若是要保存政治自由，經濟自由便不能被剝奪。即便政府經營商業能夠帶給我們更高，而不是更低的效率，從根本上反對它的力量仍然不會改變，不會減弱。政府經營商業將損害政治平等。它將增加，而不是減少濫用職權、貪污賄賂現象。它將扼殺主動性、創造性。它將阻礙領導能力的發展。它將使我們的人民智力愚鈍，萎靡不振。它將壓制平等的機會。它將摧殘自由和進步的精神。正是由於這些原因，首先必須對它進行抵制。一百五十年以來，自由主義在美國的制度，而不是在歐洲的各種制度中找到了它的真諦。

我不希望自己這番話遭到誤解。我正在解釋一個總方針。這並不意味著我們的政府將置全面維護公眾利益於不顧，放棄任何一點國家資源。……

我也不希望被誤解為認定美國是一切自由，誰落在後頭誰就吃虧的國家。機會均等和美國個人主義的本質是，無論在商業或政治上這個共和國不存在任何集團或聯合體的統治。相反，它既要政治和社會公正，也要求經濟公正。它不是一種放任主義的制度。

我對這一議題感受頗深，因為在戰爭時期我在政府經營管理方面有過一些實際經驗。那時在國內、國外我都目睹了許多政府在商業中失敗的事例。我看到了這種做法的專橫、不公正，它損害自治，扼殺激發我國人民進取的本能。我親眼目睹了停滯狀態，生活水平低下，看見在那種制度下勞作的人民消沈沮喪。我的反對不是建立在理論的基礎上，並不是由於不能辨認錯誤或弊病，而是因為我知道採用這種方法將震撼美國生活的根基，破壞美國進步的真正基礎。

那麼我們美國的制度已結出了什麼碩果呢。我們國家已成為一貧如洗的人們充滿機會的國度，這不僅是因為它資源豐富、工業發達，而且因為有這種讓主動性、創造性充分發揮的自由。俄國的自然資源比起我國毫不遜色，她的人民也同樣勤勞，然而她卻沒有這一百五十年由我們的政府和社會制度形式帶來的福祉。……

美國的偉大出自於一種政治社會制度和它所特有的控制經濟力量的方式——我們美國的制度，這一制度在人類福利問題上所做的偉大試驗是史無前例的。我們今天比任何時期、任何國家都更接近從人民的生活中消除貧窮和恐懼的理想。我要再說一遍：按照我們對手的建議偏離我們美國的制度並引入破壞該制度的原則，將危害我國人民的自由，阻礙機會均等，不僅有害於我們自己，而且有損於我們的子孫。

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... During 150 years we have builded up a form of self-government and a social system which is peculiarly our own. It differs essentially from all others in the world. It is the American system. It is just as definite and positive a political and

social system as has ever been developed on earth. It is founded upon a particular conception of self-government in which decentralized local responsibility is the very base. Further than this, it is founded upon the conception that only through ordered liberty, freedom and equal opportunity to the individual will his initiative and enterprise spur on the march of progress. And in our insistence upon equality of opportunity has our system advanced beyond all the world.

During the war we necessarily turned to the Government to solve every difficult economic problem. The Government having absorbed every energy of our people for war, there was no other solution. For the preservation of the State, the Federal Government became a centralized despotism which undertook unprecedented responsibilities, assumed autocratic powers, and took over the business of citizens. To a large degree we regimented our whole people temporarily into a socialistic state. However justified in time of war if continued in peace time it would destroy not only our American system but with it our progress and freedom as well.

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world "was whether Governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peace-time choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines—doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of these ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness. . . .

When the Republican Party came into full power it went at once resolutely back to our fundamental conception of the State and the rights and responsibilities of the individual. Thereby it restored confidence and hope in the American people,

it freed and stimulated enterprise, it restored the Government to its position as an umpire instead of a player in the economic game. For these reasons the American people have gone forward in progress while the rest of the world has halted, and some countries have even gone backwards. If anyone will study the causes of retarded recuperation in Europe, he will find much of it due to the stifling of private initiative on one hand, and overloading of the Government with business on the other.

There has been revived in this campaign, however, a series of proposals which, if adopted, would be a long step toward the abandonment of our American system and a surrender to the destructive operation of governmental conduct of commercial business. Because the country is faced with difficulty and doubt over certain national problems— that is, prohibition, farm relief and electrical power — our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into the businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect, they abandon the tenets of their own party and turn to State socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three. It is proposed that we shall change from prohibition to the State purchase and sale of liquor. If their agricultural relief program means any I rectly or indirectly buy and sell and fix prices of agricultural products. And we are to go into the hydro-electric-power business. In other words. we are confronted with a huge program of government in business.

There is, therefore, submitted to the American people a question of fundamental principle. That is: shall we depart from the principles of our American political and economic system. upon which we have advanced beyond all the rest of the world, in order to adopt methods based on principles destructive of its very foundations. ...

I should like to state to you the effect that this projection of government in business would have upon our system of self-government and our economic

system. That effect would reach to the daily life of every man and woman. It would impair the very basis of liberty and freedom not only for those left outside the fold of expanded bureaucracy but for those embraced within it. . . .

It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the Government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism— that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. True liberalism seeks all legitimate freedom, first in the confident belief that without such freedom the pursuit of all other blessings and benefits is vain. That belief is the foundation of all American progress, political as well as economic.

Liberalism is a force truly of the spirit, a force proceeding from the deep realization that economic freedom cannot be sacrificed if political freedom is to be preserved. Even if Governmental conduct of business could give us more efficiency instead of less efficiency, the fundamental objection to it would remain unaltered and unabated. It would destroy political equality. It would increase rather than decrease abuse and corruption. It would stifle initiative and invention. It would undermine the development of leadership. It would cramp and cripple the mental and spiritual energies of our people. It would extinguish equality and opportunity. It would dry up the spirit of liberty and progress. For these reasons primarily it must be resisted. For a hundred and fifty years liberalism has found its true spirit in the American system, not in the European systems.

I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our Government is to part with one iota of its national resources without complete protection to the public interest. ...

Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is

free-for-all and devil-take-the-hind-most. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this Republic, whether it be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of laissez faire.

I feel deeply on this subject because during the war I had some practical experience with governmental operation and control. I have witnessed not only at home but abroad the many failures of Government in business. I have seen its tyrannies, its injustices, its destructions of self-government, its undermining of the very instincts which carry our people forward to progress. I have witnessed the lack of advance, the lowered standards of living, the depressed spirits of people working under such a system. My objection is based not upon theory or upon a failure to recognize wrong or abuse, but I know the adoption of such methods would strike at the very roots of American life and would destroy the very basis of American progress. . . .

And what have been the results of our American system. Our country has become the land of opportunity to those born without inheritance, not merely because of the wealth of its resources and industry, but because of this freedom of initiative and enterprise. Russia has natural resources equal to ours. Her people are equally industrious, but she has not had the blessings of 150 years of our form of government and of our social system. . . .

The greatness of America has grown out of a political and social system and a method of control of economic forces distinctly its own— our American system— which has carried this great experiment in human welfare further than ever before in all history. We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land. And I again repeat that the departure from our American system by injecting principles destructive to it

which our opponents propose will jeopardize the very liberty and freedom of our people, will destroy equality of opportunity, not alone to ourselves but to our children.

米爾頓.艾格，傑克.葉倫

MILTON AGER AND JACK YELLEN

幸福的日子又來了

Happy Days Are Here Again



在大蕭條時期一位失業者在街頭賣蘋果

《幸福的日子又來了》是在 1929 年 10 月引發全國大蕭條的證券市場風潮前夕介紹給聽眾的。正因「幸福的日子」離人們很遠，人們需要開開心。這首歌作為民主黨人弗蘭克林.D.羅斯福總統競選運動的主題歌聞名於世，已成為民主黨全國代表大會必唱的歌曲。這首歌由米爾頓.艾格譜曲，傑克.葉倫作詞。這兩位搭檔於 1927 年還寫了《她可愛嗎.》艾傑在 1921 年曾為《我是小人物的孩子》譜曲。

再見，悲慘的時日； So long, sad times;

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 去吧，倒楣的時日！ | Go long, bad times!                               |
| 我們終於擺脫了   | We are rid of you at last.                        |
| 你。        | Howdy, gay times!                                 |
| 你好，快樂的時日！ | Cloudy gray times,                                |
| 灰暗陰沈的時日   | You are now a thing of the past.'Cause happy days |
| 啊，        | are here again!                                   |
| 如今你成了過去。  | The skies above are clear again.                  |
| 因為幸福的日子又  | Let us sing a song of cheer again                 |
| 來         | Happy days are here again!Altogether shout it     |
| 頭頂上天空又變得  | now!  |
| 晴朗，       | There's no one who can doubt it now,              |
| 讓我們再唱一首開  | So let's tell the world about it now              |
| 心的歌，      | Happy days are here again!Your cares and          |
| 幸福的日子又來   | troubles are gone;                                |
| 啦！        | There'll be no more from now on                   |
| 現在一起歡呼吧！  | Happy days are here again,                        |
|           | The skies above are clear again;                  |
|           | Let us sing a song of cheer again                 |
|           | Happy days are here again!                        |



沒有人再懷疑了，

讓我們告訴全世界，

幸福的日子又來  
啦!

你們的煩惱消失  
了，

從此無憂又無慮。

幸福的日子又來  
了，

頭頂上天空又變得  
晴朗；

讓我們再唱一首開  
心的歌，

幸福的日子又來  
啦!

佛蘭克林·德拉諾·羅斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

## 首次就職演說

### First Inaugural Address

我們唯一該懼怕的是懼怕本身——會使我們變後退為前進所需作出的努力癱瘓的那種不可名狀，失去理智，毫無根據的恐懼。

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佛蘭克林·德拉諾·羅斯福(1882－1945)四次當選為總統，這是絕無僅有的。他領導國家闖過了大蕭條和第二次世界大戰這兩個難關。羅斯福出身紐約一個高貴的家族，畢業於哈佛學院，與遠房堂妹埃莉諾·羅斯福結婚，接著入哥倫比亞大學法學院學習。雖然羅斯福 1921 年患脊髓灰質炎導致雙腿癱瘓，他仍在 1928 年被選為紐約州州長。1932 年羅斯福擊敗在職總統，共和黨人赫伯特·胡佛，當選為美國總統。羅斯福是在美國歷史上最混亂、最危急的時期擔任總統的。儘管受到極左、極右兩方面的攻擊，他始終深孚眾望直至 1945 年 4 月 12 日死在總統崗位上。

當羅斯福 1933 年 3 月 4 日就任總統職務時，美國正遭受一場嚴重的經濟蕭條的折磨。數百萬人失業，人們對未來缺乏信心。羅斯福面臨兩大任務：第一，振奮全國人民的精神——這一點他以自己生氣勃勃，富有活力的個性做到了；第二，扶貧濟困，振興經濟。為達到達第二個目標，羅斯福運用聯邦政府的權力積極干預經濟活動，制訂被稱為新政的一系列社會和經濟計劃。在實施新政的過程中他很快便將這篇演說裏自己關於削減政府開支和平衡聯邦預算的誓言擱置一旁。

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值此我就任總統之際，我的美國同胞們肯定期望我以我國當前形勢所要求的坦率和果斷來發表演說。現在的確是到了坦白而勇敢地講明真相，講明全部事實情形的時候了。我們不必怯於老老實實地面對我國今天的情況。這個偉大的國家過去歷經磨難，今後仍將經受考驗，將恢復生機，繁榮興旺。因此，首先允許我申明自己的堅定信念：我們唯一該懼怕的是懼怕本身——會使我們變後退為前進所需作出的努力癱瘓的那種不可名狀，失去理智，毫無根據的恐懼。在我國歷史上每一個黑暗的時刻，坦誠而有魄力的領導都曾得到人民的理解和支援，這正是勝利的保證。我堅信，在當前這一關鍵時刻，你們會再一次給領導以支援。

我和你們都以這樣一種精神來面對共同的困難。感謝上帝，這些困難只涉及物質方面。幣值貶低到荒謬的程度；賦稅增加；我們的償付能力下降；各級政府收入銳減；貿易流通渠道交易手段僵化；產業界歎殘枝敗葉比比皆是；農場主愁自己的產品找不到市場；千萬個家庭的多年積蓄化為烏有。

更嚴重的是，大批失業公民面臨嚴酷的生存問題，另有大批公民辛勤勞動卻所得甚微。只有愚蠢的樂觀主義者才會否認目前的陰暗現實。

但是我們的危難並不是源於實質上的失敗。我們沒有遭受蝗災。我們的祖先信仰堅定，無所畏懼，因而所向披靡。比起他們遇到的艱難險阻，我們尚可謂萬幸。大自然繼續施恩布澤，而人的努力使其倍增。富足就站在我們的門口，然而現成的物資卻激發不起對富足充分慷慨的利用。這首先是因為人類商品交換

的掌管者們頑固而又無能，他們已承認失敗，自動退位。無恥的貨幣兌換商爲人類的思想感情所唾棄，在輿論的法庭上被宣判有罪。……

幸福並不是建築在僅僅擁有金錢上；它建築在取得成就的歡欣和創造性工作的激動上。切莫在瘋狂地追逐瞬息即逝的利潤中忘記工作帶來的歡樂和精神鼓舞。我們在這些陰暗的日子裏付出的代價將是完全值得的，如果這些時日教育我們認識到，我們不該聽憑命運擺佈，而應讓命運爲我們自己和我們的同胞服務。……

我們的首要任務是給人們工作。只要我們明智而勇敢地對待它，這並不是無法解決的問題。這個任務通過政府直接徵募人員可以得到部分完成，就像我們應付戰時緊急狀態那樣，同時通過僱用這些人員來完成急需工程，以促進和改革我們對自然資源的利用。

與此同時，我們必須坦率地承認，我們的那些工業中心已人口過剩；應在全國範圍調整人口佈局，盡力把土地提供給最善於耕種的人，使土地得到更好的利用。爲了幫助這項任務的完成，要採取具體措施提高農產品價格，從而提高對我們城市產品的購買力。要從現實出發制止對小房產和農場取消抵押品贖回權所造成的日趨嚴重的悲慘損失。要堅持由聯邦、各州和地方政府立即按大幅度削減費用的要求採取行動。要把目前常常是分散、浪費和不公平的救濟工作統一起來。要把一切形式的交通運輸和其他明確屬於公用事業的設施置於國家的計劃和監督之下。總之，很多方法有助於這項任務的完成，唯有空談無濟於事。我們必須行動，迅速採取行動。

最後，在恢復工作的進程中我們需要防止舊秩序弊端再現的兩項保護措施；必須嚴格監督一切銀行存款、信貸和投資；必須制止利用他人的金錢進行投機活動，必須提供充足而數量合理的貨幣。

這些便是我們的對策。我即將向新的國會特別會議提出實行這些方針的具體措施，我將要求各州立即提供援助。通過實施這一行動綱領，我們將致力於整頓國內經濟，平衡收支。

在對外政策方面，我國將奉行睦鄰政策——決心尊重自己，因為尊重自己所以也尊重他人的權利——履行自己的義務，也履行與世界大家庭和世界各國所訂協定中所規定的神聖義務。

如果我對我國人民的情緒體會得正確，那麼我們現在比過去任何時候更深切地認識到：我們之間互相依存，血肉相連；我們不能只圖索取，不求貢獻；我們必須像一支訓練有素，忠貞不渝的軍隊那樣向前邁進，這支軍隊願意爲了共同的紀律作出犧牲，因為沒有這樣的紀律就不可能取得進步，就不可能實現卓有成效的領導。我知道我們願意並隨時準備爲共同的紀律獻出生命財產，因為只有這樣才能實施以更高利益爲目標的領導。我願意擔任這樣的領導，保證出現戰時才可能激起的責任感、統一性，使這些更高的目標成爲我們全體人民不容推卸的義務。

作出了這項保證後，我將毫不猶豫地領導我國人民組成的大軍，以嚴明的紀律去戰勝我們面臨的共同困難。

我們既然有從祖先那裏繼承下來的政府形式，爲這一目的以這種方式採取行動

便是可行的。我們的憲法簡明而講求實際，總是可能根據特殊的需要在重點和安排上有所改變而無損於它的基本形式。正因為如此，我們的立憲體制不愧為現代世界所產生的最穩定持久的政治結構。它經受了領土大擴張、對外戰爭、痛苦的內亂和國際關係的考驗。

但願正常的行政和立法分權足以應付我們所面臨的空前的重任。然而史無前例的要求和迅即行動的需要也可能使我們不得不暫時偏離公共程序的正常均衡。

我準備根據憲法賦予我的職責提出一個災難深重的國家在一個災難深重的世界中所必須採取的措施。這些措施或國會依據其經驗和智慧所制訂的其他類似措施，我將在憲法賦予我的許可權內儘快予以採納。

但是，倘若國會竟不肯接受這兩個方針中的一個，倘若國家的緊急狀況仍然嚴重，我將決不迴避顯然義不容辭的責任。我將向國會要求對付危機的最後手段——向緊急狀況開戰的廣泛行政權力，如同確實遭受外敵入侵時應該授予我的大權。

對於給予我的信任，我將以順應時代的勇氣和忠誠作為回報。我決不辜負眾望。……

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I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the

whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give the support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our fore-fathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our door-steps, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's

goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. . . .

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men. . . .

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forth-with on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which to-day are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by



national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States. Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo....

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims

at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me.

I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less, . . .

佛蘭克林·德拉諾·羅斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

### 第二次就職演說

#### **Second Inaugural Address**

我看到三分之一的國民住不好，穿不好，吃不好。

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1936 年羅斯福在競選中以壓倒優勢戰勝堪薩斯州州長阿爾弗雷德·蘭頓（共和黨改良主義者）。在 1937 年 1 月 20 日的第二次就職演說中，羅斯福彈奏出自信和實用主義的調子，描繪了一個正忙於探尋解決辦法並正在積極解決問題的政府形象。但是他承認，大蕭條繼續造成慘重損失。當羅斯福政府努力使議會同意設立新的行政機構為老人提供社會保險，為失業者提供工作，維持農產品價格時，大蕭條仍在摧殘人們的生命。

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四年前當我們聚會為一位總統舉行就職典禮時，整個共和國憂心如焚地與我們站在一起。我們那時決心實現一個理想——讓全體人民早日獲得追求幸福所必需的安全與和平。我們這些屬於共和國的人發誓要把褻瀆了傳統信仰的人從傳統信仰的廟堂裏驅逐出去；發誓要不知疲倦、無所畏懼地採取行動去結束

當時的停滯不前和絕望情緒。我們首先做了這些最緊迫的事。

我們與自己訂的盟約還不止這些。我們憑本能認識到更深一層的需求——需要通過政府去找到實現我們共同目的的手段，以便為每個個人解決紛繁複雜的文明社會中層出不窮的問題。我們曾不斷試圖在沒有政府幫助的條件下解決這些問題，但始終徒勞無功，一籌莫展。因為，沒有政府的幫助我們未能創造出控制科學設施的精神力量，而沒有它便不能把科學從人類的冷酷無情的主人轉變為得心應手的奴僕。為了做到這一點，我們知道必須找到切實可行的辦法去駕馭盲目運動的經濟力量和財迷心竅的人們。

我們這些屬於共和國的人領悟到一條真理：民主政府就其本質而言能夠保護人民免遭過去認為是不可避免的災害，解決過去認為是無法解決的問題。既然在經歷了千百年苦難後我們終於找到了控制瘟疫的方法，我們不承認我們不能找到控制經濟疫病的方法，我們決不讓關係到我們共同福利的問題聽憑命運和災難的狂風惡浪擺佈。……

四年來新的經驗證明，我們的歷史直覺並沒有錯。四年的經驗帶來這一明確的希望：地方政府、各州政府和合眾國政府都能按時代的要求行事，而無須犧牲民主。我們過去四年的工作並沒有迫使民主休假。……

我們達到了 1933 年 3 月 4 日我們理想的目標麼。我們找到了我們的幸福天地了麼？

我看到一個偉大的國家，地處廣闊的大陸，天賜豐富的資源。它的一億三千萬人民和平相處，正把自己的國家建成世界大家庭中一個良好成員。我看到一個

合眾國，它能證實，由政府採取民主方式，國家財富可轉化為越來越多空前美好的人民生活條件，把最低的生活水準提到遠遠超出僅能維持生計的水平。

但是我們的民主正面臨挑戰：在這個國家，我看到幾千萬公民——全人口的相當大一部分——此時此刻還未得到按今天最低標準也應稱作生活必需品的大部分物品。

我看到數百萬家庭收入微薄，勉強度日，每天都在家庭悲劇的陰影籠罩之下。

我看到數百萬城鄉居民日常生活狀況早在半個世紀前就被所謂體面社會看作很不體面，如今依然如此。

我看到數百萬人得不到教育，娛樂以及改善自己和子女的境遇的機會。

我看到數百萬人缺乏購買工農業產品的手段，而他們的貧困又使更多的人失業，無從發揮生產力。

我看到三分之一的國民住不好，穿不好，吃不好。

我並不是在悲觀絕望中向你們描繪這一圖景的。我抱著希望描繪它——因為整個國家看到並認識到這一圖景中所包含的不公正，打算把它抹去。我們下決心要使每個美國公民成為國家關注的物件；我們將決不會把我國邊界內任何忠誠守法的團體看成是多餘的廢物。對我們進步的檢驗標準，不是看我們是否錦上添花，而是看我們是否雪中送炭。

如果我對我們國家精神和意志還有所瞭解的話，我們是不會去聽信貪圖安逸的

人、機會主義者和膽小怕事的人。我們一定要堅持下去。……

今天，我們在突然變化了的文明中再一次把我們的國家奉獻給珍視已久的理想。在任何地方總是活躍著使人們離心離德和使人們團結一致的力量。就個人抱負而言，我們是個人主義者。但是當我們作為一個國家追求經濟和政治進步時，我們則屬於一個民族，要麼一起上升，要麼一起下沉。

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When four years ago we met to inaugurate a President, the Republic, single-minded in anxiety, stood in spirit here. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfillment of a vision — to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness. We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who have profaned it; to end by action, tireless and unafraid, the stagnation and despair of that day. We did those first things first.

Our covenant with ourselves did not stop there. Instinctively we recognized a deeper need — the need to find through government the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of a complex civilization. Repeated attempts at their solution without the aid of government had left us baffled and bewildered. For, without that aid, we had been unable to create those moral controls over the services of science which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind. To do this we knew that we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men.

We of the Republic sensed the truth that democratic government has innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once considered inevitable, to solve problems once considered unsolvable. We would not admit that we could not find a way to master economic epidemics just as, after centuries of fatalistic suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease. We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster. . . .

Four years of new experience have not be-ried our historic instinct. They hold out the clear hope that government within communities, government within the separate States, and government of the United States can do the things the times require, without yielding its democracy. Our tasks in the last four years did not force democracy to take a holiday. . . .

Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March, 1933. Have we found our happy valley.

I see a great nation, upon a great continent, blessed with a great wealth of natural resources. Its hundred and thirty million people are at peace among themselves; they are making their country a good neighbor among the nations. I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown, and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence.

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens— a substantial part of its whole population — who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled in-decent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our Nation, "we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunism, and Timidity. We will carry on. . . .

Today we reconsecrate our country to long-cherished ideals in a suddenly changed civilization. In every land there are always at workforces that drive men apart and forces that draw men together. In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up, or else we all go down, as one people. . . .



(E.Y.HARBURG AND JAY GORNEY)

兄弟，你能施捨一角錢嗎。

**Bother, Can You Spare a Dime.**

這首歌最初出現在《有關美國的史料》這一諷刺時政的音樂劇中，由E. Y.(伊普)哈伯格作詞，傑.戈內譜曲。該劇於 1932 年 10 月 5 日在紐約舒伯特劇院首演，共演出 77 場。這齣音樂劇人們久久難忘，主要是因為這首歌，它成為大蕭條的聖歌。哈伯格以後又為《費尼安的虹》作詞。他寫了不少流行歌曲，其中包括《橫跨彩虹》和《只是個紙月亮》。傑.戈內則為百老匯和好萊塢譜寫歌曲。

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 他們過去常說，我在編<br>織一個夢，<br><br>所以我隨大流跟著大<br>夥，<br><br>當有地可種，有槍可扛<br>的時候，<br><br>我總是在那兒，在那兒<br>工作。<br><br>他們過去常說，我在編<br>織一個夢， | They used to tell me I was building a dream,<br>And so I followed the mob<br><br>When there "was earth to plough or guns to bear<br>I was always there right there on the job.They<br>used to tell me I was building a dream<br>With peace and glory ahead<br>Why should I be standing in line<br>Just waiting for bread.Once I built a<br>railroad, made it run,<br>Made it race against time.<br>Once I built a railroad,<br>Now it's done<br>Brother, can you spare a dime.Once I built<br>a tower, to the sun<br>Brick and rivet and lime,<br>Once I built a tower, |
|--|---|

夢見安寧與繁榮的前  
途。爲什麼我得排著長  
隊，

爲領一份麵包苦苦等待。

我曾建一條鐵路，火車  
奔馳，

讓它與時間比賽。

我曾建一條鐵路，

如今它建成啦，

兄弟，你能施捨一角錢  
嗎。

我曾建一座高塔，聳入  
雲霄，

用磚頭、鉚釘和石灰料。

我曾建一座高塔，

Now it's done,

Brother, can you spare a dime. Once in  
khaki suits

Gee, we looked swell

Full of that Yankee Doodle-de-dum.

Half a million boots went sloggin' thru Hell,  
I was the kid with the drum.

Say, don't you remember, they called me  
Al

It was Al all the time

Say, don't you remember I'm your Pal!

Buddy, can you spare a dime.

如今它建成啦，

兄弟，你能施捨一角錢  
嗎。

我們曾穿著卡其軍裝、

嗨，看上去真棒，

揚基歌聲嘹亮。

五十萬隻靴子踏著沈重  
的步子

我就是那年輕的鼓手。

喂，你記得嗎，他們叫  
我阿爾

一直叫我阿爾。

喂，你記得嗎，我是你  
的夥伴

兄弟，你能施捨一角錢  
嗎。

伍迪.戈斯裡

(WOODY GUTHRIE)

《工會女會員》和《很高興認識了你，再見(可惡的塵暴)》

Union Maid *and* So Long, It's Been Good to Know Yuh (Dusty Old Dust)

伍迪.戈斯裡(1912—1967)原名伍德羅.威爾遜.戈斯裡。作為一名歌手和作曲家。他成為當時的傳奇人物。他寫了一千餘首歌，其中許多成為美國歌曲的典範。戈斯裡生於俄克拉荷馬州俄基馬。十幾歲時，他離開家鄉，搭便車，偷乘貨車，住流浪漢營地，跟隨流動工人周遊四方。他親眼目睹長期乾旱和塵暴對人們生活的影響，跟著俄克拉荷馬流動農業工人來到加利福尼亞。戈斯裡因患亨廷頓舞蹈病——一種遺傳性衰退病——突然中斷創作生涯。他病了很久才死去。

《工會女會員》寫於 1940 年，是最流行的工會歌曲之一。戈斯裡看到乾旱塵暴給俄克拉荷馬人民帶來的苦難，於 1936 年創作《很高興認識了你，再見(可惡的塵暴)》。

| 工會女會員       | Union Maid  |
|-------------|---|
| 曾經有一個工會女會員， | There once was a union maid<br>Who never was afraid<br>Of goons and ginks and company finks<br>And the deputy sheriffs who made the raids;<br>She went to the union hall<br>When a meeting it was called, |
| 她從來不知懼怕，    |   |
| 不怕打手、工賊、    |   |

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 流氓，       | And when the company boys came 'round                 |
|           | She always stood her ground.CHORUS:                   |
| 不怕司法長官突然  | Oh, you can't scare me.                               |
| 搜查；       | I'm sticking to the union,                            |
|           | I'm sticking to the union,                            |
| 她走進工會大廈，  | I'm sticking to the union.                            |
|           | Oh, you can't scare me.                               |
| 一個會議在這兒召  | I'm sticking to the union,                            |
| 開。        | I'm sticking to the union                             |
|           | Till the day I die.This union maid was wise           |
| 當公司的僕從們來  | To the tricks of company spies.                       |
| 到，        | She never got fooled by a company stool,              |
|           | She'd always organize the guys.                       |
| 她總是堅持立場不  | She always got her way                                |
| 動搖。       | When she struck for higher pay,                       |
|           | She'd show her union card to the company              |
|           | guard   |
|           | And this is what she'd say:                           |
| (合唱)      | You gals who want to be free,                         |
|           | Just take a little tip from me:                       |
|           | Get you a man who's a union man                       |
| 哦，你們嚇不倒我。 | And join the Ladies' Auxiliary;                       |
|           | Married life ain't hard                               |
| 我永遠不離開工   | When you've got a union card,                         |
| 會，        | A union man has a happy life                          |
|           | When he's got a union wife. <b>So Long, It's</b>      |
| 我永遠不離開工   | <b>Been Good to Know Yuh</b>                          |
| 會，        | <b>(Dusty Old Dust)</b> I've sung this song, but I'll |
|           | sing it again,  |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 我永遠不離開工會。  | Of the place that I lived on the wild, windy plains.  |
| 哦，你們嚇不倒我，  | In the month called April, the county called Gray,  |
| 我永遠不離開工會，  | And here's what all of the people there say: CHORUS: So long, it's been good to know you;   |
| 直到我死去的那天。  | So long, it's been good to know you;<br>So long, it's been good to know you,<br>This dusty old dust is a-getting my home,<br>And I've got to be driftin' along. |
| 這女會員善於識破，  | A dust storm hit, and it hit like thunder;<br>It dusted us over, and it covered us under;<br>Blocked out the traffic and blocked out the sun.                   |
| 公司密探的陰謀。   | Straight for home all the people did run.<br>The sweethearts sat in the dark and they sparked,  |
| 她從不受探子的欺騙， | They bugged and they kissed in that dusty old dark.   |
| 她總是組織起工友。  | They sighed and cried, bugged and kissed,<br>Instead of marriage, they talked like this:<br>Honey,  |
| 她總是取得成功，   | Now, the telephone rang, and it jumped off the wall;  |
| 為加薪而罷工的時   | That was the preacher a-making his call.<br>He said, "Kind friend, this may be the end;<br>You've got your last chance of salvation of                          |

候。

她把工會證拿給公  
司的警衛瞧瞧，  
這是她所要講述的  
話語：

你們這些想要自由  
的姑娘，

且聽我一句忠告：

找一個工會會員的  
男人，

再加入婦女輔助團  
體，

結婚後生活不會艱  
難，

當你成了工會會員。

一個男會員日子過  
得快樂，

sin."

The churches was jammed, and the churches  
was packed,

And that dusty old dust storm biowed so black;  
The preacher could not read a word of his text,  
And he folded his specs and he took up  
collection, said:

若他娶一個女會員  
做老婆。

很高興認識了你，再  
見(可惡的塵暴)

我已唱過這支歌，但  
我要再唱一遍，

歌唱我原來居住的  
蒼涼多風的平原。

四月裏，在那格雷  
縣，

人們異口同聲說這  
樣的話：

(合唱)

很高興認識了你，  
再見，

很高興認識了你，再



見，

很高興認識了你，再  
見。

這漫天塵土侵入我  
的家鄉，

從此我不得不飄泊  
四方。

一場塵暴來勢洶洶  
好比驚雷，

它將塵土撒向我  
們，蓋在我們身上；

它迫使交通中斷，  
像烏雲遮住了太陽。

人們全都從家裏跑  
光。

一對戀人在昏暗中  
互訴愛情，

在塵土蔽天一片昏  
暗中接吻擁抱。

他倆擁吻、歎息、  
流淚，

不提結婚，卻這樣  
說：寶貝，

牆上電話鈴響，主  
人忙不疊抓起話筒；

原來是傳道士通報  
消息。

他說道：「好朋友，  
或許末日已降臨人  
間

從罪孽中拯救自己  
只剩下最後機會。」

教堂裏滿是人擁擠  
不堪，

黑壓壓吹來了可怕  
的塵暴。

傳道士看不清書本  
無法傳教，

折起眼鏡收走捐  
款，這樣說道：

(合唱)

很高興認識了你，  
再見，

很高興認識了你，  
再見，

很高興認識了你，  
再見，

這漫天塵土侵入我  
的家鄉，  
  
從此我不得不飄泊  
四方。

弗洛倫斯.裡斯  
(FLORENCE REECE)

你站在哪一邊.  
**Which Side Are You On.**

阿倫.洛馬克斯為國會圖書館美國民歌檔案室收集民歌。根據他考證，這首歌的歌詞是一個十二歲的女孩創作的，當時她的當礦工的父親正在肯塔基州哈蘭縣參加罷工。洛馬克斯寫道：1937 年這女孩在一間小木屋的壁爐前對父親唱這支歌。它的曲於是依據一首英國古老的歌曲《傑克.芒羅》改編而成。因為工人們喜歡這首歌不屈不撓的戰鬥精神，它在勞工團體中廣泛流傳。

快來吧，工人兄弟，  
  
我給你們報告好消息：  
  
咱們自己的工會  
  
已經在這兒建立。  
  
(合唱)

Come all of you good workers  
Good news to you I'll tell,  
Of how the good old union  
Has come in here to dwell.CHORUS:  
Which side are you on,  
Tell me, which side are you on.

你站在哪一邊，

告訴我，你站在哪一邊。

我爸爸是個礦工，

現在他不再下井，

跟他站在一起吧，礦工兄弟，

直到這場鬥爭贏得勝利。

人們說在哈蘭縣裏，

沒有中間立場可選。

你要麼做工會會員，

要麼當布萊爾的狗奴才。

噢，朋友，你還能再忍受嗎。

噢，請告訴我，

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
|  | <p>你要做個卑鄙的工賊，</p> <p>還是做個錚錚鐵漢。</p> <p>絕不當老闆的走狗，</p> <p>絕不聽信他們的謊言。</p> <p>我們窮人休想得到機會，</p> <p>除非快快組織起來。</p> |  |
|--|---|--|

My daddy was a miner,  
He's now in the air an' sun,  
Stick with him, brother miners,  
Until this battle's won.

They say in Harlan county,  
here are no neutrals there,  
You'll either be a union man,  
Or a thug for J. H. Blair.

O gentlemen, can you stand it,  
O tell me if you can,  
Will you be a lousy scab,  
Or will you be a man.

Don't scab for the bosses,  
Don't listen to their lies.  
Us poor folks haven't got a chance,  
Unless we organize.

阿爾弗雷德 .海斯  
(ALFRED HAYES)

昨夜我夢見喬.希爾

**I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night**

阿爾弗雷德.海斯(1911— )生於英格蘭，在紐約市長大，曾為報紙、雜誌、電臺工作。他寫過小說、劇本、詩歌和電影劇本，然而他的作品中最出名的是《昨夜我夢見喬.希爾》。喬.希爾(約瑟夫.希爾斯特羅姆)1902年從瑞典移居美國，幾年後成為激進的產業工人國際同盟成員。1914年希爾被控謀殺了一個鹽湖城食品商。儘管成千上萬人抗議對他的審判不公，最後他還是在猶他州監獄中被五人行刑隊槍決。《昨夜我夢見喬.希爾》1938年寫於大蕭條時期，成為工會運動特別喜愛的歌曲。

昨夜我夢見喬.希爾活著，  
  
像我也像你。  
  
我說：「可是你已死了十年  
了。」

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night  
Alive as you and me.  
Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead."  
"I never died," says he.  
"I never died," says he."In Salt Lake, Joe,"  
says I to him,  
Him standing by my bed,

他說：「我從來沒有死，

我從來沒有死。」

我說：「他們在鹽湖城，

誣陷你犯了謀殺罪。」

他站在我床前說：

「但我從沒有死，

但我從沒有死。」

我說：「銅礦老闆們殺死了  
你

喬，他們朝你射擊。」

「光用槍是殺不死一個人的，」

喬說，「我並沒有死，

"They framed you on a murder charge."

Says Joe, "But I ain't dead."

Says Joe, "But I ain't dead."



我並沒有死。」

他驕傲地站在我面前，

兩眼在微笑。

喬說：「凡是沒被他們殺掉  
的人；

繼續抱成團，

繼續抱成團。」

「喬.希爾沒有死，」他對我  
說，

「喬.希爾從來沒有死。

哪裡有工人在鬥爭，

喬.希爾就在哪裡，

喬.希爾就在哪裡。」

「從聖地牙哥到緬因州，  
每座礦山和工廠，  
只要有工人在團結戰鬥，」  
他說，「你就能找到我，  
你就能找到我。」

昨夜我夢見喬·希爾活著，  
像我也像你。

我說：「可是你已死了十年  
了。」

他說：「我從來沒有死。

我從來沒有死。」

**"The copper bosses killed you, Joe,  
They shot you, Joe," says I.  
"Takes more than guns to kill a man,"  
Says Joe, "I didn't die,"  
Says Joe, "I didn't die."**

And standing there as big as life  
And smiling with his eyes,  
Joe says, "What they forgot to kill  
Went on to organize,  
Went on to organize."

"Joe Hill ain't dead," he says to me,  
"Joe Hill ain't never died.  
Where working men are out on strike  
Joe Hill is at their side,  
Joe Hill is at their side."

"From San Diego up to Maine,  
In every mine and mill,  
Where workers strike and organize,  
"Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill,"  
"Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill."

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night,  
Alive as you or me.  
Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead,"  
"I never died," says he,  
"I never died," says he.

歐文.柏林

(IRVING BERLIN)

《願上帝保佑美國》和《這是軍隊，瓊斯先生》

God Bless America *and* This is the Army, Mr. Jones

《願上帝保佑美國》是歐文·柏林最成功的作品之一。他最初於 1917 年為他的軍隊音樂喜劇《汪，汪，汪汪叫》寫了這支歌，但沒有用上。這首歌束之高閣達 23 年之久，直到 1938 年歌星凱特·史密斯請柏林為一全國廣播節目寫一首愛國歌曲。一夜之間它便引起轟動；許多人建議它作為國歌。1940 年，兩大政黨的全國大會上都演奏這首歌曲。長期以來，它一直被當作非正式的國歌，因為《星條旗》的詞曲都比較難。柏林把《願上帝保佑美國》一歌的版稅收入全部捐給上帝保佑美國基金，用以資助男、女童子軍。

1942 年第二次世界大戰期間他寫了《這是軍隊，瓊斯先生》，用於他的音樂劇《這是軍隊》之中。它的版稅收入亦捐給了男、女童子軍。

| 願上帝保佑美國   | God Bless America |
|-----------|-------------------|
| 當烏雲孕育著風雨  |                   |
| 在大海的遠處聚集， |                   |
| 讓我們宣誓效忠於  |                   |
| 一個自由的國度，  |                   |
| 讓我們深深感激   |                   |
| 美麗的祖國大地，  |                   |
| 讓我們莊嚴地祈禱  |                   |
| 這是我們的聲音。  |                   |

願上帝保佑美國，

我無比熱愛的國家。

站在她身旁帶領著她，

讓聖光引她通過黑夜。

從叢山峻嶺到草原

直到浪花如雪的海洋，

願上帝保佑美國

我的家鄉可愛的家鄉，

願上帝保佑美國

我的家鄉可愛的家鄉。

**這是軍隊，瓊斯先生**

一群驚恐的新兵懷著敬畏聆聽

聽一位軍士講述法令。

他們筆直站立，

他們臉色變紅，

那軍士仔細打量他們一一教訓。

這是軍隊，瓊斯先生，

沒有單人房間或私人電話。

你以前在床上吃你的早飯，

可從今後你再不能在床上用餐。

這是軍隊，格林先生，

我們喜歡軍營乾乾淨淨。

你以前雇女傭為你掃地，

可從後你再不能叫她幫你。

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <p>號手的喇叭聲就是命令，</p> <p>他們不是在樂隊演奏而是司號兵。</p> <p>這是軍隊，布朗先生，</p> <p>你和你的姑娘曾進城閒逛。</p> <p>她對撒嬌讓你煩惱，</p> <p>可這是戰爭，她再不會來打擾。</p> |  |
|--|--|--|

**While the storm clouds gather**

**Far across the sea,**

**Let us swear allegiance**

**To a land that's free,**

**Let us all be grateful**

**For a land so fair,**

**As we raise our voices**

**In a solemn prayer.**

**God bless America**

**Land that I love.**

**Stand beside her and guide her,**

**Thru the night with a light from above**

**From the mountains to the prairies**

To the oceans white with foam,  
God bless America  
My home sweet home  
God bless America  
My home sweet home.

### **This Is the Army, Mr. Jones**

A bunch of frightened rookies were list'ning filled with awe,  
They listened while a sergeant was laying down the law.  
They stood there at attention,  
Their faces turning red,  
The sergeant looked them over and this is what he said.

This is the Army, Mister Jones,  
No private rooms or telephones.  
You had your breakfast in bed before  
But you won't have it there anymore.

This is the Army, Mister Green,  
We like the barracks nice and clean.  
You had a housemaid to clean your floor  
But she won't help you out anymore,

Do what the buglers command,  
They're in the army and not in a band

This is the Army, Mister Brown,  
You and your baby went to town.  
She had you worried  
But this is war and she won't worry you anymore.



伍迪.戈斯裡

(WOODY GUTHRIE)

這片國土是你的土地

**This Land Is Your Land**

伍迪.戈斯裡 1940 年 2 月 23 日在紐約時報廣場附近一間旅社骯髒的客房裏寫下最後成為《這片國土是你的土地》這首歌的歌詞。據他的傳記作者喬.克雷說，戈斯裡《憤怒，灰心喪氣，為自己感到難過》，於是《向歐文.柏林出氣》。戈斯裡給該歌冠之以《上帝曾保佑美國》的標題，每一詩節以同一詩行結尾：「上帝曾為我保佑美國。」戈斯裡創作這首歌是為著嘲笑而模仿柏林廣為流傳的《願上帝保佑美國》一歌。它的曲子取自卡特家族 (二十和三十年代一個頗為走紅的鄉村音樂團體) 作的歌曲《親愛的，我的夥伴》，而後者又是根據一首古老的浸禮會聖歌《哦，我親愛的兄弟》改寫而成的。

戈斯裡創作完這首歌便將它拋諸腦後，直到 1944 年春才把它灌成唱片，給它以《這片國土是你的土地》的標題。這首歌受到六十年代民權運動的青睞，(與其他幾首歌一樣) 它甚至被推薦取代《星條旗》成為國歌。

這片國土是你的土地，這片國土是  
我的土地

從加利福尼亞到紐約島，

This land is your land, this land is my  
land

From California to the New York island,  
From the redwood forest to the Gulf  
Stream waters;

This land was made for you and me.

從墨西哥灣流到紅杉林；

這片國土是你和我而建立。

當我漫步在蜿蜒如帶的公路，

仰頭看見高架公路伸向無邊的天  
際；

在我下方是金色的溪谷；

這片國土是爲你和我而建立。

我漫遊四方，任腳步把我帶進

她的沙漠閃光的沙丘；

我的四周迴響著一個聲音：

這片國土是爲你和我而建立。

輝煌的太陽升起，我正緩緩而行，

看麥浪滾滾，煙雲翻捲。

霧氣漸漸消散，一個聲音在唱吟：

這片國土是爲你和我而建立。

世上沒有任何能阻止我前進，

當我踏上那自由之路；

世上沒有任何人能令我折回原地，

這片國土是爲你和我而建立。

漫步中我看見一塊標牌，

赫然寫著：「不得入內」，

但牌子的另一面卻空白無字，

那一面是爲你和我而設立。

**As I was walking that ribbon of highway**

**I saw above me that endless skyway;**

I saw below me that golden valley;  
This land was made for you and me.

I've roamed and rambled and I followed my footsteps  
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts;  
And all around me a voice was sounding;  
This land was made for you and me.

One bright Sunday morning in the shadows of the steeple  
By the Relief Office I seen my people;  
As they stood there hungry, I stood there whistling;  
This land was made for you and me.

When the sun came shining, and I was strolling,  
And the wheat fields waving and the dust clouds rolling.  
As the fog was lifting a voice was chanting:  
This land was made for you and me.

Nobody living can ever stop me,  
As I go walking that freedom highway;  
Nobody living can ever make me turn back,  
This land was made for you and me.

As I went walking, I saw a sign there,  
And on the sign it said, "No Trespassing,"  
But on the other side it didn't say nothing,  
That side was made for you and me.

E.B. 懷特

(E.B. WHITE)

自由

## Freedom

一個作者如今懷著特別的心情寫書，因為他知道他將第一個被砍掉腦袋。

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E.B.懷特(1899-1985)生於紐約蒙特弗農，畢業於康奈爾大學。多年來他為《紐約人》雜誌擔任專職撰稿人。懷特是一位頗有造詣的散文家、幽默作家、詩人和諷刺作家。對於幾代美國兒童來說，他之所以出名是因為寫第一流的兒童讀物《小斯圖亞特》(1945)和《夏洛特的網》(1952)。一代又一代學生和作者熟悉他，因為他是《風格的要素》這本書的合著者(兼修訂者)。該書是關於作文和慣用法的很有價值的小冊子，最初由在康奈爾大學教過懷特英語的小威廉·斯特朗克教授撰寫。散文《自由》於1940年7月首先由《哈潑斯》雜誌發表。當時美國尚未加入反對納粹的戰爭，世界正處於納粹——蘇聯條約的時期，無論左派或右派都忽略了極權主義對民主的威脅。這篇散文收入懷特的文集《一個人的肉食》(1942)。

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在我進城的途中常常注意到人們改了服裝式樣趕時髦。可是我上次進紐約市，卻發現人們似乎也重新裁製了自己的思想——在腰部把他們的信念改小，縮短了袖子即他們的決心，用從歷史的最近一頁抄襲來的式樣漂亮的新理性整套服飾裝扮自己。我覺得似乎人們跟巴黎已跟得太久了。

坦率地說，我簡直要翻胃。當我看到有人按照正在國外取得成功的新暴政調整自己的思想，總是感到噁心。由於其自身的根本局限性，在我看來法西斯主義似不容任何折衷妥協或合理性，而且我痛恨其他人的傲慢姿態，這些人在我的對自由的樸素信仰中發現了不成熟的跡象。如果說認為一個人應該自由地生

活是幼稚的想法，那麼我倒樂意抑制自己的發育，讓全世界所有別的人成長。

我將介紹一下我在紐約聽到的一些奇談怪論。一個人對我說，他認為納粹的理想或許比我們的憲法制度的理想更完美，「因為你注意到了嗎，在新聞短片裏，那些年輕的德國兵有著一張張多麼英俊機靈的臉啊！」他補充道：「我們美國的年輕人則整天看電影——他們是一群廢物。」這便是他對現實的總結，對新的歐洲的解釋。這番話令我震驚。倘若它代表我們智力的顛峰，那麼專制主義的穩步進軍便不會在我國海岸遭受多少挫折。

另一個人告訴我，我們關於大眾政府的民主概念已衰敗不值一提——「因為英國確已腐爛，那裏的工業城鎮糟透了」。這便是他認為民主已不可救藥的唯一理由；他顯得洋洋自得，彷彿他對衰敗的剖析比別人更內行，對實情的觀察比別人更透徹。

另有一位先生對我說，認真看待任何一類政府的人都是受騙上當的傻瓜。他說，「正因為[克列孟梭](#)在凡爾賽的所作所為」，你可以確信除了腐爛沒有什麼別的東西。他說那場戰爭並無特別之處，只不過是又一次戰爭罷了。在傾訴完這番堂而皇之的推理後，他平靜下來。

還有一個人看到我熱血沸騰的樣子，遂指責我拋棄了超脫的立場，批評我純屬懷疑論的觀點。他宣佈，他是不會被所有這些胡言亂語所迷惑的，他將寧願選擇天真的旁觀者的角色。他說這才是任何一個有理智的人應盡的責任。（我注意到，事後他又打來電話對自己的上述評論作補充說明，彷彿在他乘出租汽車回家的路上喪失了幾分天真。）

這些只是似在周圍流行的街談巷議——這類談話充滿失敗主義、幻滅感，有時充滿裝模作樣的天真——的幾個例子。如今人們不僅以極高的速度自相殘殺，而且用天大的謊言互相欺騙。我所聽到的這類議論累積起來其擾亂人心的效果是可怕的。它們比俯衝轟炸機和佈雷區更具破壞力，因為它們不僅攻擊一個人的前沿陣地，而且攻擊他的防禦工事。在我看來它們來自兩種人：一種人從未與自由真正交鋒以便理解自由；另一種人則是叛徒。我本來以為會看到義憤，結果看到的卻是麻痺或一種模稜兩可的默認，像一個孩子吞下一粒苦味的藥丸時的反應。我通過某一個人瞭解到反猶情緒正在不斷增長，此公不是懷著羞恥之心飽含眼淚注視殘忍的反猶現象，而是冷眼旁觀，彷彿用精心磨製的透鏡觀察這種現象。

在當今時代一個人至少可以做到表明態度，闡明立場。一個半世紀前，人們以歡欣和忠誠縱情慶祝自由在美洲大陸誕生，如今我以同樣的歡欣、忠誠和激情信仰自由。我正快快撰寫我的宣言，彷彿匆匆刮臉要去趕一班火車。國外發生的事件給人們一種時間緊迫的感覺。其實我並不認為時間太緊。倘若已給讀者造成這種印象，我向讀者表示歉意。我只是想在變得遲鈍之前告訴人們，我熱愛自由，這種感情十分美好，由來已久；而且我懷疑那些只因法西斯主義和獨裁者正打贏戰爭便開始適應於它們的人。這種適應性散發出臭氣。我捏緊自己的鼻子。

從開始記事的時候起，我便已有了一種在大自然中自由自在地生活的意識。我不是說自己喜歡不受約束的行動，但是我的生活似乎具有無拘無束的性質。我攜帶著關於一個神聖密約的秘密文件旅行。我一貫憑直覺意識到一個人與他自

己訂立的極端重要的條約，使自己完全屬於自己，使自己與萬事萬物趨同，凡事依靠自己，利用他與一個行星之間的偶然關係碰碰運氣，就像上了癮一般執著於自己的愛好。我的最初和最熱烈的戀情發生在自己與我們所稱的自由之間，它是魅力無限的美女，危險、美麗、崇高，她給予我們所有的人生機與活力。

它始於縈繞於心頭的關於神秘的精神生活的暗示(我相信每個孩童都領受到這種暗示；關於人類心中的上帝的暗示；關於大自然通過「我」表現她自身的暗示。這種難以捉摸的感覺是動人的，令人難忘的。它始於人生的早期：比如說夏日的夜晚一個男孩坐在門前的臺階上，頭腦中沒有什麼特別的念頭，突然他彷彿是第一次以新的知覺聽見了的叫聲，於是心中充滿了與自然界的夥伴昆蟲、青草和黑夜打成一片的全新感覺，意識到對這一普遍的令人困惑的問題——「『我』是什麼。」——的回答。再比方說有個小女孩剛剛埋葬了她所寵愛的小鳥回到屋裏，靠窗而站，胳膊肘撐在窗臺上。她嗅到陌生的死亡的氣息，突然意識到自己也是整個故事中的一個角色。又比如說孩子長大了一些第一次遇到一位了不起的老師，這位教師以偶然一句話或一種情緒喚醒了學生的覺悟，而這個青年由此開始以獨立的人格活在世上，意識到自身的力量。我認為，在許多人身上，這種知覺一定是以與上帝的認同感不斷發展的，它是一種精神的衝動，由應變性和對人生是不同於純粹動物生命的神聖存在的認識引起。這便是與自由的初戀。

然而一個人的自由狀態包括兩個方面：作為在一顆行星上居住的動物他所經歷的本能自由；作為人類社會的一員享有特權的一員他所擁有的自由。人們對於



後者比起前者更普遍地理解，更廣泛地讚美，更嚴峻地挑戰，更熱烈地討論。它是自由實際和明顯的一面。當今幾乎只有美國才提供自由權、特權和自由的工具。在這片國土上，仍歡迎公民寫劇本，寫書，畫畫，集會討論問題，對某事表示贊同或持異議，在公共廣場搭起臨時演說台，在學校選擇無須經過審查的科目，開庭審理案件，譜寫樂曲，與鄰居談論政治而不必擔心是否有秘密警察在竊聽，交換商品也交流思想，在政府需要被人嘲笑的時候嘲笑它一番，在報紙上讀到有關真實事件的真實新聞，而不是由國家收買的代理人所杜撰的假新聞。這是事實，應該引起每個人深思。

從行星的意義上說，自由是感覺到你屬於地球。從社會的意義上說，自由即是在一種民主的結構中感覺到無拘無束。雖然阿道夫·希特勒是個不受束縛發育成熟的人，但在他身上我們無以發現兩種感覺。閱讀了他的書之後我推測，他對地球的感想不是希望共用而是極欲佔據統治地位。他對人類的感想不是和平共處，而是他們能夠被一個具有超凡才智的人擺佈，變成一種模式——人們的生存並不意味著個性的充分發展，而是意味著讓他們的個性服從共同的種族命運。當你在希特勒的著述中發現他對全人類是何等蔑視時，他對日爾曼民族命運的專注便黯然失色了。他寫道：「我學會了……看透人民極其原始的意見和論點。」對希特勒來說，一個普通人是任人操縱利用的原始人。他不斷把人民稱為綿羊、笨蛋、無恥的白癡——而正是向這些人他要求絕對忠誠。對這些人他許諾最大的獎賞。

在美國這裏，生活的自由原則有倖存的機會。因為我們的社會是建立在對個人的信心而非對個人的輕蔑之上。我相信該原則必須也必將存在下去。理解自由

是任何決心追求自由的人應該做到的；而熱愛自由則是許許多多美國人生來就有的脾性。與自由同居一室，同處一個半球，對我來說仍是激動人心的經驗。

《我的奮鬥》一書的作者在其一生中最早發現的真理是：不是書面語而是演說詞在群情熱烈的時刻激發大眾投入高尚或可恥的行動。與演說詞不同，書面語被人們私下研究，根據每個人自己的理性標準而不是根據旁人的想法加以冷靜的評判。希特勒寫道：「我知道，一個人通過演說能爭取到的人比書面文字多得多……」以後他又傲慢地補充道：「讓我們告訴所有的文人和政客，特別是今日的文人和政客：世上最大的變革從來不是由鵝毛筆引起的！筆桿子向來是被保留起來以用作從理論上激發這些變革。」

幸運的是，我可不是一心要改變世界——有人正為我改變世界，而且速度驚人。然而我知道，人類的自由精神實質上是歷久不衰的；它不斷生髮，從未被血與火撲滅過。我寫下以上這番話僅僅是為了(借用希特勒的說法)從理論上激發這種精神。我自己便是個握鵝毛筆的文人，我可沒有誤解「爭取民眾」的意思；但現在我為筆感到無比自豪，因為歷史讓筆證明，它是給人們接種的注射器，它使自由的細菌永遠在人體內迴圈，這樣任何國度任何時候都會有傷寒瑪麗式的帶菌者，他們只需通過接觸或範例便能傳染別人。每個專制暴君都害怕這類人——暴君們焚書坑儒，暴露出內心的恐懼。一個作者如今懷著特別喜悅的心情寫書，因為他知道他將第一個被砍掉腦袋——甚至在政客們掉腦袋之前。對我來說，這更是一大樂事，因為倘若塵世的命運拒絕給予我自由，我就等於一具殭屍，與其帶著腦袋還不如沒有腦袋進入法西斯主義。在那種情況下腦袋不

再有任何用處，少了那累贅豈不輕鬆得多！

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附註：

- 克列孟梭 (1841—1929) 法國政治家，第三共和國總理。他對第一世界大戰協約國的勝利和凡爾賽和約的簽訂起了重要作用。
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I have often noticed on my trips up to the city that people have recut their clothes to follow the fashion. On my last trip, however, it seemed to me that people had remodeled their ideas too—taken in their convictions a little at the waist, shortened the sleeves of their resolve, and fitted themselves out in a new intellectual ensemble copied from a smart design out of the very latest page of history. It seemed to me they had strung along with Paris a little too long.

I confess to a disturbed stomach. I feel sick when I find anyone adjusting his mind to the new tyranny which is succeeding abroad. Because of its fundamental strictures, fascism does not seem to me to admit of any compromise or any rationalization, and I resent the patronizing air of persons who find in my plain belief in freedom a sign of immaturity. If it is boyish to believe that a human being should live free, then I'll gladly arrest my development and let the rest of the world grow up.

I shall report some of the strange remarks I heard in New York. One man told me that he thought perhaps the Nazi ideal was a sounder ideal than our constitutional system "because have you ever noticed what fine alert young faces the young German soldiers have in the newsreel. " He added: "Our American youngsters spend all their

time at the movies— they're a mess." That was his summation of the case, his interpretation of the new Europe. Such a remark leaves me pale and shaken. If it represents the peak of our intelligence, then the steady march of despotism will not receive any considerable setback at our shores.

Another man informed me that our democratic notion of popular government was decadent and not worth bothering about— "because England is really rotten and the industrial towns there are a disgrace." That was the only reason he gave for the hopelessness of democracy; and he seemed mightily pleased with himself, as though he were more familiar than most with the anatomy of decadence, and had detected subtler aspects of the situation than were discernible to the rest of us.

Another man assured me that anyone who took any kind of government seriously was a gullible fool. You could be sure, he said, that there is nothing but corruption "because of the way Clemenceau acted at Versailles." He said it didn't make any difference really about this war. It was just another war. Having relieved himself of this majestic bit of reasoning, he subsided.

Another individual, discovering signs of zeal creeping into my blood, berated me for having lost my detachment, my pure skeptical point of view. He announced that he wasn't going to be swept away by all this nonsense, but would prefer to remain in the role of innocent bystander, which he said was the duty of any intelligent person. (I noticed, that he phoned later to qualify his remark, as though he had lost some of his innocence in the cab on the way home. )

Those are just a few samples of the sort of talk that seemed to be going round— talk which was full of defeatism and disillusion and

sometimes of a too studied innocence. Men are not merely annihilating themselves at a great rate these days, but they are telling one another enormous lies, grandiose fibs. Such remarks as I heard are fearfully disturbing in their cumulative effect. They are more destructive than dive bombers and mine fields, for they challenge not merely one's immediate position but one's main defenses. They seemed to me to issue either from persons who could never have really come to grips with freedom so as to understand her, or from renegades. Where I expected to find indignation, I found paralysis, or a sort of dim acquiescence, as in a child who is duly swallowing a distasteful pill. I was advised of the growing anti-Jewish sentiment by a man who seemed to be watching the phenomenon of intolerance not through tears of shame but with a clear intellectual gaze, as through a well-ground lens.

The least a man can do at such a time is to declare himself and tell where he stands. I believe in freedom with the same burning delight, the same faith, the same intense abandon which attended its birth on this continent more than a century and a half ago. I am writing my declaration rapidly, much as though I were shaving to catch a train. Events abroad give a man a feeling of being pressed for time. Actually I do not believe I am pressed for time, and I apologize to the reader for a false impression that may be created. I just want to tell, before I get slowed down, that I am in love with freedom and that it is an affair of long standing and that it is a fine state to be in, and that I am deeply suspicious of people who are beginning to adjust to fascism and dictators merely because they are succeeding in war. From such adaptable natures a smell rises. I pinch my nose.

For as long as I can remember I have had a sense of living somewhat freely in a natural world. I don't mean I enjoyed freedom of action, but my existence seemed to have the quality of freeness. I traveled with secret papers pertaining to a divine conspiracy. Intuitively I've always been aware of the vitally important pact which a man has with himself, to be all things to himself, and to be identified with all things, to stand self-reliant, taking advantage of his haphazard connection with a planet, riding his luck, and following his bent with the tenacity of a hound. My first and greatest love affair was with this thing we call freedom, this lady of infinite allure, this dangerous and beautiful and sublime being who restores and supplies us all.

It began with the haunting intimation (which I presume every child receives) of his mystical inner life; of God in man; of nature publishing herself through the "I." This elusive sensation is moving and memorable. It comes early in life: a boy, we'll say, sitting on the front step on a summer night, thinking of nothing in particular, suddenly hearing as with a new perception and as though for the first time the pulsing sound of crickets, overwhelmed with the novel sense of identification with the natural company of insects and grass and night, conscious of a faint answering cry to the universal perplexing question: "What is I'." Or a little girl, returning from the grave of a pet bird leaning with her elbows on the window sill, inhaling the unfamiliar draught of death, suddenly seeing herself as part of the complete story. Or to an older youth, encountering for the first time a great teacher who by some chance word or mood awakens something and the youth beginning to breathe as an individual and conscious of strength in his vitals. I think the sensation must develop in many men as a feeling of identity with

God— an eruption of the spirit caused by allergies and the sense of divine existence as distinct from mere animal existence. This is the beginning of the affair with freedom.

But a man's free condition is of two parts: the instinctive freeness he experiences as an animal dweller on a planet, and the practical liberties he enjoys as a privileged member of human society. The latter is, of the two, more generally understood, more widely admired, more violently challenged and discussed. It is the practical and apparent side of freedom. The United States, almost alone today, offers the liberties and the privileges and the tools of freedom. In this land the citizens are still invited to write plays and books, to paint their pictures, to meet for discussion, to dissent as well as to agree, to mount soapboxes in the public square, to enjoy education in all subjects without censorship, to hold court and judge one another, to compose music, to talk politics with their neighbors without wondering whether the secret police are listening, to exchange ideas as well as goods, to kid the government when it needs kidding, and to read real news of real events instead of phony news manufactured by a paid agent of the state. This is a fact and should give every person pause.

To be free, in a planetary sense, is to feel that you belong to earth. To be free, in a social sense, is to feel at home in a democratic framework. In Adolph Hitler, although he is a freely flowering individual, we do not detect either type of sensibility. From reading his book I gather that his feeling for earth is not a sense of communion but a driving urge to prevail. His feeling for men is not that they co-exist, but that they are capable of being arranged and standardized by a superior intellect— that their existence suggests not a fulfillment of their personalities but a submersion of their

personalities in the common racial destiny. His very great absorption in the destiny of the German people somehow loses some of its effect when you discover, from his writings, in what vast contempt he holds all people. "I learned," he wrote, ". . . to gain an insight into the unbelievably primitive opinions and arguments of the people." To him the ordinary man is a primitive, capable only of being used and led. He speaks continually of people as sheep, halfwits, and impudent fools— the same people from whom he asks the utmost in loyalty, and to whom he promises the ultimate in prizes.

Here in America, where our society is based on belief in the individual, not contempt for him, the free principle of life has a chance of surviving. I believe that it must and will survive. To understand freedom is an accomplishment which all men may acquire who set their minds in that direction; and to love freedom is a tendency which many Americans are born with. To live in the same room with freedom, or in the same hemisphere, is still a profoundly shaking experience for me.

One of the earliest truths (and to him most valuable) that the author of *Mein Kampf* discovered was that it is not the written word, but the spoken word, which in heated moments moves great masses of people to noble or ignoble action. The written word, unlike the spoken word, is something which every person examines privately and judges calmly by his own intellectual standards, not by what the man standing next to him thinks. "I know," wrote Hitler, "that one is able to win people far more by the spoken than by the written word...." Later he adds contemptuously: "For let it be said to all knights of the pen and to all the political dandies, especially of today: the greatest changes in this world have never been brought



about by a goose quill! No, the pen has always been reserved to motivate these changes theoretically."

Luckily I am not out to change the world— that's being done for me, and at a great clip. But I know that the free spirit of man is persistent in nature; it recurs, and has never successfully been wiped out, by fire or flood. I set down the above remarks merely (in the words of Mr. Hitler) to motivate that spirit, theoretically. Being myself a knight of the goose quill, I am under no misapprehension about "winning people"; but I am inordinately proud these days of the quill, for it has shown itself, historically, to be the hypodermic which inoculates men and keeps the germ of freedom always in circulation, so that there are individuals in every time in every land who are the carriers, the Typhoid Marys, capable of infecting others by mere contact and example. These persons are feared by every tyrant— who shows his fear by burning the books and destroying the individuals. A writer goes about his task today with the extra satisfaction which comes from knowing that he will be the first to have his head lopped off— even before the political dandies. In my own case this is a double satisfaction, for if freedom were denied me by force of earthly circumstance, I am the same as dead and would infinitely prefer to go into fascism without my head than with it, having no use for it any more and not wishing to be saddled with so heavy an encumbrance.

小約翰.吉列斯比.麥基

(JOHN GILESPIE MAGEE, JR.)

高高飛翔

**High Flight**

小約翰·吉列斯比·麥基(1922—1941)生於上海，他的父親在那個城市任主教派教會的傳教士。小約翰的父親是來自匹茲堡的美國人，而他的母親則是英國人。雖然麥基是美國人，但他卻在英格蘭上學，少年時代便擅長寫詩。在拉格比學校，他獲得詩作獎，而他心目中的英雄魯伯特·布魯克三十四年前獲得同樣的獎勵。當1939年戰爭來臨時，麥基加入加拿大皇家空軍，在部隊服役期間繼續寫詩。《高高飛翔》是他寄給住在華盛頓的雙親的詩作之一。麥基在英格蘭經歷戰鬥，1941年12月13日在一次飛行事故中犧牲。

1942年有人為麥基寫了部傳記，但他和他的詩仍然默默無聞。麥基去世後的四十五年，他的詩句竟被美國總統所引用。1986年1月28日「挑戰者」號太空梭從發射台升空，不到兩分鐘便發生爆炸，全國電視觀眾為之震驚。那天晚上羅納德·雷根總統推遲了預定的國情咨文報告，向舉國上下悲痛的人們表示慰問。他以對「挑戰者」號機組人員的讚頌結束自己的講話：「我們將永遠不會忘記他們，永遠不會忘記今天早晨我們最後一次見到他們的情景。當時他們正準備飛行，向人們揮手道別，『以掙脫地球的桎梏——觸摸到上帝的臉』。」

|                  |                                       |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 嘿！我已掙脫地球的桎梏      | Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of |
| 伸展銀色響翼在空中飛舞；     | Earth                                 |
| 我朝著太陽爬升，加入陽光劈開的雲 | And danced the skies on               |
| 層                | laughter-silvered                     |
| 發出的歡樂笑聲，——千成百上千種 | wings;                                |
| 事情               | Sunward I've climbed, and joined the  |
|                  | tumbling                              |
|                  | mirth                                 |
|                  | Of sun-split clouds, — and done a     |
|                  | hundred                               |

諒你做夢也無法想像——盤旋，滑翔，搖擺，

高飛於陽光普照的寧靜中。在那兒徘徊、

我緊追咆哮的風，駕駛飛機

穿過沒有地基的空氣大廳。……

向上，向上，飛向狂喜的，熾烈的藍色長天

我已輕鬆自如地到達風捲殘雲的高點。

那兒從未有雲雀，甚至老鷹也蹤影不見——

心懷向上的渴望我已踏進

高高的神聖不可侵犯的空間。

伸出我的手，觸摸到上帝的臉。

things

You have not dreamed of—wheeled  
and soared

and swung

High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring  
there,

I've chased the shouting wind along,  
and flung

My eager craft through footless halls  
of

air.... Up, up the long, delirious,  
burning blue

I've topped the wind-swept heights  
with

easy grace,

Where never lark, or even eagle flew  
—

And, while with silent, lifting mind  
I've trod

The high untrespassed sanctity of  
space,

Put out my hand and touched the face  
of God

查爾斯.A.齊默爾曼

(CHARLES A.ZIMMERMAN)

## 起 錨

### **Anchors Aweigh**

《起錨》寫於 1906 年，當時是為了美國海軍學院四年級創作的一首足球進行曲。這首歌由海軍學院樂隊指揮查爾斯.A.齊默爾曼上尉譜曲，由四年級學生阿爾弗雷德.H.邁爾斯作詞。齊默爾曼每年都要為畢業班寫一首進行曲。齊默爾曼上尉在軍校學員中很受歡迎，每年畢業班都要贈送他一枚獎章以感謝他為他們創作一首進行曲。安納波利斯的官方歷史寫道：齊默爾曼擁有如此多的獎章，以致於假如他穿著一身軍裝從船上掉進海裏，立即就會淹死。

海軍學院學員邁爾斯對樂隊指揮齊默爾曼說，他的同班同學想要一首熱情洋溢的曲子作為足球進行曲。於是這兩個人便坐在學校附屬教堂裏的風琴旁共同構思。該曲寫於 1906 年 11 月，正好趕上規模盛大的陸海軍運動會。那一年海軍贏了陸軍，這是多年來的第一次，不少海軍官兵認定，勝利歸功於這支歌曲。

十幾年間，這首歌只在海軍學院內傳唱，但 1926 年它被收入一部海軍歌曲集出版，遂成為聞名全國的海軍主題歌。它的歌詞被多次修改，最初是為了使其更像一首海軍歌曲而非足球歌曲，後來的一些歌詞加入對美國敵人的抨擊。如今這首歌曲以數種歌詞並存於世。本文所刊載的歌詞最後一個詩節取自海軍學院學員邁爾斯的原作。整個海軍為《起錨》這支歌的誕生感到高興，因為陸軍從來還沒有一首像它那樣流行的歌曲。

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|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 起錨，我的朋友，起錨， | Anchors Aweigh, my boys, Anchors Aweigh,         |
| 向學院的歡樂告別，   | Farewell to college joys,                        |
| 我們在清晨出發，嗨嗨  | We sail at break of day-day-day-day!             |
| 嗨！          | Through our last night on shore,                 |
| 從我們在岸上的最後一  | Drink to the foam,                               |
| 夜，          | Until we meet once more                          |
| 為大海乾杯，      | Here's wishing you a happy voyage home Sail Navy |
| 直到我們再次見面，   | down the bay                                     |
| 祝願你一帆風順返回家  | Anchors Aweigh                                   |
| 園。          | We'll never change our course                    |
|             | We're from the U.S.A. ay-ay-ay                   |
|             | We've got a job to do                            |
|             | Over the sea                                     |
|             | Anchors Aweigh, today                            |
|             | As we go sailing on to victory                   |
| 海軍駛出港灣，     |  |
| 起錨，         |  |
| 我們將決不改變航向。  |  |
| 我們來自美國，嗨嗨嗨！ |  |
| 我們重任在肩，     |  |

航行海上。

起錨，今天

當我們駛往勝利的方向。

海軍在場上劈波斬浪，

迎著太陽扯起風帆。

我們將決不改變航向，

所以你們陸軍避開啦，

嗨嗨嗨！

把比分拉大，

起錨，

讓海軍在場上劈波斬  
浪，

擊沈陸軍，擊沈陸軍吧。

**Stand Navy down the field**

**Sail set to the sky**

**We'll never change our course**

**So Army you steer shy-y-y-y**

**Roll up the score Navy**

Anchors Aweigh  
Sail Navy down the field  
And sink the Army, sink the Army grey.

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.附註：

- 指運動場。

佛蘭克林.德拉諾.羅斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

四大自由

**The Four Freedoms**

我們盼望有一個建立在四項人類基本自由之上的世界。第一是言論和發表意見的自由——在世界每一個地方。第二是每個人以自己的方式崇拜上帝的自由——在世界每一個地方。第三是不虞匱乏的自由.....——在世界每一個地方。第四是免受恐懼的自由.....——在世界每一個地方。

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羅斯福在他 1941 年 1 月 6 日致國會的年度咨文中陳述了美國對正在不斷擴大的國際衝突的反應。僅在幾個月之前，法國落入希特勒之手；就在羅斯福發表演講的同時，英國正堅決抵抗納粹的空襲。在那幾個扣人心弦的月份中，英國一直存在著現實而可怕的軍事崩潰的可能性。在這篇演說中，羅斯福為積極援助美國的盟國作了輿論準備。到 1941 年 3 月，國會便通過了租借

法，使美國得以向危難中的盟國提供坦克、卡車、飛機和食品。雖然頒佈此法案主要是為了幫助英國，但大多數租借法援助物資卻輸往英聯邦國家和蘇聯，

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…我想，每一個現實主義者都明白，民主生活方式此刻正在世界各地遭受直接攻擊——或因武裝侵略，或因一些人秘密散佈惡毒宣傳，竭力在仍處於和平狀態的國家中破壞團結，製造分裂。

在十六個月的時間內，這種攻擊已在數目驚人的大大小小獨立國家裏摧毀了民主生活的整個模式。這些攻擊者還在進軍，威脅著其他大大小小的國家。……我們的國家政策是：

第一，根據公眾意志的感人表述而不去考慮黨派之爭，我們保證加強國防，寸土不讓。

第二，根據公眾意志的感人表述而不去考慮黨派之爭，我們保證全力支援抵抗侵略從而使本半球免遭戰禍的世界各地一切不屈不撓的民族。通過這種支援，我們表達民主事業必勝的決心，同時加強我國自身的防務和安全。

第三，根據公眾意志的感人表述而不去考慮黨派之爭，我們保證貫徹這一主張，即道德原則和對我們自身安全的考慮決不允許我們默認由侵略者支配、由綏靖主義者倡議的和平。我們知道，持久和平是不能以他國人民的自由為代價買到的。……

因此，立即需要迅猛增加我們的軍械生產。……

讓我們對所有的民主國家說：「我們美國人對你們捍衛自由的鬥爭極為關切。我們正在付出我們的精力、資源和組織能力，以給予你們恢復和維護自由世界



的力量。我們將向你們運送越來越多的艦艇、飛機、坦克和槍炮。這是我們的宗旨，也是我們的保證。」……

正如人不能光靠麵包生存，人也不能光靠武器戰鬥。守衛在我們的防禦工事的人以及在他們身後建設我們的防務的人必須具有毅力和勇氣，這種毅力和勇氣來源於對自己正在捍衛的生活方式的堅定信念。我們現在所需要的強有力的行動不能建築在對值得為之戰鬥的一切漠不關心的態度上。

為了使我國人民意識到維護美國民主生活同他們的個人利害休戚相關，已做了很多工作，國家對此十分滿意並從中汲取巨大的力量。這些工作使我們的人民性格更為堅強，信念得以恢復，更加忠於我們準備保衛的制度。

當然，現在並不是我們任何人可以不再考慮作為社會革命根本原因的社會和經濟問題的時候，而社會革命乃是今日世界的要素。因為一個健全而強大的民主國家的基礎沒有什麼神秘之處。

我們的人民期待於他們的政治和經濟體制的基本東西很簡單，是：

青年人和其他人的機會均等。

凡能工作者皆有工作。

需要安全的人得到安全。

結束少數人的特權。

享受科學進步的果實以更廣泛地不斷提高生活水平。

這些簡單、基本的東西是在我們這個混亂和極端複雜的現代世界裏須與不可忽視的。我們經濟和政治體制的內在和持久的力量取決於它們滿足人們期望的程度。……

在我們力求安寧的未來歲月中，我們盼望有一個建立在四項人類基本自由之上的世界。

第一是言論和發表意見的自由——在世界每一個地方。

第二是每個人以自己的方式崇拜上帝的自由——在世界每一個地方。

第三是不虞匱乏的自由——從全球的角度說，意味著保證使每個國家的居民過上健康的和平時期生活的經濟共識——在世界每一個地方。

第四是免受恐懼的自由——從全球的角度說，意味著世界範圍的裁軍，它是如此全面徹底，以致任何國家都無法對他國發動武裝侵略——在世界每一個地方。

這並不是對遙遠將來的幻想。它是我們自己的時代、我們這一代人就能實現的一個世界的確切基礎。這一世界恰恰是專制主義所謂「新秩序」的對立面，獨裁者們企圖用炸彈的威力來創造那種秩序。

與那種「新秩序」針鋒相對，我們提出一更大的概念——精神秩序。一個良好的社會能夠面對世界職權的陰謀或外國革命而無所畏懼。

自英國有史以來，我們一直在從事變革，即不間斷的和平革命，這場革命平靜穩步地發展，不斷適應變化中的情況而無須使用集中營或萬人家。我們拜求的世界秩序是自由國家的合作，在一個友好文明的社會中一同工作。

這個國家把它的命運託付給千百萬自由的男女公民的雙手、頭腦和心靈，把它的信念建立在上帝所引導的自由上。自由意味著任何地方人權至上。我們支援為爭取和捍衛人權而鬥爭的人們。我們的力量在於我們目標一致。

這一崇高觀念除勝利無其他結局。

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. . . I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small....

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and

without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom....

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production. . . .

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge." . . .

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and the courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their

individuals take in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world. For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy.

The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, the basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations. . . .

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough manner that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change, in a perpetual, peaceful revolution, a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the co-operation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands, heads and hearts of its millions of freemen and women, and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain

those rights and keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

佛蘭克林.德拉諾.羅斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

### 關於宣戰對國會的演講

#### War Message to Congress

昨天，1941 年 12 月 7 日——它將永遠成為國恥日——美利堅合眾國遭到了日本帝國海空軍預謀的突然襲擊。

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1941 年 12 月 7 日，日本軍隊對位於夏威夷奧阿胡島珍珠港的美國海軍基地發動突然空襲。因為這場攻擊發生在星期天凌晨，所以造成慘重傷亡——二千三百多名美國人被打死——及港口內艦隻和陸地上飛機的嚴重損失。美國公眾義憤填膺。國會對羅斯福的「國恥日」演說作出反應，以壓倒多數投票通過對日宣戰。由於日本與德國和義大利一起組成軸心國聯盟，同日本作戰也就決定了美國將成為世界大戰的一個重要的參戰國。

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昨天，1941 年 12 月 7 日——它將永遠成為國恥日——美利堅合眾國遭到了日本帝國海空軍預謀的突然襲擊。美國當時同該國處於和平狀態，而且應日本的請求，仍在同它的政府和天皇進行對話，以期維持太平洋的和平。確實，就在日本空軍中隊開始轟炸美國奧阿胡島之後一小時，日本駐美大使和他的一個同僚還向我們的國務卿遞交了一份對美國最近一封信函的正式答覆。雖然覆函聲言繼續進行外交談判似已無用，它並未包含有關戰爭或武裝進攻的威脅或暗

示。

應該將這一點記錄在案：夏威夷同日本相距甚遠，顯而易見這次進攻是許多天甚至數星期之前便精心策劃的。在此期間日本政府通過虛偽的聲明和希望維持和平的表示蓄意對美國進行欺騙。

昨天日本對夏威夷群島的進攻使美國海陸軍部隊遭受重創。我沈痛地告訴各位，很多美國人喪失了生命。此外，據報告美國船隻在舊金山和火奴魯魯的公海上亦遭到魚雷襲擊。

昨天日本政府也發動了對馬來地區的進攻。

昨夜日本軍隊進攻了香港。

昨夜日本軍隊進攻關島。

昨夜日本軍隊進攻菲律賓群島。

昨夜日本軍隊進攻威克島。

今晨日本軍隊進攻了中途島。

這樣，日本就在整個太平洋區域發動了一場突然襲擊。昨天和今天的事實說明了一切。美國人民已形成了自己的見解並完全明白我們國家的生存和安全所受到的影響。

作為陸海軍總司令，我已指示採取一切措施進行防禦。



我們整個國家都將永遠記住這次日本對我進攻的性質。

不論要用多長的時間才能戰勝這次預謀的侵略，美國人民與正義之師必將贏得徹底勝利。

我相信這樣說表達了國會和人民的意志：我斷言，我們不僅將盡全力保衛我們自己，而且將確保永遠不再受到這種背信棄義行為的危害。

戰爭業已存在。誰也不能否認，我國人民、我國領土和我國利益正處於極度危險之中。

我們信賴我們的武裝力量，依靠我國人民的無比堅強的決心，我們必將取得勝利。願上帝保佑我們。

我要求國會宣佈，自 1941 年 12 月 7 日星期日日本對我國無端進行卑鄙的進攻，美國同日本帝國之間已處於戰爭狀態。

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Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu the Japanese Ambassador

to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And, while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Mid-way Island.

Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to over-come this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us

. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, Dec. 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

## 伊斯塞的詩

### Poems of the Issei

日本政府對珍珠港的美國海軍基地發動突然襲擊後，美國聯邦政府下令對西海岸所有的美籍日本人實行大規模內遷。這一決定與其說出於對國家安全的考慮，不如說是由種族偏見所促成，因為美籍日本人並未從事任何破壞活動，而且對美籍德國人和美籍義大利人並沒有制定類似的政策。羅斯福總統於 1942

年 3 月 18 日發佈行政命令，設立戰時安置局。這一機構負責把十一萬美籍日本人趕出他們在西海岸的家，集體遷移到內陸的安置中心。在那裏，男人、婦女和兒童住在鐵絲網環繞，幾乎沒有傢俱的兵營裏，直到戰爭結束。在那些被迫拋棄家園和事業的人之中，三分之二是美國公民。1944 年最高法院確認關於遷移和拘留的命令。成千上萬的拘留民自願在部隊服役，幹得很出色。

最後聯邦政府承認這一戰時政策是不公正的，向被遷移的人作出賠償，但是任何數目的錢都無法糾正已做下的錯事。

第一代移居美國的日本人被稱為「伊斯塞」(Is-sei)。他們在拘留營中寫的許多詩歌被《美亞雜誌》選載。這些詩以俳句的簡潔形式寫成，它是一種將強烈的感情濃縮為簡練的表達方式的三行詩。

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| 三十年    | Thirty years           |
| 住美國    | in America             |
| 變成一場夢。 | become a dream         |
| ——雁舟   | —SASABUNE              |
|        | As one                 |
|        | of the Japanese        |
|        | I gather my belongings |
|        | —KEIHO                 |
|        | Enduring               |
| 作為一個   | and still enduring     |
| 日本人    | the color of my skin   |
|        | —KIKYO                 |
| 我打點行裝。 |                        |

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <p>——圭風</p> <p>忍受</p> <p>再忍受</p> <p>我皮膚的顏色。</p> <p>——棕</p> |  |
|--|--|--|

羅伯特.克羅福德  
(ROBERT CRAWFORD)

陸軍航空兵

**The Army Air Corps**

羅伯特.克羅福德(1899－1961)生於育空地區，就讀於普林斯頓大學和朱利亞德音樂學院。他曾任普林斯頓合唱隊及其它許多合唱隊的指揮。1939年陸軍航空兵以獎金徵求該兵種最佳軍歌，克羅福德一舉中標。第二次世界大戰期間，他在該部隊任少校。

我們出發，飛向寥廓的藍色天  
空，

爬高，朝著太陽；

瞧他們嗡嗡飛來了，同我們交  
鋒，

瞄準他們，夥計，

給他們一炮！

我們俯衝，

從機身下噴射出烈火，

伴隨著轟隆的吼聲！

我們在光榮中求生或是在烈  
焰中墜落

誰也阻擋不了陸軍航空兵！

人類的頭腦構造出一箱雷電，

Off we go, into the wild blue yonder,

Climbing high, into the sun;

Here they come, zooming to meet  
our thunder,

At 'em, boys

Give 'er the gun!

Down we dive,

Spouting our flame from under,

Off with one helluva roar!

We live in fame

Or go down in flame

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR  
CORPS!

Minds of men fashioned a crate of  
thunder,

Sent it high into the blue;

Hands of men blasted the world  
asunder;

How they lived God only knew!

Souls of men dreaming of skies to  
conquer

Gave us wings, ever to soar!

With scouts before and bombers  
galore,

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR  
CORPS!

Off we go into the wild sky yonder,

Keep the wings level and true;

將它送上高高藍天；

人類的雙手把世界炸碎，

天曉得他們怎樣生存！

人類的靈魂夢想征服長空

賜給我們翅膀吧，讓我們飛  
翔！

偵察機開路，轟炸機成群，

誰也阻擋不了陸軍航空兵！

我們出發，飛向寥廓的藍天，

機翼保持平穩；

假如你想活到滿頭銀髮的年  
紀，

千萬別闖入碧藍的天際！

飛行員們保衛著國家的疆界，

我們將到達那裏，更多的部隊

If you'd live to be a gray-haired  
wonder

Keep the nose out of the blue!

Flying men, guarding the nation's  
border,

We'll be there, followed by more!

In echelon we carry on.

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR  
CORPS!

跟在後面！

我們組成梯隊前進。

誰也阻擋不了陸軍航空兵！

弗蘭克.洛埃瑟

(FRANK LOESSER)

讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥

**Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition**

弗蘭克.洛埃瑟(1910—1969)是美國最成功的歌曲作者之一。他最有名的作品包括百老匯歌劇《小夥子們和姑娘們》、《最快樂的人》以及這類流行歌曲如《孩子，外面很冷》和《在一艘慢慢駛向中國的船上》。他為《讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥》一歌作詞譜曲。這首歌及其它幾首軍歌在第二次世界大戰中風行一時。美國公眾也喜愛像《有雪的耶誕節》、《紙娃娃》和《啊，多美的早晨》等這類逃避現實，帶浪漫情調的歌曲。

炮手倒下，一顆子彈決定他的命運，

Down went the gunner, a bullet was his fate,

Down went the gunner, and then the gunner's



|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>炮手倒下，接著他的副手捐軀。</p> <p>隨軍牧師一躍而起，瞅一瞅士兵兄弟，</p> <p>他自己在大炮旁就位，放下聖經，</p> <p>大聲喊道(合唱)</p> <p>「讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥！<br/>讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥！<br/>讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥<br/>我們將永遠擁有自由！<br/>讚美上帝，把炮口對準目標。<br/>再不能坐在一邊祈禱。<br/>讚美上帝，我們都站在地獄<br/>和藍色海洋的深淵之間！」</p> <p>是呵，隨軍牧師句句在理，</p> | <p>mate.</p> <p>Up jumped the sky pilot, gave the boys a look.</p> <p>And manned the gun himself as he laid aside</p> <p>The Book,</p> <p>Shouting</p> <p><i>CHORUS:</i></p> <p>"Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition</p> <p>And we'll all stay free!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and swing into position.</p> <p>Can't afford to sit around a-wishin'.</p> <p>Praise the Lord, we're all between perdition</p> <p>And the deep blue sea!"</p> <p>Yes, the sky pilot said it,</p> <p>You've got to give him credit</p> <p>For a son-of-a-gun of a gunner was he,</p> <p>Shouting</p> |
|---|--|

你們應該相信

他也是個操炮的好手，

大聲喊道

「讚美上帝，我們正肩負偉大的使命！  
命！」

開船啦，我們可不是去撒網捕魚。

讚美上帝，傳遞彈藥

我們將永遠擁有自由

"Praise the Lord, we're on a mighty mission!

All aboard! We're not a-goin' fishin'.

Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition

And we'll all stay free!"

勒尼德.漢德

(LEARNED HAND)

## 自由的精神 **The Spirit of Liberty**

自由的精神即是對其是否正確不很有把握的精神。

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雖然勒尼德.漢德(1872—1961)從未在最高法院任職，卻被認為是美國歷史上最偉大的法官之一。他生於紐約阿爾伯尼，從哈佛大學和哈佛法學院畢業。

勒尼德.漢德先是於 1909 年被任命為聯邦法官，接著於 1924 年進入美國上訴法院。自 1939 至 1951 年，他作為該法院的首席法官，以他的才學、智慧和對民主原則的深刻信念成為全國最有影響的法官之一。

1944 年 5 月 21 日，漢德法官應邀在紐約市中央公園對一大型集會演講以紀念「我是一個美國人日」。他這篇發表在大戰關鍵時期的講話被廣泛印發和收入選集。

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我們聚集在這裏肯定一種信念，一種對共同目的、共同信仰和共同的獻身精神的信念。我們中有些人已選定美國作為自己的國家；其他人則是做出這種選擇的人的後代。為此原因，我們有權把自己看成是一個經過精選的群體，它的成員勇於同過去決裂，勇於面對在一個陌生國度遇到的危險和孤寂。是什麼目標激勵我們或我們的前人做出這一選擇的呢。我們追求自由：不受壓迫的自由，免遭貧困的自由，獨立自主的自由。我們當時追求這一目標，現在我們相信自己通過奮鬥達到了這一目標。當我們說我們首先追求自由的時候，意味著什麼呢。我經常懷疑，我們是否對憲法、法律和法庭寄予過多的希望。這些是虛幻的希望，真的，這些是虛幻的希望。自由存在於人們的心中；一旦它在人們心中死去，沒有任何憲法、法律或法院能拯救它；甚至沒有任何憲法、法律或法庭能予給它多大幫助。當自由存在人們心中時，無須憲法、法律或法庭去拯救它。那麼這一必須存活於人們心中的自由究竟是什麼呢。它不是冷酷無情，不受約束的意志；不是隨心所欲的

自由。那是對自由的否定，直接導致自由的毀滅。倘若在一個社會中人們不承認對他們的自由應有所控制，那麼它很快會變成一個隻讓一小撮兇狠殘暴的人擁有自由的社會。對這一點我們已有痛苦的教訓。

什麼是自由的精神。我無法給它下定義，只能告訴你們我自己的信念。自由的精神即是對其是否正確不很有把握的精神；自由的精神即是盡力去理解別人的見解的精神；自由的精神即是將別人的利益與自己的利益不帶偏見一併考慮的精神；自由的精神銘記，即使一隻麻雀落地也該引起注意；自由的精神也就是基督的精神，他在將近二千年之前教給人類從未學過，從此難忘的一課：有可能出現一個王國，在那裏人們對最偉大者和最渺小者不分貴賤，一視同仁。現在，以這種精神，以這種從未存在、或許永不會有的美國——惟美國人的良知和勇氣才能創造它——所具有的精神，以某種形式深藏在我們大家心中的那個美國的精神，以我國的年輕人此刻正為之戰鬥獻身的那個美國的精神，我請求你們起立，與我一起宣誓效忠於對我們可愛的國家光輝前程的信仰。

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We have gathered here to affirm a faith, a faith in a common purpose, a common conviction, a common devotion. Some of us have chosen America as the land of our adoption; the rest have come from those who did the same. For this reason we have some right to consider our-selves a picked group, a group of those who had the courage to break from the past and brave the dangers and the loneliness of a strange land. What was the object that nerved us, or those who went before us, to this choice. We sought liberty; freedom from oppression, freedom from want, freedom to be ourselves. This we then sought; this we now believe that we are by way of winning. What do we mean when we

say that first of all we seek liberty. I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws and upon courts. "These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law —, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it. And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women. It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow. A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of only a savage few; as we have learned to our sorrow.

What this is the spirit of liberty. I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest. And now in that spirit, that spirit of an America which has never been, and which may never be; nay, which never will be except as the conscience and courage of Americans create it; yet in the spirit of that America which lies hidden in some form in the aspirations of us all; in the spirit of that America for which our young men are at this moment fighting and dying; in that spirit of liberty and of America I ask you to rise and with me pledge our faith in the glorious destiny of our beloved country.

卡爾·夏皮羅

(KARL SHAPIRO)

## 爲一名士兵唱的輓歌

### Elegy for a Dead Soldier

卡爾·夏皮羅(1913— )生於巴爾的摩，1935年發表第一本詩集。1942年他的另兩部詩集出版。1945年夏皮羅因《「字母V」和其他詩作》一書獲普利茲獎，該詩集是他在南太平洋當士兵時創作的。戰後，夏皮羅出版了多部詩集以及文學評論、散文、小說，並擔任《詩》的主編。他因詩歌創作取得許多榮譽和獎勵。夏皮羅曾在幾所大學任教，包括內布拉斯加大學和設在戴維斯的加利福尼亞大學。

《為一名士兵唱的輓歌》收入《「字母V」和其他詩作》。

一

一輛卡車的後檔板覆蓋著一塊  
白布，  
  
權充祭壇；兩支蠟燭  
  
畢剝燃在十字架兩旁  
  
四周撒滿花朵，比血色更鮮，  
  
比我們的啓示錄更紅，  
  
木槿花，一個行軍者會把它摘下

I

A white sheet on the tail-gate of a  
truck  
becomes an altar; two small  
candlesticks  
sputter at each side of the crucifix  
Laid round with flowers brighter  
than the  
blood,  
Red as the red of our apocalypse,  
Hibiscus that a marching man will  
pluck  
To stick into his rifle or his hat,  
And great blue morning-glories  
pale as lips

插在步槍或帽子上；

大大的藍色牽牛花，顏色蒼白

像不能再品味、接吻或發誓的嘴唇。

風兒開始低聲唱起頌主詩歌，

牧師說著話，棕櫚樹旋動自己的頭髮，

一支支隊伍踏過泥濘來此彙攏。

## 二

我們也是灰燼，當我們觀看和聆聽

聖歌、悲哀和樸素的讚詞

獻給一個人，他對未來的憧憬

與我們一樣，但如今已完全破滅，

他用青春譜寫的服役履歷一筆了

That shall no longer taste or kiss or swear.

The wind begins a low magnificat,  
The chaplain chats, the palmtrees swirl their hair,

The columns come together through the mud

## II

We too are ashes as we watch and hear

The psalm, the sorrow, and the simple praise

Of one whose promised thoughts of other days

Were such as ours, but now wholly destroyed,

The service record of his youth wiped out,

His dream dispersed by shot, must disappear.

What can we feel but wonder at a loss

That seems to point at nothing but the doubt

Which flirts our sense of luck into the ditch.

Reader of Paul who prays beside this fosse,

清，

他的美夢被槍聲驅散，毫無蹤影。

我們能感到的只是對陣亡的震驚，

它似乎恰恰表明懷疑，

而疑慮把我們的僥倖之心扔進溝渠。

站在這壕坑邊祈禱的保羅的讀經師，

我們該相信自己的眼睛呢，還是相信

虛空之外敘述榮耀和新生的傳奇。

### 三

因為這位戰友已經死了，在戰火中死去，

一個年輕人，他的千百萬同齡人

Shall we believe our eyes or legends rich

With glory and rebirth beyond the void.

### III

For this comrade is dead, dead in the war,

A young man out of millions yet to live,

One cut away from all that war can give,

Freedom of self and peace to wander free.

Who mourns in all this sober multitude

Who did not feel the bite of it before  
The bullet found its aim. This worthy flesh,

This boy laid in a coffin and reviewed—

Who has not wrapped himself in this same flag,

Heard the light fall of dirt, his wound still fresh,

Felt his eyes closed, and heard the distant brag

Of the last volley of humanity.

### IV



仍然活著，

這個人脫離了戰爭所給予的一切，

自由自在，飄飄悠悠。

誰在這肅穆的人群中哀悼亡靈

這些人在子彈射中目標以前

並不感到痛切。這可敬的血肉之軀，

這小夥子躺在棺材中沈思——

有誰尚未用同樣的旗幟包裹自己，

聽見塵土輕輕落下，傷口仍在流血，

感到雙眼緊閉，聽到遠處傳來

人間最後一陣炮火齊鳴。

By chance I saw him die, stretched  
on the

ground,

A tattooed arm lifted to take the  
blood

Of someone else sealed in a tin. I  
stood

During the last delirium that stays  
The intelligence a tiny moment

more,

And then the strangulation, the last  
sound

The end was sudden, like a foolish  
play,

A stupid fool slamming a foolish  
door,

The absurd catastrophe,  
half-prearranged,

And all the decisive things still left  
to say.

So we disbanded, angrier and  
unchanged,

Sick with the utter silence of  
dispraise.

V

We ask for no statistics of the  
killed,

For nothing political impinges on  
This single casualty, or all those

#### 四

我碰巧目睹他死去，四肢伸展仰  
臥在地，

刺有花紋的手臂拾起

接受另一個人的血從封罐注入  
他身體。我站立

眼看臨終前的神志昏迷

讓他的靈魂再彌留一時半刻，

接著呼吸停止，發出最後一聲喘  
息。

生命的結束如此突然，就像一出  
荒誕的戲，

一個傻子砰地關上一扇可笑的  
門，

荒謬的結局，彷彿預先排定，

所有關鍵性的臺詞尚待說及。

於是我們解散，沒有變化，更加

gone,

Missing or healing, sinking or

dispersed,

Hundreds of thousands counted,  
millions lost.

More than an accident and less  
than willed

Is every fall, and this one like the  
rest.

However others calculate the cost,

To us the final aggregate is one,

One with a name, one transferred  
to the blest;

And though another stoops and  
takes the gun,

We cannot add the second to the  
first.

#### XI

The time to mourn is short that  
best becomes

The military dead. We lift and fold  
the flag,

Lay bare the coffin with its written  
tag,

And march away. Behind, four  
others wait

To lift the box, the heaviest of  
loads.

The anesthetic afternoon benumbs,

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>憤怒，</p> <p>對無人譴責一片沈寂感到噁心。</p> <p>五</p> <p>我們不要陣亡人數統計，</p> <p>因為這些沒有任何政治意義：</p> <p>這一陣亡者或一切陣亡者，</p> <p>失蹤或養傷，倒下或潰退，</p> <p>幾十萬人記錄在冊，幾百萬人毫無消息。</p> <p>與其說出於自願，不如說是偶然事故</p> <p>造成每一例陣亡，這一戰死者與其他戰死者一樣。</p> <p>不論別人怎樣計算付出的代價，</p> <p>對我們而言最終歸結為一，</p> | <p>Sickens our senses, forces back our talk.</p> <p>We know that others on tomorrow's roads</p> <p>Will fall, ourselves perhaps, the man beside,</p> <p>Over the world the threatened, all who walk:</p> <p>And could we mark the grave of him who died</p> <p>We would write this beneath his name and date:</p> <p>EPITAPH</p> <p>Underneath this wooden cross there lies</p> <p>A Christian killed in battle. You who read,</p> <p>Remember that this stranger died in pain;</p> <p>And passing here, if you can lift your eyes</p> <p>Upon a peace kept by a human creed,</p> <p>Know that one soldier has not died in vain.</p> |
|---|--|

一個有名有姓的人，一個被送進  
天堂的人；

雖然另一人俯身拿起槍，

我們不能將第二人加到第一人  
身上。

.....

## 六

哀悼的時間短促，這最適合於

犧牲的軍人。我們揭去旗，將它  
折起，

讓帶著標籤的棺木裸現，

我們緩緩走開。在我們身後，另  
四個人等著

抬起靈柩，最沈重的負載。

沈悶的下午令人生厭，

使我們感官麻木，欲語還休。

我們知道在明天的征途上

其他的人將倒下，也許是我們自己，身旁的人

全世界受到威脅的人，一切行進的人：

倘若我們能為這一死者立碑，

我們將在他的名字和死期下書寫：

### 墓誌銘

在這本質十字架下安臥著

一個戰死的基督徒。請你記住，

這陌生人在痛苦中死去；

當你路過此地，放眼看看

由人類教義維護的和平景象。

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| 你便懂得一名士兵並沒有枉然<br>捐軀。 |  |
|----------------------|--|

附註：

- 《啟示錄》是《聖經.新約》中關於世界末日的部分

伯納德·巴魯克

(BERNARD BARUCH)

### 巴魯克關於控制原子能的方案 The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy

我們在這裏就生與死作出抉擇。

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第二次世界大戰結束時，美國壟斷了有關原子彈的知識。1946 年 6 月 14 日，美國代表伯納德·巴魯克向聯合國原子能委員會提交了一項美國方案：置原子能於國際控制之下。巴魯克(1870-1965)是個富有的金融家，曾任威爾遜總統和羅斯福總統的顧問。「政界元老」這一名詞似乎是專為形容他而創造的。

蘇聯反對巴魯克方案，因為該方案要求國際核查。由獨裁者史達林統治的蘇聯要求立即銷毀現存原子武器，今後禁止製造原子武器，但不作核查。蘇聯的這一立場阻礙了國際合作，直到 1963 年，美、蘇、英三國才簽署禁止核子試驗條約。

因此當時巴魯克方案未獲通過。人們可以想像，倘若該方案取勝，世界是否仍會有一場國際軍備競賽，全球的資源將會如何運用。

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我們在這裏就生與死作出抉擇。這是我們的職責。

在新的原子時代，黑暗的不祥之兆背後存在著希望：如果人們抱著信念抓住這希望，那麼它就能拯救我們；假如我們失敗了，那麼我們就會使每個人淪為恐怖的奴隸。我們切莫欺騙自己了：我們必須在世界和平與世界毀滅之間作出抉擇。

科學從自然揭示出一個奧秘，其潛力如此巨大，以致於我們的心靈在它製造的恐怖中顫抖。但恐怖不足以制止原子彈的使用。由武器所造成的恐怖從未阻止人類使用武器。每一種新式武器一出現，很快便產生一種抵禦它的方法。然而現在我們面臨有效的防禦手段不復存在的狀況。

給我們造出這種可怕力量的科學證明，這種力量能夠被用來極大地造福人類，但科學沒有告訴我們怎樣阻止用它來從事破壞。因而我們奉命來尋求我們各國人民觀念和心願的共同點。唯有在全人類的意志中才能找到解決問題的答案。

正是為著表達這種意願使它能得以實現，我們才會聚集一堂。我們必須規定一種有效途徑以確保原子能只用於和平目的，阻止人們在戰爭中使用它。為此，我們必須規定對違反各國達成的協定者給予直接、迅速和確實的懲罰。倘若和平不應當僅僅是兩次戰爭之間狂熱的插曲，那麼處罰措施是必不可少的。而且，聯合國也可以就蘇聯、英國、法國和美國在約倫堡應用的原則規定個人的責任和懲罰條例——這樣做肯定有益於世界的未來。

在此關鍵時刻，我們不僅代表本國政府，而且從更大範圍來說，我們代表世界各國人民。我們應牢記，各國人民不屬於各國政府，而各國政府屬於各國人民。我們必須答覆他們的要求；我們必須對全世界對和平與安全的渴望作出回答。

美國熱切地、滿懷希望地抱同樣的願望。在美國，對那種絕對武器的科學研究已獲成果。但是美國隨時準備禁止和銷毀這一戰爭工具——將它的用途從死亡轉向生命——倘若全世界為此目的訂立一個條約。……

現在是到了共同利益而採取行動的時候了。輿論支援維護安全的世界性運動。如果我的觀察準確，那麼我發現世界各國人民所要求的方案不僅包含善良的意向，而且包括可以實施的制裁手段——一項具有強制力的國際法。

我們美國人民極願為維護世界和平盡力，而且由於我們擁有生產原子彈的手段，由於原子彈已成為我們的一部分，我們意識到自己肩上的重大責任。鑒於此，我們準備為有效地控制原子能作出我們的最大貢獻。

但是在一個國家準備放棄任何克敵制勝的武器之前，它需要比言語更可靠的東西使它消除疑慮。它必須得到安全保證，制止用原子能作為進攻武器，而且制止其他武器——細菌武器、生物武器、毒氣——的非法使用，或許——為什麼不？——制止戰爭本身。

我們解決問題的方法在於消滅戰爭，因為只有消滅了戰爭，國與國之間才會停止在生產和使用令人畏懼的「秘密」武器方面攀比競爭，而這類武器完全是根據其殺傷力如何來評定其價值的。這一詛咒的方案不但把我們帶回到中世紀黑暗時代，而且使我們從和諧有序回到混亂狀態。倘若我們能找到一種控制原



子武器的恰當方法，那麼就有理由希望：我們也可能阻止使用其他適於大規模殺傷的武器。一旦一個人學會了說「A」，那麼只要他樂意，他便能學會說其他字母。

讓我們永遠銘記：和平絕對不可能由金屬的力量或軍備競賽所長期維持。和平唯有通過以制裁手段作後盾的諒解和協定才能得到穩定和保障。我們要麼接受國際合作，要麼接受國際分裂，二者必居其一。……

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We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead. That is our business.

Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: We must elect world peace or world destruction.

Science has torn from nature a secret so vast in its potentialities that our minds cower from the terror it creates. Yet terror is not enough to inhibit the use of the atomic bomb. The terror created by weapons has never stopped man from employing them, for each new weapon a defense has been produced, in time. But now we face a condition in which adequate defense does not exist.

Science, which gave us this dread power, shows that it can be made a giant help to humanity, but science does not show us how to prevent its baleful use. So we have been appointed to obviate that peril by finding a meeting of the minds and the hearts of our peoples. Only in the will of mankind lies the answer.

It is to express this will and make it effective that we have been assembled. We must provide the mechanism to assure that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes and preclude its use in war. To that end, we must provide immediate, swift, and sure punishment of those who violate the agreements that are reached by the nations. Penalization is essential if peace is to be more than a feverish interlude between wars. And, too, the United Nations can prescribe individual responsibility and punishment on the principles applied at Nuremberg by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States—a formula certain to benefit the world's future.

In this crisis, we represent not only our governments but, in a larger way, we represent the peoples of the world. We must remember that the peoples do not belong to the governments but that the governments belong to the peoples. We must answer their demands; we must answer the world's longing for peace and security.

In that desire, the United States shares ardently and hopefully. The search of science for the absolute weapon has reached fruition in this country. But she stands ready to proscribe and destroy this instrument—to lift its use from death to life—if the world will join in a pact to that end. . . .

Now, if ever, is the time to act for the common good. Public opinion supports the world movement toward security. If I read the sign aright, the peoples want a program not composed merely of pious thoughts but of enforceable sanctions—an international law with teeth in it. We of this nation, desirous of helping to bring peace to the world and realizing the heavy obligations upon us arising from our possession of the means of producing the bomb and from the fact that it is a part of our armament, are prepared to make our full contribution toward effective control of atomic energy. . . .

But before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against the

offenders in the atomic area but against the illegal users of other weapons — bacteriological, biological, gas — perhaps — and why not. — against war itself.

In the elimination of war lies our solution, for only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production and use of dread "secret" weapons which are evaluated solely by their capacity to kill. This devilish program takes us back, not merely to the Dark Ages but from cosmos to chaos. If we succeed in finding a suitable way to control atomic weapons, it is reasonable to hope that we may also preclude the use of other weapons adaptable to mass destruction. When a man learns to say "A" he can, if he chooses, learn the rest of the alphabet, too.

Let this be anchored in our minds: Peace is never long preserved by weight of metal or by an armament race. Peace can be made tranquil and secure only by understanding and agreement fortified by sanctions. We must embrace international cooperation or international disintegration. ...

戴維·利連撒爾

(DAVID LILIENTHAL)

聽證會演說

**Confirmation Hearings**

我對這一點深信不疑。

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1946 年哈里·杜魯門總統任命戴維·利連撒爾領導原子能委員會。利連撒爾 (1899—1981) 生於伊利諾伊州，畢業於德波大學和哈佛大學法學院。他曾任

田納西流域管委會主席。

在他的國會聯合委員會聽證會上，利連撒爾受到田納西州參議員肯尼思.D. 麥克凱勒的訪問。麥克凱勒指出，利連撒爾有同情共產主義之嫌。在聽證會上參議員麥克凱勒曾要求瞭解田納西流域管委會生產一噸硝酸銨的成本。利連撒爾說，他將找到有關數據，但當時頭腦裏記不起來了。於是參議員暗示，利連撒爾的這一承認證明了這位被任命者的無能，而且參議員幾次提到利連撒爾「頭腦裏」竟記不住如此重要的資訊。

參議員言歸正傳，攻擊要害問題時指出：「其實你的同情心頗帶左派色彩。」利連撒爾答道，他無法簡單地用「是」或「不是」來回答這一斷語，麥克凱勒參議員緊追不捨：「那麼你對共產主義學說抱何種信念。」利連撒爾不假思索，脫口而出的答覆由阿爾弗雷德.弗蘭德利寫成報導刊登在 1947 年 2 月 4 日的《華盛頓郵報》上。

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這個問題確實一真縈迴在我的頭腦裏，參議員先生。

我將盡力把它講清楚。比起我反對什麼，我的信念更多地牽涉到我贊成什麼；這就順理成章地把許多東西排除在外了。

依照傳統，民主已成為一個肯定的主義、而不僅僅是個否定的主義。

我相信——而且我也設想，美國憲法正如宗教那樣是建立在個人的正直這個基本前提之上；所有政府，所有私人機構都必須用來促進、保護和捍衛個人的正直和尊嚴。這便是憲法和《人權法案》的根本含義，正如它本質上也是宗教的

含義。

因此，任何使人成為手段而非目的的政府和其他機構，任何置國家或別的組織於人的意義之上的政府和其他機構，任何把強加於人的專橫權力作為政府的一項基本原則的政府和其他機構都是與上述觀念相悖的，所以我堅決反對它們。

共產主義哲學和共產主義的政府形態屬於這一範疇，因為它們的基本原則與我們憲法的含義格格不入。共產主義的基本原則是，國家本身便是目的，因而國家對個人行使的權力不受任何倫理標準的約束。

我完全不相信這種原則。

要說一個人不是個共產主義者是件十分容易的事。當然，若是無視我的履歷，有必要叫我斷然表明立場，那麼我將感到非常失望。

口頭說一說反對共產主義是件十分容易的事。同樣重要的是相信那些能提供令人滿意，有效的替代物的東西。民主便是令人滿意的，肯定的替代物。

民主在全世界的希望在於，它是個肯定的信仰，而不僅僅是個反對其他一些什麼的信仰，除此以外，再沒別的了。

民主的一條原則來自一種信仰的核心，該信仰認為，個人第一，人皆是上帝的兒女，因此他們的人格是神聖的。這一原則是一種對公民自由權及其不容侵犯的堅定信仰，它對任何欲通過旁敲側擊，嫁禍於人或含沙射影的手法奪去一個人最寶貴的東西——他的名譽——的人深惡痛絕。有時人們是打著民主的幌子這麼幹的，這就更為不幸。我認為，倘若我們聽任這種劣行繼續肆虐，那麼它

會導致我們國家分崩離析，徹底毀滅。

我深信，假如我們在日常生活中實行民主，民主有能力經受其可能面臨的任何考驗。

在我們必須遵循的準則中有這麼一條：在我們大張旗鼓地清查國內的顛覆和反民主勢力的同時，不該歇斯底里，旁敲側擊，誹謗攻擊，或以其他不光彩的手法玷污我們所相信的事業，在我國人民中製造分裂——使團體和個人之間互相仇視，而這種分裂完全是由肆意抨擊，對團體或個人的忠誠的毫無根據的責難。

我還想補充說明，我的信念部分地建立在我作為英裔美國人一名普通律師所接受的訓練上。正是由於我們所保持的英國人民給予這個國家的基礎和傳統，我們堅決主張在法庭上對證人的可靠性應有最嚴格的規定，避免傳聞證據，排除流言蜚語。而且這也是我們的民主的一個基本點。

不論是由於行政機構專橫地對待商業團體或是立法部門的調查活動，只要上述那些原則，——保護個人和個人名譽免遭流言蜚語、道聽途說和未經盤問的證詞所玷污的原則——受到踐踏，那麼我們也就無法實現我們關於民主的理想。

我對這一點深信不疑。

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This I DO carry in my head, Senator.

I will do my best to make it clear. My convictions are not so much concerned with what I am against as what I am for; and that excludes a lot of things automatically.

Traditionally, democracy has been an affirmative doctrine rather than merely a negative one.

I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest, as does religion, upon the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.

Any form of government, therefore, and any other institutions which make men means rather than ends, which exalt the state or any other institutions above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of government are contrary to that conception, and, therefore, I am deeply opposed to them.

The communistic philosophy as well as the communistic form of government falls within this category, for their fundamental tenet is quite to the contrary. The fundamental tenet of communism is that the state is an end in itself, and that therefore the powers which the state exercises over the individual are without any ethical standard to limit them.

That I deeply disbelieve.

It is very easy simply to say that one is not a Communist. And, of course, if despite my record it is necessary for me to state this very affirmatively, then it is a great disappointment to me.

It is very easy to talk about being against communism. It is equally important to believe those things which provide a satisfying and effective alternative. Democracy is that satisfying, affirmative alternative.

Its hope in the world is that it is an affirmative belief, rather than being simply a belief against something else and nothing more.

One of the tenets of democracy that grows out of this central core of a belief that the individual comes first, that all men are the children of God and that their personalities are therefore sacred, is a deep belief in civil liberties and their protection, and a repugnance to anyone who would steal from a human being that which is most precious to him—his good name—either by imputing things to him by innuendo or by insinuation. And it is especially an unhappy circumstance that occasionally that is done in the name of democracy. This, I think, can tear our country apart and destroy it if we carry it further.

I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives.

And among the things we must practice is this: that while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and anti-democratic forces in the country, we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo, and smears, and other unfortunate tactics, besmirch the very cause that we believe in, and cause a separation among our people—cause one group and one individual to hate another, based on mere attacks, mere unsubstantiated attacks upon their loyalty.

I want also to add that part of my conviction is based on my



training as an Anglo-American common lawyer. It is the very basis and the great heritage of the English people to this country, which we have maintained, that we insist on the strictest rules of credibility of witnesses and on the avoidance of hearsay, and that gossip shall be excluded, in the courts of justice. And that, too, is an essential of our democracy.

Whether by administrative agencies acting arbitrarily against business organizations, or whether by investigating activities of legislative branches, whenever those principles fail, those principles of the protection of an individual and his good name against besmirchment by gossip, hearsay, and the statements of witnesses who are not subject to cross-examination — then, too, we have failed in carrying forward our ideals in respect to democracy.

This I deeply believe.

休伯特.漢弗萊

(HUBER HUMPHREY)

爭取民權

A Plea for Civil Rights

對民主黨來說，這一時刻已經到來：走出各州權利的陰影，逕直步入人權的燦爛陽光中。

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1948 年，民主黨陷入困境。弗蘭克林.D.羅斯福總統於 1945 年逝世。他的繼任者哈里.杜魯門無法再使黨內爭吵不休的各派力量聯合在一起。民主黨

左翼分裂出去，組成進步黨，提名亨利·華萊士為總統候選人；民主黨右翼——它掌握南方白人的關鍵性選票——則警告說，如果民主黨人在他們的黨綱中採納了民權條目，它將退出全國大會。

休伯特·霍雷肖·漢弗萊(1911—1978)出席了在費城舉行的民主黨全國代表大會。當時漢弗萊任明尼阿波利斯市長，年輕有為，充滿活力，正在角逐美國參議院席位。漢弗萊曾當過藥劑師、教員，於1945年當選為市長。1948年7月14日，漢弗萊發表了以下這篇熱情洋溢的演說，懇求在民權問題上持勇敢的立場。全國大會贊同他的觀點，而南方的民主黨人則退出了全國大會和民主黨。雖然黨內有人背叛，杜魯門仍險勝杜威，而漢弗萊則入選參議院，在以後的16年中成為一位傑出的參議員。

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我意識到，我正談論一個引起激烈爭論的問題——由於人們各執一詞，感情用事，這問題被攪糊塗了。我意識到，今天在場的人士中頗有些人——其中不少是我的朋友和同事——跟我一樣深切關注這個問題，但觀點與我恰恰相反。

我是懷著對這些人和他們的觀點的尊敬和欽佩來到此地的。

由於在討論中他們所表現的真誠、禮貌和直率，此刻我對他們的尊敬和欽佩更增加了十二分。

因為懷有這種尊敬，因為我確信我們要在這裏完成一項具有挑戰性的任務，因為良心的驅使，我感到現在我不能不站出來支援這個報告——該報告清楚地闡明了我們的民主，對於該報告人民將充分理解，熱情歡呼。

請允許我在開頭便說明，這一建議的提出不帶有對任何個地區、階級、種族或教派的考慮。

所有的地區，所有的州都已共用美國式自由的可貴遺產。所有的地區，所有的州都或多或少侵犯了這種自由——所有的人，所有的團體都已成為不公平待遇的受害者。

我們的主要發言人，尊敬的肯塔基州美國參議員阿爾本.巴克利的精闢講話切中要害。在談及我們黨的創始人托馬斯.傑斐遜時，他說：

「他沒有宣稱一切白人或黑人，或紅種人，或黃種人平等；一切基督徒或猶太教徒平等；一切新教徒或天主教徒平等；一切富人或窮人平等；一切好人或壞人平等。

「他聲明的是人人平等；而他所說的平等是指人人有權享受自由政府的福澤，他們可以參加這個政府，而且他們贊同這個政府。」

我們是作為民主黨人參加大會的。但更重要的是，作為美國人——而且我堅信，作為關心我國未來的人，我們必須在我們的黨綱中列入我所提到的諸條保證。

是啊，這已遠遠不只是個政黨的問題。美國之成為自由世界的領袖與每一個公民利害攸關。自由世界正受到實行奴隸制度的世界的挑戰。為了使我們能卓有成效地發揮自己的作用，我們必須站在道德完善的立場。

在衡量我們自己和他國人民的政策時，我們不能使用雙重標準。我們對其他國

家實行民主的要求不會比在我們自己的國家實行民主的保證更有效。

我們是對上帝虔誠的人。我們相信在上帝的庇護下人與人之間的兄弟情誼。

我不認為，對我已提及的公民權的保證可以有任何折衷妥協。

儘管我希望黨綱能獲得一致通過，我認為對有些問題還是應當毫無保留地予以闡明。不能躲躲閃閃——不能輕描淡寫。

有些人對你們說：我們正力促這個公民權問題儘快得到解決。我說，我們已晚了一百七十二年。

有些人說：這公民權問題侵犯了各州的權利。對民主黨來說，這一時刻已經到來：走出各州權利的陰影，逕直步入人權的燦爛陽光中。

人民——人類——這是二十世紀的關鍵問題。人民——形形色色，各式各樣的人——指望美國擔任領導，指望美國給予幫助，指望美國指引前程。

我的朋友，我的民主黨夥伴們，我請求你們冷靜地考慮我們的歷史機遇。讓我們忘記邪惡的感情，忘記過去的盲目性。在如今這個國際經濟、政治、精神危機——尤其是精神危機——的時期，我們不能也不應偏離明擺在我們面前的道路。

這條道路已經引我們穿過許多籠罩著死亡陰影的幽谷。現在該是緬懷那些在美國自由之路上獻身的先驅者的時候對於我們全體與會者，對於選派我們與會的幾百萬人，對於人類大家庭的二十億成員，我們國家如今比過去任何時更是世

界上最後的最大希望所在。我知道我們能夠——我知道我們會——從這裏開始更充分、更完美地實現這一希望——它是這樣一個國家的希望，在那裏人人自由平等，人人明智而又充分地運用自己的自由和平等。

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I realize that I am dealing with a charged issue—with an issue which has been confused by emotionalism on all sides. I realize that there are those here—friends and colleagues of mine, many of them—who feel as deeply as I do about this issue and who are yet in complete disagreement with me.

My respect and admiration for these men and their views was great when I came here.

It is now far greater because of the sincerity, the courtesy and the forthrightness with which they have argued in our discussions.

Because of this very respect—because of my profound belief that we have a challenging task to do here—because good conscience demands it—I feel I must rise at this time to support this report—a report that spells out our democracy, a report that the people will understand and enthusiastically acclaim.

Let me say at the outset that this proposal is made with no single region, no single class, no single racial or religious group in mind.

All regions and all states have shared in the precious heritage of American freedom. All states and all regions have at least some infringements of that freedom—all people, all groups have been the victims of discrimination.

The masterly statement of our keynote speaker, the distinguished United States senator from Kentucky, Alben Barley, made that point with great force. Speaking of the founder of our party, Thomas Jefferson, he said:

"He did not proclaim that all white, or black, or red, or yellow men are equal; that all Christian or Jewish men are equal; that all Protestant and Catholic men are equal; that all rich or poor men are equal; that all good or bad men are equal.

*['What be declared was that all men are equal; and the equality which be proclaimed was equality in the right to enjoy the blessings of free government in which they may participate and to which they have given their consent.']*

We are here as Democrats. But more important, as Americans —and I firmly believe that as men concerned with our country's future, we must specify in our platform the guarantees which I have mentioned.

Yes, this is far more than a party matter. Every citizen has a stake in the emergence of the United States as the leader of the free world. That world is being challenged by the world of slavery. For us to play our part effectively, we must be in a morally sound position.

We cannot use a double standard for measuring our own and other people's policies. Our demands for democratic practices in other lands will be no more effective than the guarantees of those practiced in our own country.

We are God-fearing men and women. We place our faith in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

*I do not believe that there can be any compromise of the guarantees of civil rights which I have mentioned.*

In spite of my desire for unanimous agreement on the platform there are some matters which I think must be stated without qualification. There can be no hedging—no watering down.

There are those who say to you—we are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are 172 years late.

There are those who say—this issue of civil rights is an infringement on states' rights. The time has arrived for the Democratic party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights

*People—human beings—this is the issue of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. People—all kinds and all sorts of people—look to America for leadership—for—for help—for guidance.*

My friends—my fellow Democrats—I ask you for a calm consideration of our historic opportunity. Let us forget the evil passions, the blindness of the past. In these times of world economic, political and spiritual—above all, spiritual crisis, we cannot—we must not, turn from the path so plainly before us.

That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. Now is the time to recall those who were left on that path of American freedom.

For all of us here, for the millions who have sent us, for the whole two billion members of the human family—our land is now, more than ever, the last best hope on earth. I know that we can—I know that we shall—begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope—that promise of a land where all men are free and equal, and each man uses his freedom and equality wisely and well.

哈里.S.杜魯門

(HARRY S. TRUMAN)

## 就職演說

### Inaugural Address

只有通過幫助人類大家庭中那些最不幸的成員自助，人類才能過上體面的、令人滿意的、人人有權享受的生活。

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哈里.S.杜魯門(1884－1972)1948年當選為總統是美國政治史上最大的怪事之一。杜魯門既戰勝了由紐約州州長托馬斯.杜威領導的捲土重來的共和黨，又克服了他自己黨內的分裂。杜魯門鬥志旺盛，信奉平民主義。他擊敗了杜威、進步黨的亨利.華萊士和南部與本黨持不同政見的民主黨人斯特隆.瑟蒙德，使民意測驗工作者和權威評論員們大吃一驚。

杜魯門出生於密蘇里州一個農場主家庭，他中學畢業，但因經濟問題沒上大學。他曾從事多種商業冒險事業，均以失敗告終。杜魯門在第一次世界大戰中入伍。表現出色，戰後在民主黨地方組織的支援下成為當地政治活動家。

1934年杜魯門當選為美國參議員，1944年當選為弗蘭克林.D.羅斯福的副總統。羅斯福於1945年4月12日去世，杜魯門遂成為總統。

在就職演說中，杜魯門提出一個大規模的國際方案，以給予拉丁美洲、亞洲、中東和非洲國家經濟和技術援助。隨著第四點計劃的實施，美國開始在國際事務中扮演一個新的角色。

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……我國歷史上的每一時期都遇上其特定的挑戰。現在我們所面臨的挑戰與



過去的挑戰同樣嚴重。今天這個日子不僅標誌著一個新政府的開始，而且標誌一個新時期的開端，這一時期對我們、對世界來說都將是重要的，也許是決定性的。

我們可能有幸經歷，在很大程度上帶來漫長的人類歷史上一個重大轉捩點。本世紀前半期以人權遭受空前殘暴的踐踏及歷史上最可怕的兩次戰爭為特徵。我們時代的當務之急是讓人們學會在安寧和諧中共同生活。

世界各國人民面對著一個難以預測的未來，它蘊藏著幾乎等量的巨大希望和巨大恐懼。在這疑惑不安的時刻，他們比以前更迫切地期待著從美國得到善意、力量和英明的領導。

因此我們這樣做是恰當的：利用這一場合向世界闡明我們賴以生存的信仰所包含的基本原則，向各國人民宣佈我們的目標。

美國人民堅持那始終激勵鼓舞這個國家的信仰。我們相信，人人享有在法律面前的平等權利，人人擁有分享公共利益的權利。我們相信，人人有思想和言論自由的權利。我們相信，人人生而平等，因為人都是按照上帝的形象創造出來的。

我們抱這一信仰決不動搖。

美國人民期望而且決心建立一個世界，在那個世界中——一切國家、一切民族可以自由地依照他們認為合適的方式自治，享受一種體面的、令人滿意的生活。首先，我們的人民期望而且決心建立世界和平——一種公正而持久的和平——

建築在平等各方達成的真正協定基礎上的和平。

自戰爭結束後，美國將它的人力物力投入偉大的具有積極意義的工作，以便在全世界恢復和平、穩定和自由。

我們從沒有領土要求，也從不把自己的意志強加於人。凡我們不想給予他人的特權，我們從不索取。

我們堅定不移地全力支援聯合國及有關機構、從而把民主原則運用於國際關係。我們一貫擁護和依靠以和平方式解決國家間的爭端。

我們不遺餘力地爭取達成關於對我們最強有力的武器實行有效國際控制的協定，我們為限制和控制一切軍事力量作了不懈的努力。

我們通過示範和規程鼓勵在合理和公正的基礎上發展世界貿易。

差不多一年以前，我們與十六個歐洲自由國家一起提出了歷史上最大的經濟合作計劃。這一空前的嘗試目的在於鼓舞和加強歐洲的民主，以使歐洲大陸的自由人民能在文明的前線恢復他們應有的地位，為世界的安全和幸福再次作出貢獻。

我們的努力已給全人類帶來新的希望。我們已戰勝了絕望情緒和失敗主義。我們使一批國家免遭喪失自由的厄運。全出界億萬人民現在贊同我們的觀點：我們不需要戰爭——我們能享有和平。……

在未來的歲月中，我們爭取和平與自由的計劃將突出四大行動步驟。

第一，我們將繼續堅決支援聯合國及其有關機構，我們將繼續千方百計加強它們的權威，提高它們的效率。我們相信，由於在按照民主原則走向自治的地區裏面，新的國家紛紛建立，聯合國將得到加強。

第二，我們將繼續實施爭取世界經濟復甦的計劃。這首先意味著我們必須繼續全力支援歐洲復興計劃。我們相信，這一宏大事業在世界復興的過程中必定取得成功。我們相信，同我們在這項工作中合作的國家將再次取得自立自強的國家地位。

另外，我們必須實施自己的消除國際貿易壁壘和增加國際貿易的計劃。經濟復甦及和平本身有賴於國際貿易的增長。

第三，我們將加強愛好自由的國家反對侵略威脅的力量。我們正與一批國家一起草擬一個旨在鞏固北大西洋地區安全的聯合協定。該協定將採取在聯合國憲章範圍內集體防務計劃的形式。……

第四，我們必須開始實施一項大膽的新計劃以使我們的科學發展和工業進步成果造福於不發達地區的改良和發展。

全球半數以上的人民生活相當困苦。他們食不果腹，疾病纏身。他們的經濟生活原始落後，停滯不前。他們的窮困不僅對他們自己，而且對較繁榮的地區是一種障礙和威脅。

歷史上人類第一次有了把這些人從痛苦中解救出來的知識和技能。

在工業和科學技術的發展方面美國走在各國的前列。我們可用於支援別國人

民的物質資源有限，但我們在技術知識方面無法估量的資源正不斷增長，取之不盡用之不竭。

我認為，我們應當讓我們豐富的技術知識造福於愛好和平的各國人民，以幫助他們實現改善生活的願望。而且，我們應當與其他國家合作，促進對需要發展的地區的投資。

我們的目標是幫助世界自由的各國人民通過他們自己的努力去生產更多的食品、更多的衣服、更多的建築材料，以及更多的用以減輕他們勞累的機械力量。

我們邀請其他國家在這項事業中投入並分享它們的技術資源。它們的貢獻將受到熱情歡迎。這應是一項合作的事業，所有國家通過聯合國及其特定機構在一切可行的地方共同工作。它應該是一種世界規模的為取得和平、富裕和自由的努力。……

所有的國家，包括我們自己的國家，將從——更好地利用世界人力和自然資源的建設性計劃中得到很大的益處。經驗告訴人們，當其他國家在工業和經濟上取得進步時，我們與它們的貿易也就隨之擴展。

發展生產是繁榮與和平的關鍵。而發展生產的關鍵在於更廣泛、更積極地應用現代科技知識。

只有通過幫助人類大家庭中那些最不幸的成員自助，人類才能過上體面的、令人滿意的、人人有權享受的生活。

唯民主才能產生活力，推動世界各國人民採取行動，不僅去戰勝壓迫他們的

人，而且去戰勝他們的宿敵——飢餓、苦難和絕望。

在這四大行動步驟的基礎上，我們希望協力創造條件以最終實現全人類的個人自由和幸福。……

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附註：

- 第四點計劃： 美國向不發達國家提供技術和經濟援助的政策，因杜魯門總統在 1949 年的就職演說中把它列為第四點，故名。
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. . . Each period of our national history has had its special challenges. Those that confront us now are as momentous as any in the past. Today marks the beginning not only of a new administration, but of a period that will be eventful, perhaps decisive, for us and for the world.

It may be our lot to experience, and in large measure to bring about, a major turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century, has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in peace and harmony.

The peoples of the earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears. In this time of doubt, they look to the United States as never before for

good will, strength, and wise leadership.

It is fitting, therefore, that we take this occasion to proclaim to the world the essential principles of the faith by which we live, and to declare our aims to all peoples.

The American people stand firm in the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning. We believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

From this faith we will not be moved.

The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. About all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals.

In the pursuit of these aims, the United States and other like-minded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life.

That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward.

That false philosophy is communism.

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate that he is unable to govern himself, and therefore

requires the rule of strong masters.

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state. It decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think.

Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities.

Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence.

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable.

Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

These differences between communism and democracy do not concern the United States alone. People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well-being, human dignity, and the right to believe in and worship God.

I state these differences, not to draw issues of belief as such, but because the actions resulting from the Communist philosophy

are a threat to the efforts of free nations to bring about world recovery and lasting peace.

Since the end of hostilities, the United States has invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability, and freedom in the world.

We have sought no territory and we have imposed our will on none. We have asked for no privileges we would not extend to others.

We have constantly and vigorously supported the United Nations and related agencies as a means of applying democratic principles to international relations. We have consistently advocated and relied upon peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

We have made every effort to secure agreement on effective international control of our most powerful weapon, and we have worked steadily for the limitation and control of all armaments.

We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis.

Almost a year ago, in company with 16 free nations of Europe, we launched the greatest co-operative economic program in history. The purpose of that unprecedented effort is to invigorate and strengthen democracy in Europe, so that the free people of that continent can resume their rightful place in the forefront of civilization and can contribute once more to the security and welfare of the world.

Our efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war—that



we can have peace....

In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize four major courses of action.

First. We will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened by the new nations which are being formed in lands now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles.

Second. We will continue our programs for world economic recovery.

This means, first of all, that we must keep our full weight behind the European recovery program. We are confident of the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self-supporting nations once again.

In addition, we must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade.

Third. We will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. We are now working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an agreement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter. . . .

Fourth. We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

The United States is preeminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.

I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.

Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be warmly welcomed. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom. ...

All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a

constructive program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically.

Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.

Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people.

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair.

On the basis of these four major courses of action we hope to help create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind. . . .

瑪格麗特·蔡斯·史密斯

(MARGARET CHASE SMITH)

良心宣言

Declaration of Conscience

我不想看見共和黨依靠誣衊他人的四騎士——恐懼、無知、偏執和誹謗去贏得政治上的勝利。

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1950 年威斯康辛的約瑟夫·R. 麥卡錫參議員發動了一場從政府部門中清除

共產黨嫌疑分子的討伐運動。他把自己裝扮成保衛美國免遭國內外敵人侵害的愛國者，批評他的人們指責他根據謠言和影射粗暴破壞人們的職業和名聲。作為一個共和黨人，麥卡錫不斷指出：杜魯門政府「對共產主義軟弱」，該政府任命的國務院官員是叛國分子，他們「丟失」或「放棄」了一些國家讓共產黨人上臺。差不多有五年時間——從 1950 年 2 月麥卡錫首次聲稱國務院充滿了顛覆分子直到 1954 年 12 月這位參議員遭到參議院同僚們的譴責——整個國家捲入對「麥卡錫主義」的激烈爭論。

政府內外許多人被這參議員的指控嚇倒了，但並非人人如此。七位共和黨參議員——新罕布夏州的查爾斯.托比、佛蒙特州的喬治.D.艾肯、俄勒岡州的韋思.L.摩斯、明尼蘇達州的愛德華.J.塞、紐約州的歐文.M.艾夫斯、新澤西州的羅伯特.C.亨德里克遜以及緬因州的瑪格麗特.蔡斯.史密斯——簽署了反對麥卡錫策略的良心宣言。參議員史密斯(1897— )是參議院中的唯一女性，她起草了這個宣言並於 1950 年 6 月 1 日在參議院為該宣言發表演說。

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議長先生、我想簡單明瞭地談談嚴峻的國家狀況。這就是全國性的恐懼和挫折感，這種感覺可能導致國家自取滅亡，導致我們美國人所珍視的一切走上窮途末路。出現這種狀況的原因在於我們政府的立法和行政機構缺乏卓有成效的領導。領導是如此薄弱，以致有人提出認真負責的建議，要求任命諮詢委員會以提供這種急需的領導。

我盡可能言簡意賅，因為不負責任的怨言和自私自利的政治機會主義已造成太多危害。我盡可能言簡意賅，因為問題太嚴重，即使能言善辯也無法混淆視聽。我的講話簡單明瞭，希望我的話能打動人心。

議長先生，我作為一名共和黨人講話。我作為一名婦女講話。我作為一名美國

參議員講話。我作為一個美國人講話。

美國參議院長期來以世界上最傑出的慎重周到的機構贏得世人的尊敬。但最近這種慎重周到的品質經常被降低到發洩仇恨和中傷他人的講壇的水平，而這種攻訐受到國會豁免權的庇護。

這一點令人啼笑皆非：我們參議員在參議院辯論時可以直接或間接地用任何表述方式把與一個美國人不相稱、不相適應的行為或動機發咎於一個不是參議員的美國人，而那個非參議員美國人無權要求我們為其恢復名譽，賠償損失。但是倘若我們在參議院對我們的同事說同樣的話，便會被制止，理由是不符合規程。

奇怪的是，我們可以毫無節制地用語言攻擊任何別人而受到充分保護，但我們自己在這參議院議員席上卻可免遭同一種類的批評。當然，美國參議院有足夠大的度量作自我批評和自我評價。當然，我們應該能夠接受我們「奉送」給外界人士的相同類型的人格抨擊。

我認為，對於美國參議院及其成員來說，早已到了該這麼做的時候了：反躬自問，作良心上的自我反省，檢查一下我們對美國人民的義務履行得如何，我們又是如何利用和濫用自己個人的職權和特權的。

我認為，我們早就該記起自己曾宣誓堅持和捍衛憲法。我認為，我們早該記起修正的憲法不僅提到言論自由，而且提到由陪審團進行審判而不是由控方進行審判。

不論是法庭上的刑事訴訟亦或是在參議院中對個人品質的攻訐，只要毀了一個人的生活兩者沒有什麼實際差別。

我們的那些在破壞他人名譽時對美國方式叫嚷得最響的人往往是那些以自己的言行蔑視美國方式某些基本原則的人。這些原則是——

批評的權利。

持有不受歡迎的信念的權利。

抗議的權利。

獨立思考的權利。

行使這些權利不應使任何一個美國公民喪失名譽或生活的權利，任何一個美國公民也不應只為碰巧認識某個抱不受歡迎的信念的人便面臨喪失名譽或斷絕生路的危險。我們哪個人沒有這類信念呢。不然我們誰也不能稱自己的靈魂屬於自己。不然思想控制將得以實行。

美國人民害怕因說出自己的觀點被他們的對手從政治上誹謗成法西斯分子，對這種恐懼心他們感到憎惡和厭煩。在美國，言論自由已今非昔，不成樣子。它被某些人肆意濫用，以致其他人不再行使該項權利。

美國人民眼看無辜的人遭誣陷，有罪之人被美化，對此感到憎惡和厭煩。但是有不少已經證實的案例，譬如阿麥雷西亞案、希斯案、科普隆案、戈爾德案，足以引起全國範圍的不信任感和深深的猜疑：人們怕那些尚未證實、聳人聽聞

的指控可能包含幾分真實。

作為一個共和黨人，我對坐在走道這一邊的我的同事們說，共和黨今天所面臨的挑戰不亞於林肯的時代它所面臨的挑戰。當時共和黨成功地迎接挑戰，從內戰中掘起，不僅是個同浪費開支、計劃不周作無情鬥爭的政黨，而且成為捍衛統一國家的鬥士。

今天，我們國家在心理上被慌亂和懷疑弄得四分五裂，這種惶惶不安的懷疑情緒從美國參議院產生，「一無所知，懷疑一切」的態度如癌細胞一般擴展蔓延。今天，我們有一個熱衷於浪費開支，推行計劃不周的方案의民主黨政府。歷史正在重演——共和黨再次有機會成為捍衛統一和審慎節儉的鬥士。

現任民主黨政府的歷史已為我們提供了充足的競選爭論問題，我們沒有必要求助於政治誹謗術。正因為民主黨政府已無力在政治上給予卓有成效的領導，美國正迅速喪失其世界領袖的地位。

民主黨政府日復一日，自相矛盾的嚴重警告和樂觀的保證已完全把美國人民搞糊塗了。這就向人民表明，我國的民主黨政府已迷失方向，不知所措。

民主黨政府已經因其洋洋自得而在國內對共產主義的威脅無動於衷，因其重要官員將要害機密洩漏給俄國而大大失去了美國人民的信任。我們有足夠的已經證實的案例說明這一點，不必用未經證實的指控削弱我們的批評。

無疑，這些已完全有理由使美國人民明白：是變革的時候了；共和黨取勝對於國家安全很有必要。顯而易見，只要這個國家由無能的現任民主黨政府掌管，

那麼它將繼續遭殃。

然而倘若一個共和黨政權信奉一種政治上不正派、理性上不誠實的哲學，那麼用這個政府取代民主黨政府對國家同樣是災難。美國極需一個共和黨的勝利。但是我不想看見共和黨依靠誣衊他人的四騎士——恐懼、無知、偏執和誹謗去贏得政治上的勝利。

我懷疑共和黨政府是否能這麼做，只因為我不相信美國人民會擁護任何一個將政治私利置於國家利益之上的政黨。當然，我們共和黨人並不至於為贏得勝利而不顧一切，孤注一擲。

我不想看到共和黨用這種方式取勝。那勝利對共和黨而言將十分短暫，而對美國人民而言則意味著持久的失敗。無疑，它將最終導致共和黨和兩黨制自取滅亡，而兩黨制保障了我們美國的自由權利，以免遭一黨制專制統治。

作為少數派政黨的成員，我們不具備制訂我國政府政策的權威。但我們確實有以下的責任：提出建設性的批評，澄清問題，以認真負責的公民的行動減少恐懼。

作為一名婦女，我想知道母親們、妻子們、姐妹們、女兒們對她們的家人在參議院辯論中遭政治攻訐有何感覺——我使用「辯論」一詞是經過深思熟慮的。

作為一名美國參議員，我對參議院被用作公共講壇以散佈不負責任、聳人聽聞的傳聞無法感到自豪。對從走道這一側肆無忌憚地拋出未經證實的指控，我無法感到自豪。對走道的另一邊顯然是裝腔作勢、不莊重的，旨在報復的反訴，



我無法感到自豪。

對參議院已被用作誣衊中傷的場所，用作以犧牲他人名譽和國家統一換取政治利益的場所，我感到不悅。對我們從參議院議員席上誹謗外界人士，把我們自己藏在國會豁免權的保護衣後面，穩坐參議院議員席不受任何批評，我無法感到自豪。

作為一個美國人，我既不希望一個民主黨政府粉飾太平，遮遮掩掩，也不希望一個共和黨人誹謗他人，搞政治迫害。

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Mr. President, I would like to speak briefly and simply about a serious national condition. It is a national feeling of fear and frustration that could result in national suicide and the end of everything that we Americans hold dear. It is a condition that comes from the lack of effective leadership either in the legislative branch or the executive branch of our Government. That leadership is so lacking that serious and responsible proposals are being made that national advisory commissions be appointed to provide such critically needed leadership.

I speak as briefly as possible because too much harm has already been done with irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism. I speak as simply as possible because the issue is too great to be obscured by eloquence. I speak simply and briefly in the hope that my words will be taken to heart.

Mr. President, I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I

speak as a United States Senator. I speak as an American.

The United States Senate has long enjoyed world-wide respect as the greatest deliberative body in the world. But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

It is ironical that we Senators can in debate in the Senate, directly or indirectly, by any form of words, impute to any American who is not a Senator any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming an American—and without that non Senator American having any legal redress against us—yet if we say the same thing in the Senate about our colleagues we can be stopped on the grounds of being out of order.

It is strange that we can verbally attack anyone else without restraint and with full protection, and yet we hold ourselves above the same type of criticism here on the Senate floor. Surely the United States Senate is big enough to take self-criticism and self-appraisal. Surely we should be able to take the same kind of character attacks that we "dish out" to outsiders.

I think that it is high time for the United States Senate and its Members to do some real soul searching and to weigh our consciences as to the manner in which we are performing our duty to the people of America and the manner in which we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges.

I think it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by

accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

The right to criticize.

The right to hold unpopular beliefs.

The right to protest.

The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not. Other wise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. But there have been enough proved cases, such as the Amerasia case, the Hiss case, the Coplon case, the Gold case, to cause Nation-wide distrust and

strong suspicion that there may be something to the unproved, sensational accusations.

As a Republican, I say to my colleagues on this side of the aisle that the Republican Party faces a challenge today that is not unlike the challenge which it faced back in Lincoln's day. The Republican Party so successfully met that challenge that it emerged from the Civil War as the champion of a united nation—in addition to being a party which unrelentingly fought loose spending and loose programs.

Today our country is being psychologically divided by the confusion and the suspicions that are bred in the United States Senate to spread like cancerous tentacles of "know nothing, suspect everything" attitudes. Today we have a Democratic administration which has developed a mania for loose spending and loose programs. History is repeating itself—and the Republican Party again has the opportunity to emerge as the champion of unity and prudence.

The record of the present Democratic administration has provided us with sufficient campaign issues without the necessity of resorting to political smears. America is rapidly losing its position as leader of the world simply because the Democratic administration has pitifully failed to provide effective leadership.

The Democratic administration has completely confused the American people by its daily contradictory grave warnings and optimistic assurances, which show the people that our Democratic administration has no idea of where it is going.

The Democratic administration has greatly lost the confidence of the American people by its complacency to the threat of

communism here at home and the leak of vital secrets to Russia through key officials of the Democratic administration. There are enough proved cases to make this point without diluting our criticism with unproved charges.

Surely these are sufficient reasons to make it clear to the American people that it is time for a change and that a Republican victory is necessary to the security of the country. Surely it is clear that this Nation will continue to suffer so long as it is governed by the present ineffective Democratic administration.

Yet to displace it with a Republican regime embracing a philosophy that lacks political integrity or intellectual honesty would prove equally disastrous to the Nation. The Nation sorely needs a Republican victory. But I do not want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny—fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear.

I doubt if the Republican Party could do so, simply because I do not believe the American people will uphold any political party that puts political exploitation above national interest. Surely we Republicans are not so desperate for victory.

I do not want to see the Republican Party win that way. While it might be a fleeting victory for the Republican Party, it would be a more lasting defeat for the American people. Surely it would ultimately be suicide for the Republican Party and the two-party system that has protected our American liberties from the dictatorship of a one-party system.

As members of the minority party, we do not have the primary authority to formulate the policy of our Government. But we do have the responsibility of rendering constructive criticism, of

clarifying issues, of allaying fears by acting as responsible citizens.

As a woman, I wonder how the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters feel about the way in which members of their families have been politically mangled in Senate debate—and I use the word "debate" advisedly.

As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges which have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle.

I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate.

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of "confuse, divide, and conquer." As an American, I do not want a Democratic administration white wash or cover up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.

As an American, I condemn a Republican Fascist just as much as I condemn a Democrat Communist. I condemn a Democrat Fascist just as much as I condemn a Republican Communist. They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American, I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity

it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves....

路易斯.辛普森

(LOUIS SIMPSON)

沈默的一代

The Silent Generation

路易斯.辛普森(1923— )生於牙買加，第二次世界大戰中在部隊服役，後來畢業於哥倫比亞大學。他出版過幾部詩集、小說、評論和一本自傳。1963年他因《在暢通的道路終點》一書贏得普利茲詩歌獎。

第二次世界大戰後，政治上的清靜無為主義在美國生活中瀰漫。就像第一次世界大戰後的時期，美國人渴望回到「正常狀態」，提高生活水平。在五十年代成年的年輕人進入了這樣一個世界：重大問題似已獲得解決，思想和政治衝突已經過時。艾森豪威爾時期的青年被稱為「沈默的一代」。他們冷漠，但並未異化，乃是舉國一致、舒適安逸時代的產物。《沈默的一代》刊載於辛普森的詩集《州長們的夢》(1959)。

當年希特勒是個魔王，  
他發誓做什麼就做什麼，  
如此狂熱，  
以致天曉得，

When Hitler was the Devil  
He did as he had sworn  
With such enthusiasm  
That even, donnerwetter,  
The Germans say, "Far better  
Had he been never born!"  
It was my generation

甚至德國人也說：

「他不生出來豈不好得多！」

正是我這一代人，

豪情滿懷，

制服了那個魔王。

然而現在對我們的佔領

已告結束。我們的學業

廢在城鎮上。

我們缺乏熱情。

生活彷彿是個謎；

它像一位女士

向我介紹的一齣戲：「它不是……

它沒有情節。」

That put the Devil down

With great enthusiasm.

But now our occupation

Is gone. Our education

Is wasted on the town.

We lack enthusiasm.

Life seems a mystery;

It's like the play a lady

Told me about: "It's not

It doesn't have a plot,"

She said, "It's history."



她說：「它是歷史。」

附註：

- 原文為 **occupation**，兼有「佔領」和「職業」兩重含義

蘭斯頓.休斯

(LANGSTON HUGHES)

《在美國的流亡者》和《哈萊姆》

**Refugee in America AND Harlem**

蘭斯頓.休斯 1921 年僅十九歲時開始發表詩歌，創作生涯長達四十年。《在美國的流亡者》於 1943 年刊登在《星期六晚郵報》上。《哈萊姆》發表於 1951 年，收入詩集《推遲的夢蒙太奇》。

在美國的流亡者

有這樣的詞語例如自由

悅耳動聽甜美。

在我的心弦上自由歌唱

**Refugee in America**

There are words like Freedom

Sweet and wonderful to say.

On my heart-strings freedom sings

All day everyday.

There are words like Liberty

That almost make me cry'.

If you had known what I knew

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>一天又復一天。</p> <p>有這樣的詞語例如自由</p> <p>它幾乎使我哭泣。</p> <p>如果你瞭解我的經歷</p> <p>你將知道原因。</p> <p>哈萊姆</p> <p>推遲的夢會發生什麼事.</p> <p>它會乾癟嗎</p> <p>像陽光下的葡萄乾.</p> <p>或像瘡癤化膿——</p> <p>然後蔓延.</p> <p>它像腐肉般發臭.</p> <p>或是裹著麵包皮和糖——</p> | <p>You would know why.</p> <p><b>Harlem</b></p> <p>What happens to a dream deferred.</p> <p>Does it dry up<br/>like a raisin in the sun.</p> <p>Or fester like a sore—<br/>And then run.</p> <p>Does it stink like rotten meat.<br/>Or crust and sugar over—<br/>like a syrupy sweet.</p> <p>Maybe it just sags<br/>like a heavy load.</p> <p><i>Or does it explode.</i></p> |
|--|--|



從布朗一案的時期直到六十年代中期，聯邦法院同難對付的南方諸地區衝突不斷，因為一個又一個地方發起鬥爭(均以失敗告終)以維護種族隔離學校。

布朗一案裁決的影響遠遠超出了公立學校的範圍。它為法院對美國生活各方面的種族隔離提出挑戰提供了法律基礎。該裁決廢止了各州實行種族隔離的權力，把美國黑人引入政治進程，從而比以往任何一項最高法院裁決更多地改變了美國人民的日常生活。

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這些案子從堪薩斯、南卡羅來納、佛吉尼亞和特拉華等州提交到我們這裏。它們以各自不同的事實和各自不同的當地情況為前提，但是一個共同的法律問題證明了以統一的觀點一併考慮它們的重要性。

在所有這些案子中，黑色人種的未成年人通過他們的法律代表請求得到法院的幫助，以便能在非種族隔離的基礎上進入他們社區的公立學校就讀。在每一案例中，他們皆因要求或允許實行種族隔離的法律被拒於白人孩子就讀的學校之外。這種種族隔離被指控剝奪了原告按憲法第十四修正案的法令得到同等保護的權利。除了特拉華州的案子，在各案件中，由三位法官組成的聯邦地區法院均拒絕援助原告，其依據是最高法院在審理普列西訴弗格森一案中提出的所謂「隔離但卻平等」的論點。……根據這一論點，只要提供給不同的種族實質上是平等的設施，即便這些設施是隔離的，仍應視作給予了平等待遇。……

原告爭辯說，實行種族隔離的公立學校是不「平等」的，而且無法使其變得「平等」，因而他們被剝奪了受到有關法律保護的平等權利。由於所提出的問

題顯而易見的重要性，本法院行使裁判權。……

下文中的調查結果表明，案件涉及的黑人和白人學校在校舍、課程、教師的資格和薪金以及其他「有形的」因素方面一向平等或目前是平等的。因此我們的裁定不能僅僅依靠對這些案子中有關黑人和白人學校的這些有形的因素進行比較。我們應該注意種族隔離本身對公立教育的影響。

在處理這一問題時，我們不能把時鐘撥回 1868 年上述修正案獲通過的時候，也不能撥回到 1896 年對普列西對弗格森一案寫下結論之時，我們應根據公立教育的整個發展史及其當今在美國的地位來考慮公立教育問題。只有這樣才能判定公立學校的種族隔離是否剝奪了這些原告受有關法律保護的平等權利。

今天，教育事業也許是州和地方政府最重要的功能。義務教育法和教育上的鉅額支出這二者都表明我們認識到教育對我們民主社會的重要性。在我們履行最基本的公共職責時需要教育，甚至在軍隊服役也需要教育。教育是良好的個人品德表現的不折不扣基礎。今天，教育是完成這些任務的主要手段：讓孩子領悟文化的價值，為孩子未來的專業訓練作好準備，幫助孩子很好地適應其周圍環境。如今，倘若一個孩子失去了受教育的機會，人們就很難有什麼理由指望他在生活中取得成功。這樣一種受教育的機會，國家保證提供的機會，應該成為人人均能按平等條件獲得的權利。

我們現在討論正題：即令物質設備和其他「有形的」因素可能平等。在公立學校僅僅根據種族差異對孩子實行隔離的做法是否剝奪了少數人種孩子平等的教育機會呢。我們認為確是如此。

在斯威特訴佩思特一案中，……本法院在很大程度上依據「那些無法客觀衡量但卻構成一所法律學校的精華的那些品質」發現一所專供黑人就讀的法律學校不能向黑人提供平等的教育機會。在麥克勞林訴俄克拉何馬州評議員一案中，本法院要求一個被一所專供白人深造的研究院錄取的黑人得到與其他學生平等的待遇。當時本法院也是考慮無形的因素：「……他的研究能力、與其他學生討論問題和交流觀點的能力、學習專業的能力。」這種考慮更適用於中小學。只因種族不同，把一些學生同另一些年齡和學歷相仿的學生隔離開來，會使這些學生對自己在社區的身份產生自卑感，這種自卑感對他們心智造成的影響日後難以消除。這種隔離對他們受教育機會的影響在一所法院對堪薩斯一案的調查報告中寫得很清楚，然而該法院卻迫於壓力作出不利於黑人原告的判決：

「在公立學校將白人和黑人孩子隔離的做法給黑人孩子帶來有害的影響。一旦它得到法律准許，其影響就更大了；因為種族隔離的政策通常被理解為表明黑人低人一等。自卑感削弱了一個孩子的學習動力。因此，得到法律准許的種族隔離很容易造成黑人孩子們學業和智力發展遲緩，而且剝奪了他們可能從兼收不同種族學生的學校得到的某些好處。」

不論普列西訴弗格森案的時期心理學知識達到何種程度，這一調查報告為現代權威所充分證實。普列西訴弗格森案的裁決中任何與此調查報告相牴觸的語言應予以否定。

我們下此結論：在公立教育領域，「隔離但卻平等」的論點站不住腳。隔離的

教育設施有其內在的不平等性。因此我們認為，引起起訴的原告和其他處境相同的人被他們所控訴的種族隔離剝奪了受憲法第十四修正案規定的法律保護的平等權利。……

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These cases come to us from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non segregated basis. In each instance, they have been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. . . . Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. . . .

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious

importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. . . .

There are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment—was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life through out the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state



has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities. We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, . . . in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, . . . the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. "The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of

the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

德懷特.D.艾森豪威爾

(DWIGHT D.EISENHOWER)

告別演說

**Farewell Address**

我們必須警惕軍事——工業聯合體取得無法證明為正當的影響力，不論它這樣追求與否。

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德懷特.D.艾森豪威爾(1890—1969)先是在第二次世界大戰中任盟軍最高統帥，以後又連任兩屆頗有人緣的美國總統，以此達到一生權力的頂峰。艾森豪威爾生於德克薩斯州的丹尼森，在他家七個兒子中排行第三。他在堪薩斯州阿比林長大，家境貧困，但家人勤勞且篤信宗教。1915年艾森豪威爾畢業於美國軍事學院。

第二次世界大戰後，他作為一名婦孺皆知的英雄凱旋而歸，短期擔任哥倫比亞大學校長，1952年當選總統。在他的總統任期內，民主黨人埋怨他迴避種族問題的爭論，在國內外事務中採取基本上是保守主義的立場，甚至討厭他所用句法。但是這位被稱為「艾克」的人物始終很受公眾歡迎。

1961年1月17日，在他離開總統職位前，艾森豪威爾作告別演說。他在講話中描述了因一個「軍事—工業聯合體」和一個「科學—技術精英階層」的崛起在美國政治生活中引起的變化。正是他的保守主義使他蔑視由軍備競賽和冷戰造成的權力集中的情況。他的開明的批評者開始覺得，對艾森豪威爾的某一方面他們並不瞭解。

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再過三天，在我為我國服務半個世紀之後，隨著總統的權威按傳統的隆重儀式歸屬我的繼任者，本人將卸下公職。……

我們現在的日期距本世紀中點已過十年，這個世紀經歷了大國之間四次大的戰爭，我們自己的國家捲入其中三次。儘管發生了這些大規模的戰禍，當今美國乃是世界上最強大、最有影響、生產力最高的國家。我們自然為此卓越成就感到自豪，但我們也意識到，美國的領導地位和威信不僅取決於我們舉世無雙的物質進步、財富和軍事力量，而且取決於我們如何為世界和平與人類福利使用

我們的力量。

縱觀美國在自由政府體制上的探索歷程，我們的基本目的始終是維護和平，促進人類進步，在人民和國家之間增進自由權，提高尊嚴，宏揚正直的品質。追求較低的目標會辱沒一個自由、有虔誠宗教信仰的民族。任何由於驕傲自大或理解力不強或缺乏奉獻精神的失敗都將在國內外給我們帶來嚴重損害。

走向這些崇高目標的進程一直受到現在正席捲全球的衝突的威脅。這種衝突迫使我们全神貫注，全力以赴。我們面對一種敵對的意識形態——具有世界性規模和無神論性質，目標殘忍，手段陰險。不幸的是，它所造成的危險將長期存在。欲成功地對付它，所要求的與其說是危急關頭感情上短暫的痛苦，毋寧說是作出犧牲以使我們能堅定踏實、任勞任怨地承擔一場長期複雜鬥爭的重任——與自由共存亡。只有這樣我們才能戰勝一次又一次的挑釁，始終朝著世界持久和平和人類美好未來的方向前進。……

我們的軍隊是維護和平必不可少的要素。我們的武裝力量必須強大，隨時準備投入行動，以使任何潛在的侵略者都不敢貿然以卵擊石。

我們今天的軍事組織與我的任何一位和平時期前任所瞭解的，與第二次世界大戰或朝鮮戰爭中的軍人所瞭解的軍事組織大相逕庭。

直至最近的一次世界性衝突之前，美國仍沒有軍事工業。美國的犁鏵製造商們在必要時也能製造劍。但是現在我們不能再以臨陣磨槍的方式承擔國防上的風險；我們已被迫創建一個規模宏大的永久性軍事工業。此外，350 萬男人和婦女直接服務於國防機構。我們每年在軍事安全上的開支超過了美國所有的公司

的純收入。

一支龐大的軍隊和一個大規模軍事工業相結合，在美國是史無前例的。它的全部影響——經濟的、政治的，甚至精神的——在每個城市、每座州議會大樓、每一聯邦政府機構內都能感覺到。我們承認這種發展絕對必要，但我們不應忽視其重大的影響。它涉及我們的人力、資源、生活，乃至我們社會的結構。

在政府各部門，我們必須警惕軍事—工業聯合體取得無法證明是正當的影響力，不論它這樣追求與否。極不適當的權力惡性增長的可能性目前已經存在並將繼續存在。

我們決不能讓這一聯合體的勢力危害我們的自由或民主進程。我們不應心存僥倖。只有警覺而明智的美國公民才能強迫龐大的工業和軍事的國防機構與我們和平的手段和目標恰當配合，以使安全和自由並駕齊驅，同獲成功。

近幾十年的技術革命與我們的工業—軍事狀況的巨大變化有相似之處，而且對這種巨大變化起了很大作用。

在這場技術革命中，研究工作已趨於集中；它也變得更正規，更複雜，更昂貴。為聯邦政府而實施，由聯邦政府實施，或在聯邦政府指導下實施的研究工作份額正逐步增加。

由聯邦政府僱用而形成支配全國學者的局面，以及統一分配專案，統一控制財力，這種前景一直存在，而且應當引起嚴重關注。

我們應該尊重科學研究和探索，但與此同時我們必須對這一同樣嚴重的負面危

險保持警惕，即政府政策本身可能淪為一個科學——技術精英階層的俘虜。

治國之才的任務，是在我們民主制度的原則範疇內，塑造、平衡和融合這些和其他新舊力量——始終以實現我們自由社會的最高目標為目的。

另一個保持平衡的因素涉及時間這一要素。當我們展望社會的未來時，我們——你、我和我國政府——必須避免一種只顧今日生活的衝動，不應為了我們自己的舒適和便利巧取豪奪明天的寶貴資源。我們不可能以孫兒輩的物質財富作抵押，而又不冒使他們喪失政治和精神遺產的風險。我們要讓民主代代相傳，它不該成為明天無力還債的鬼魂。

展望有待書寫的未來歷史長卷，美國深知我們這個越來越小的世界決不應變成一個充滿恐懼和仇恨的可怕的群體，相反，它應成為一個相互信任、相互尊重的光輝的聯盟。

這樣一個聯盟必定是平等國家間的聯盟。最弱小的國家一定以與我們相同的自信心來到會議桌旁，和我們一樣受到我們的道德、經濟和軍事力量的保護。那會議桌雖然留下歷史坎坷的累累傷痕，但我們不能將它拋棄以換來戰場的慘劇。

以相互尊敬和信任實行裁軍仍是一項迫切任務。我們必須一起學習怎樣不用武力，而是以理智和公正的意圖去解決紛爭。因為裁軍的緊迫性如此明顯突出，我承認我是懷著某種失望的心情卸下我的總統職責的。作為一個目睹過戰爭的恐怖及其難以癒合的創傷的人——深知另一場戰爭會徹底毀掉歷經數千年緩慢而又艱苦地建成的人類文明——我但願自己今晚能說：持久和平已遙遙在

望。

幸好我可以說，已經避免發生戰爭了。朝我們的終極目標已邁開堅實的步伐。但是任重而道遠。作為一個普通公民，我將始終不渝地為推動世界沿著這條道路前進貢獻一份綿薄。……

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Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor. . . .

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of them involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world.

Understandably proud of this pre-eminence we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment. ...

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.



This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence— economic, political, even spiritual— is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the federal government....

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we

should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system— ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we— you and I, and our government— must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official

responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war— as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years— I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road. . . .

格溫多琳.布魯克斯

(GWENDOLYN BROOKS)

母 親

**The Mother**

格溫多琳.布魯克斯(1917— )生於堪薩斯州的托皮卡，在芝加哥的貧民窟中長大。她年僅 13 歲便在《美國的童年》雜誌上發表了第一首詩作。她出過許多本詩集，包括《布龍斯維爾的一條街》(1945)、《安妮.艾倫》(1949)、《吃豆子的人》(1960)、《詩集》(1963)、《在麥加》(1968)、《暴亂》(1969)、《家庭照片》(1970) 和《孤獨》(1971)。格溫多琳.布魯克斯因詩集《安妮.阿倫》獲普利茲獎。她的大多數詩歌寫黑人的生活和黑人的問題。

多次流產不會讓你忘記。

你記得你曾經有過而得不到的孩

Abortions will not let you forget.

You remember the children you  
got that you

did not get,

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>子，</p> <p>毛髮稀鬆或根本沒有毛髮的粘濕小肉團，</p> <p>從未觸撫空氣的歌手和工人。</p> <p>你決不會不理睬，也不會打他們，</p> <p>不會用糖果使他們安靜下來，逗他們開心。</p> <p>你決不會將小小的拇指裹起，</p> <p>或趕跑前來作祟的鬼魂。</p> <p>你決不會憋住芳香的歎息離開他們，</p> <p>決不會帶著慈母的目光回來餵他們點心。</p> <p>在風聲中我聽到我那朦朧的、被殺死的孩子們的叫喚。</p> <p>我已變得瘦小。我已撫慰</p> <p>我那形體模糊的孩子們，以他們永</p> | <p>The damp small pulps with a little or with no hair,</p> <p>The singers and workers that never handled the air.</p> <p>You will never neglect or beat Them, or silence or buy with a sweet.</p> <p>You will never -wind up the sucking-thumb</p> <p>Or scuttle off ghosts that come.</p> <p>You will never leave them, controlling your luscious sigh,</p> <p>Return for a snack of them, with gobbling mother-eye.</p> <p>I have heard in the voices of the wind the voices of my dim killed children.</p> <p>I have contracted. I have eased My dim dears at the breasts they could never suck.</p> <p>I have said, Sweets, if I sinned, if I seized</p> <p>Your luck</p> <p>And your lives from your</p> |
|--|---|

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>遠不可能吮吸的乳房。</p> <p>我說：親愛的，假如我犯了罪，假如我奪去了</p> <p>你們的好運</p> <p>未足月便奪走你們的生命，</p> <p>假如我剝奪了你們的誕生和姓名，</p> <p>你們純淨的嬰兒之淚和你們的遊戲，</p> <p>你們笨拙或美妙的戀愛，你們的喧鬧、婚姻、痛苦</p> <p>與死亡，</p> <p>假如我扼殺了你們最初的呼吸，</p> <p>我相信，甚至在蓄意行動中我也並非故意。</p> <p>然而爲什麼我該哀訴，</p> <p>悲歎那不是我的罪行。——</p> | <p>unfinished reach,</p> <p>If I stole your births and your names,</p> <p>Your straight baby tears and your games.</p> <p>Your stilted or lovely loves, your tumults, your</p> <p>marriages, aches, and your deaths,</p> <p>If I poisoned the beginnings of your breaths,</p> <p>Believe that even in my deliberateness I was not deliberate.</p> <p>Though why should I whine, Whine that the crime was other than mine. —</p> <p>Since anyhow you are dead. Or rather, or instead,</p> <p>You were never made. But that too, I am afraid,</p> <p>Is faulty: oh, what shall I say, how is the truth to be said.</p> <p>You were born, you had body, you died.</p> <p>It is just that you never giggled or planned or cried.</p> |
|--|--|

既然無論如何你們已經死去。

或更確切地說，

你們從未被創造出來。

但我恐怕這種說法

也有漏洞：唉，我該怎麼講，怎樣  
把真相說明？

你們生出來了，你們有身體，你們  
又死去。

只是你們從未咯咯發笑，從未計劃  
做什麼事，從未

哭泣。

真的，我愛你們全體。

真的，我認得你們，雖說不很真切，  
而且我深深地。

深深地愛你們

Believe me, I loved you all.

Believe me, I knew you, though  
faintly, and I

loved, I loved you All.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 全體。   |   |
| <p>海.札雷特、盧.辛格</p> <p>(HY ZARET AND LOU SINGER)</p> <p>它就會是個極好的世界</p> <p>It Could Be a Wonderful World</p> <p>在民間音樂全盛時期的民間歌舞表演會或工會流行歌曲演唱會上，《它就會是個極好的世界》是長期最受人們喜愛的歌曲之一。這首歌於 1947 年由海.札雷特和盧.辛格兩人創作。詞作者札雷特因創作提倡兄弟會和公益事業的歌曲多次獲獎。除了創作許多流行歌曲，他還為最流行的一批歌曲寫了主題歌(《過一段時間再見》)，為美國陸軍牧師團寫了進行曲(《上帝的士兵》)，還創作了兄弟會週的慶典歌曲(《讓我們聚集在一起》)。《它就會是個極好的世界》由盧.辛格譜曲，他寫過不少值得讚揚的好曲子。</p> |   |
| <p>如果每個兒童每天能喝上鮮奶；</p> <p>如果每個工人有充裕的時間娛樂；</p> <p>如果每個無家可歸者住進舒適的房間，</p> <p>這世界就會是個極好的世界。</p> <p>(合唱)</p>  | <p>If each little kid could have fresh milk each day;</p> <p>If each working man had enough time for play</p> <p>If each homeless soul had a good place to stay</p> <p>It could be a wonderful world.</p> <p>CHORUS:</p> <p>If we could consider each other</p> <p>A neighbor, a friend, or a brother</p> <p>It could be a wonderful,</p> |

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| <p>如果我們能互相對待，</p> <p>似鄰居、朋友或兄弟，</p> <p>這世界就會是個極好、極好的世界。</p> <p>它就會是個極好的世界。</p> <p>如果沒有窮人而富人皆心滿意足；</p> <p>如果陌生人走到哪裏都受到款待；</p> <p>如果我們人人懂得什麼是兄弟間的真誠友愛，</p> <p>這世界就會是個極好的世界！</p> | <p>wonderful world</p> <p>It could be a wonderful world.</p> <p>If there were no poor and the rich were content;</p> <p>If strangers were welcome wherever they went;</p> <p>If each of us knew what true brotherhood meant</p> <p>It would be a wonderful world!</p> |
| <p>約翰.F.甘迺迪</p> <p>(JOHN F.KENNEDY)</p> <p><b>就職演說</b></p> <p><b>Inaugural Address</b></p> <p>不要問你的國家能為你做些什麼——問問你自己能為你的國家做些什麼。</p>  |   |



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約翰·F.甘迺迪(1917—1963)生於麻塞諸塞州布魯克來恩，就讀於哈佛大學。第二次世界大戰中他在海軍服役，經歷過太平洋戰爭。戰後甘迺迪被選入國會。他在眾議院連任三屆議員，1952年當選為參議員。1960年甘迺迪險勝副總統理查德·尼克松，當選為總統。

作為總統候選人，甘迺迪以一種朝氣蓬勃的形象出現在人們面前。在競選中他許諾「將使國家重新起動。」在民主黨全國大會上他接受民主黨總統候選人提名的講話中，甘迺迪說：「我們站在一個新邊疆的邊緣。」他的就職演說包含他競選運動和短暫的總統任期——它於1963年11月22日被一顆暗殺者的子彈所終結——的若干重要主題。

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我們今天不是慶祝一次政黨的勝利，而是為自由舉行慶典——它象徵一個結束，也象徵一個開端——表示更新，亦表明轉變。因為我已按照我們祖先在一又四分之三世紀前擬就的誓言在你們和上帝面前莊嚴宣誓。

當今世界與以往大不相同。因為人在自己手中掌握的力量足以消除一切形式的人類貧困，又足以毀滅一切形式的人類生命。但是我們祖先曾為之戰鬥的革命信念現仍在世界各地處於爭論之中——這信念認定人權並非來自國家的慷慨施予，而是上帝所賜。

我們今天不可忘記，我們是那第一次革命參加者的後裔。此時此地我願向我們的朋友和敵人宣告：火炬已傳到新一代美國人手中——他們在本世紀出生，經歷過戰火錘煉，經受了嚴酷的和平時期的磨練，為自己的古老傳統自豪——他們不願看到也不容人權逐漸被褫奪。美國對這種人權一貫負有責任，如今我們

也在本國和全世界對其承擔義務。

應讓每一個國家明白，不論它希望我們走運或倒楣，我們將付出任何代價，承擔任何重負，克服任何艱難，支援任何朋友，反對任何敵人，以確保自由的存在和成功。

這就是我們保證做到的——而且還不止這些。

對於那些和我們共有同一種文化和精神淵源的老盟邦，我們保證獻出摯友的忠誠。倘若團結，我們在許多合作事業中幾乎無所不能。倘若分裂，我們則很難有所作為，因為意見分歧，各行其事，我們便不敢應付強有力的挑戰。

對於……新獨立國家，我們發出誓言，決不讓一種形式的殖民統治的消亡，只是被另一種殘酷得多的暴政所取代。我們並不總是指望他們支援我們的觀點，但我們將始終希望他們堅決維護自己的自由——而且應該記住，過去那些愚蠢地騎上虎背以壯聲勢的人，結果死在虎口之中。

對於那些住在遍佈半個地球的棚屋和村落裏正為砸碎大眾苦難的桎梏而奮鬥的人民，我們保證竭盡全力幫助他們自救，不論這需要多長時間——並不是因為共產黨人或許正這麼做，也不是因為我們要他們投贊成票，而是因為這此乃正確的行動。自由社會如果不能幫助眾多的窮人，也就不能保全少數富人。

對於我國邊界以南的各姐妹共和國，我們提出一種特殊的保證——把我們的善意從言論變成行動，在爭取進步的新同盟中，幫助自由人民和自由國家的政府掙脫貧困的鎖鏈，但決不能讓這種充滿希望的和平革命成為敵對強國的獵

物。應讓我們所有的鄰國知道，我們將與他們一起反對在美洲任何地區發生侵略或顛覆。也應讓所有其他國家知道，西半球決意做自己地域的主人。

對於聯合國這一各主權國家的世界性議會，這個在戰爭工具的發展遠遠快於和平工具的發展的時代我們最後最美好的希望寄託之所，我們重申對它給予支援的保證，阻止它變成僅供漫罵的講壇，加強它對新的和弱小國家的保護作用，並擴大它的憲章可能施加影響的領域。

最後，對於那些欲與我們為敵的國家，我們提出的不是保證而是要求：雙方重新開始對和平的追求，且莫等到科學釋放出的邪惡力量把整個人類吞沒在預謀的或偶然的自我毀滅之中。

我們萬萬不可以軟弱去誘惑他們。因為只有當我們擁有無可置疑的足夠強大的武力時，我們才能有無可置疑的把握永遠不使用這些武力。

然而，這兩個強大的國家集團都不能對現狀高枕無憂——雙方皆對現代化武器的開支感到不勝負擔，都對致命的原子力量的逐漸擴散理所當然地感到驚恐，但雙方都力圖改變那種遏制任何一方發動人類最後決戰的不穩定的恐怖均勢。

因此讓我們重新開始——雙方都記住禮貌並不表示軟弱，而誠意則向來都須驗證。我們決不該因畏懼而談判，但我們也決不要畏懼談判。

讓雙方去探究哪些問題能促使我們聯合，而不要在引起雙方對立的問題上徒費精力。

讓雙方首次制訂有關檢查和控制武器的嚴肅認真而又精確的計劃——而且把足以毀滅其他國家的絕對力量置於所有國家的絕對控制下。

讓雙方去探求科學的奧秘而不是科學的可怕力量。讓我們共同探測星球，征服沙漠，消除疾病，開發海底資源，促進藝術和貿易的發展。

讓雙方在世界各地共同聽取以賽亞的指示——去「卸下沈重的負擔……(並)讓被壓迫者獲得自由。」

如果初步進行一點合作便可能減少猜測，就讓雙方攜手作一次新的努力，不是尋求新的力量均衡，而是建立一個新的法治世界，使強者公正，弱者安全，和平得到維護。

所有這一切不會在今後一百天內完成，也不會在今後一千天內完成，甚至也許不會在我們這一代人的一生中完成。但讓我們開始吧。

我的同胞們，我們的方針的最終成敗，不僅掌握在我的手中，更掌握在你們手中。自從這個國家建立以來，每一代美國人都曾聽從召喚證明他們對國家的忠誠。回應號召服役的美國青年的墳墓遍佈全球。

如今號角又在召喚我們，不是號召我們拿起武器，雖然我們需要武器；不是號召我們作戰，雖然我們嚴陣以待；而是號召我們肩負一場長期的、勝負難決的奮鬥重任，年復一年「在希望中得到歡樂，在患難中堅韌不拔」，展開一場反對人類共同敵人暴政、貧困、疾病以及戰爭本身的鬥爭。

我們能否建立一個把東西南北連在一起的偉大的世界聯盟來反對這些敵人，

以確保人類享有更為豐實的生活呢.你是否願意投入這具有歷史意義的事業.

在世界漫長的歷史上，只有少數幾代人在自由面臨最大威脅的時刻被賦予捍衛自由的任務。在這一責任面前我不退縮——我歡迎它。我認為我們中間不會有人樂意與別的民族或另一代人交換位置。我們獻給這一事業的精力、信念和忠誠將照耀我們國家和一切為它效力的人們，這火焰所發出的光芒將真正照亮全世界。

因此，我的美國同胞們，不要問你的國家能為你做些什麼——問問你自己能為你的國家做些什麼。

世界各國的公民朋友們，你們該問的不是美國將為你們做些什麼，而是我們共同能為人類的自由做些什麼。

最後，不論你是美國公民還是世界各國的公民，請以我們向你們提出的有關奉獻力量和犧牲的同一高標準來要求我們。以良心作為我們唯一可靠的獎賞，以歷史作為我們行為的最後裁判，讓我們邁步向前去領導我們熱愛的國土。我們祈求上帝保佑並賜神助，但是我們知道在此世間上帝的工作就一定是我們自己的工作。

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附註：

- 第一次革命：指美國獨立戰爭。
- 以賽亞：希伯來先知，是《舊約》中的四大先知之一。

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We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom — symbolizing an end as well as a beginning — signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe — the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage — and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of co-operative ventures. Divided, there is little we can

do — for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required — not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of the border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our goodwords into good deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the

area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course— both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew— remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms— and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command



of Isaiah— to "undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of co-operation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again— not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need,— not as a call to battle, though embattled we are— but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"— a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind. Will you join in that historic effort.

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other

generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

皮特.西格

(PETE SEEGER)

那些花都到哪兒去啦。

**Where Have the Flowers Gone.**

皮特.西格(1919— )生於紐約市一個音樂之家，他的父親是音樂研究家，母親是小提琴手。三十年代西格曾進入哈佛大學求學，但不久便離校周遊美國，沈浸在民間音樂的世界個。他學會了彈奏五弦班卓琴，積累了一大套節目，其中包括黑人的聖歌、民歌、勞動號子以及其他種類的民間音樂。1940年西格與伍迪.戈斯裏建立曆書歌詠隊，專唱抗議歌曲。

四十年代後期，西格和另外三人——李.海斯、羅尼.吉爾伯特、弗雷德.海勒曼——組成織工隊，成為美國最成功的民歌演出團體，引起全國性民間音樂的復興。1952年，當娛樂業把捲入左翼政治的表演家列入黑名單時，織工隊

解散，但幾年後該團體又重建。1963 年織工隊最終解體，只在聯歡音樂會上一起演出。

西格一直是個政治活動分子，他用歌曲來鼓舞激勵民權運動、反戰運動，以及七十年代和八十年代期間的環境保護運動。

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| 那些花都到哪兒<br>去啦。<br><br>漫漫時光流逝。<br><br>那些花都到哪兒<br>去啦。<br><br>很久以前。<br><br>那些花都到哪兒<br>去啦。<br><br>姑娘們人人採摘<br>了花朵。<br><br>哦，你們何時才知<br>曉。<br><br>哦，你們何時才知<br>曉。 | Where have all the flowers gone.<br>Long time passing.<br>Where have all the flowers gone.<br>Long time ago.<br>Where have all the flowers gone.<br>The girls have picked them ev'ryone.<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the<br>young girls gone.<br>Long time passing.<br>Where have all the young girls gone.<br>Long time ago.<br>Where have all the young girls gone.<br>They've taken husbands everyone<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the<br>young men gone.<br>Long time passing.<br>Where have all the young men gone.<br>Long time ago.<br>Where have all the young men gone.<br>They're all in uniform.<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.<br>Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the |
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| <p>那些女孩子都到<br/>哪兒去啦。</p> <p>漫漫時光流逝。</p> <p>那些女孩子都到<br/>哪兒去啦。</p> <p>很久以前。</p> <p>那些女孩子都到<br/>哪兒去啦。</p> <p>她們個個都嫁了<br/>人。</p> <p>哦，你們何時才知<br/>曉。</p> <p>哦，你們何時才知<br/>曉。</p> <p>那些小夥子都到</p> | <p>soldiers gone.</p> <p>Long time passing.</p> <p>Where have all the soldiers gone.</p> <p>Long time ago.</p> <p>Where have all the soldiers gone.</p> <p>They've gone to graveyards every one</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> <p>Where have all the graveyards gone.</p> <p>Long time passing.</p> <p>Where have all the graveyards gone.</p> <p>Long time ago.</p> <p>Where have all the graveyards gone.</p> <p>They're covered with flowers every one</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> <p>Where have all the flowers gone.</p> <p>Long time passing.</p> <p>Where have all the flowers gone.</p> <p>Long time ago.</p> <p>Where have all the flowers gone.</p> <p>Young girls picked them, every one,</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> <p>Oh, when will they ever learn.</p> |
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哪兒去啦.

漫漫時光流逝。

那些小夥子都到  
哪兒去啦.

很久以前。

那些小夥子都到  
哪兒去啦.

他們都穿上軍裝。

哦，你們何時才知  
曉.

哦，你們何時才知  
曉？

那些士兵都到哪  
兒去啦.

漫漫時光流逝。

那些士兵都到哪

兒去啦.

很久以前。

那些士兵都到哪  
兒去啦.

他們個個進了墳  
墓。

哦，他們何時才知  
曉.

哦，他們何時才知  
曉.

那些墳墓都到哪  
兒去啦.

漫漫時光流逝。

那些墳墓都到哪  
兒去啦.

很久以前。

那些墳墓都到哪  
兒去啦.

它們都被鮮花覆  
蓋。

哦，他們何時才知  
曉.

哦，他們何時才知  
曉.

那些花都到哪兒  
去啦.

漫漫時光流逝。

那些花都到哪兒  
去啦.

很久以前。

那些花都到哪兒  
去啦.

女孩子人人採摘  
了花朵。

哦，他們何時才知  
曉。

哦，他們何時才知  
曉。

牛頓.邁諾(NEWTON MINOW)

### 對廣播業的講話 Address to the Broadcasting Industry

我請你們坐在電視機前.....用眼睛盯著電視機直到電視臺停止播送節目。我準保你看到的是茫茫一片荒原

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牛頓.邁諾(1926— )被約翰.甘迺迪總統任命為聯邦通訊委員會主席，該機構負責管理公共電波的使用。1961年5月9日，他向全美廣播業者協會二千名成員發表講話，告訴他們，每天的電視內容是「茫茫一片荒原」。邁諾對商業化電視的指控引起一場對電視節目質量的全國性辯論。在邁諾的講話之後，《紐約時報》電視評論員這樣寫道：「今晚某些廣播業者正盡力為邁諾先生的態度找到隱秘的解釋。在這個問題上，觀眾或許可以有所幫助；而邁諾先



生正在看電視。」

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你們這一行擁有美國最強有力的聲音。讓它發出明智和主導的聲音是該行業不可推諉的責任。短短幾年之中，這一令人興奮的行業已從一種新事物發展成對美國人民具有勢不可當影響力的一種手段。它正準備發揮報紙和雜誌若干年前所承擔的那種主導作用，以便我國人民瞭解他們的世界。

我們的時代已被稱為噴射時代、原子時代、太空時代。我認為它也是電視時代。正如歷史將決定當今世界的領袖們用原子毀滅世界還是用原子為人類利益重建世界，歷史將決定當今廣播業者們用他們強有力的聲音使人民充實還是使人民墮落。……

跟任何人一樣，我頭上也有不止一頂帽子。我是聯邦通訊委員會主席，同時也是一名電視觀眾以及另幾名電視觀眾的丈夫和父親。我已看過許多對我來說似乎很值得看的電視節目，而且我不是在談論「第九十劇場」和「一號演播室」帶來的令人惋惜的往日美好時光。

我所談的是剛剛過去的這個季度。有些節目非常精彩，例如「令人難以置信的 50 年代」、「弗雷德·阿斯台爾的表演」和「賓·克洛斯比特別節目」；有些節目富於戲劇性，令人感動，例如康拉德的「勝利」和「邊緣地區」；有些節目資訊量大，很有教益，例如「我國的未來」、「哥倫比亞廣播公司報導」和「英勇的歲月」。我還能舉出更多的例子，我肯定每個人都覺得這些節目充實了自己的生活，也豐富了全家的生活。當電視好看時，沒有什麼別的東西——戲劇、

雜誌或報紙——比得上它。

可是當電視節目不好時，那就沒有什麼比它更糟了。我請你在電視臺正播放節目時坐在電視機前，且莫讓任何書報雜誌、損益帳表或定額手冊來分散你的注意力——用你的眼睛緊緊盯住電視機直到電視臺停止播送節目。我準保你看到的是茫茫一片荒原。

你將看到一連串體育比賽節目、暴力行爲、觀眾參與的表演、關於怪誕家庭的公式化喜劇、流血和恐嚇、殘害肢體罪、暴力行爲、性虐待、謀殺、西部不法之徒、西部的好人、私人偵探、匪徒、更多的暴力和動畫片。總是有沒完沒了的廣告節目——充滿尖叫、勾引，使人很不舒服。而且大多數節目令人生厭。當然你也會看到一些讓你欣賞的節目，但數量少得可憐。如果你認爲我誇大其詞，那麼不妨打開電視試試。

今天在座的人之中是否有人以爲廣播業已經完美無瑕了呢……

爲什麼這麼多電視節目如此蹩腳呢。我聽到了多種回答：你們的廣告商的需求；對節目受歡迎程度的競爭；始終吸引廣大觀眾的需要；電視節目的高製作成本；對節目素材貪得無厭的欲求，等等。無疑，這些確是不易解決的棘手問題。

但是我不信你們已盡了最大努力去解決這些問題。我無法接受這一觀點：目前的節目總體安排絲毫不差地切合公眾的興趣愛好。電視臺的節目受歡迎程度調查只是告訴我們，多少人打開了電視機，其中多少人收視某一頻道，又有多少人收視另一頻道。這些數字並未告訴我們，倘若公眾另有六個頻道可供選擇，他們將會看什麼節目。節目受歡迎程度的調查至多只是表明，有多少人看了你

們奉送給他們的節目。不幸的是，它不能揭示節目打動人心的程度和觀眾反應是否熱烈；它從不能披露倘若你們給觀眾更好的節目——假如藝術魅力、創造力、勇氣和想像力得到充分發揮——他們會怎樣歡迎。我相信人民具有良好的辨別能力和欣賞水平，我不信人民的情趣像你們某些人所設想的那般鄙俗低下。……

當然，我希望你們同意這個觀點：在涉及兒童時，電視節目受歡迎程度的調查結果不會有什麼影響。最準確的估計表明，從下午五時至六時，你們觀眾的60%由12歲以下的孩子組成。信不信由你，如今大多數兒童看電視花的時間與他們呆在教室裏的時間同樣多。我重覆一遍，請記住：如今大多數兒童看電視所花的時間與他們呆在教室裏的時間同樣多。過去人們常說，一個孩子受到三方面的深刻影響：家庭、學校和教堂。如今又有第四方面的巨大影響，而它正掌握在你們這些女士、先生們手中。

如果家長、教師和牧師們都依從受歡迎程度調查結果來履行他們的職責，那麼孩子們就會定時定量吃上霜淇淋，就會有各校的假日，就不會有主日學校。你們的職責又該如何履行呢。難道電視就騰不出時間對我們的孩子進行教育，傳授知識，提高、擴展他們的能力嗎。難道電視就騰不出時間播放讓孩子們加深對其他國家兒童瞭解的節目嗎。難道電視就騰不出時間播送兒童新聞節目，根據他們的理解力水平向他們解釋世界事務。難道電視就騰不出時間為孩子們朗讀過去的文學名著，向他們教授自由的偉大傳統。確實有一些很好的兒童節目，但它們被淹沒在動畫片和宣揚暴力加暴力的大量節目中。難道這些節目就非得是你們的商標。請你們捫心自問，看是不是無法給你們的小觀眾——每天

有這麼多時由你們指導他們的未來——更多更好的節目了。

成人節目的安排和受歡迎程度調查結果情況如何呢。你們知道，報紙出版商們也向讀者調查。結果一目瞭然：幾乎總是報刊上的連環畫頁佔據榜首，其次是對失戀者的忠告專欄最受歡迎。但是女士們先生們，各家報紙的頭版仍刊登新聞，社論並未被連環畫頁所取代，報紙並未變成對失戀者忠告的集大成。然而報紙不需要從政府那裏取得營業執照——報紙不動用公共財產。但是在電視領域——其中你們作為公共受託管理人的職責是如此明白無誤——一旦調查結果顯示西部片受歡迎，立即便會播放模仿西部片的新劇，其速度之快超過用老式同軸電纜從好萊塢拍發電報到紐約。……

請允許我說明，我正在談論的是平衡的問題。我認為，公眾利益是由多方面利益構成的。這個偉大的國家人口眾多，你們應該為我們全體人民服務。我將不會贊同你們的觀點。假如你們說：在一部西部片和一部交響樂之間，多數人將選看前者。我也愛看西部片和私人偵探劇，但是向全國提供千篇一律的節目形式顯然不符合大眾利益。眾所周知，比起受到激勵，獲取知識，人們常常更喜歡娛樂消遣。但倘若你們只把普及當作確定廣播內容的標準，你們還是沒有盡到義務。你們不僅是在從事娛樂業；你們不受阻礙地既傳送娛樂節目也傳播思想觀念。你們應該提供更大的選擇範圍，使節目更豐富多采，更多樣化。迎合全民族一時的興致是不夠的——你們還應該為全民族的需求服務。

現在讓我談談我作為聯邦通訊委員會主席的作用，而不是作為一名觀眾的作用。……我想闡明指導我工作的某些基本原則。

第一，人民是空間的主人。無論是星期日早晨六時，還是晚上的黃金時間，人民同樣是空間的主人。人民每給你們一小時，你們便欠了他們一筆債。我想看到你們用服務來償還欠債。

第二，我認為繼續就暗中賄賂、騙人的知識競賽節目以及其他以往的過錯爭論不休是愚蠢和多餘的。

第三，我相信自由經營制度。我期待廣播業得到改進，希望由你們來改進它。

第四，我將盡力扶持教育電視。教育電視臺數量太少，而我國的那些較重要的電視中心仍缺乏便於使用的教學節目頻道。

第五，我堅定不移地反對政府檢查制度。將不會禁播不合官僚口味的電視節目。檢查制度動搖我們自由社會的根基。

第六，我到華盛頓不是來對濫用公共電波的現象袖手旁觀，聽之任之的。濫用我們的公共電波與浪費任何寶貴的自然資源是同樣嚴重的問題。……

先生們，你們通過人民的空間所播送的電視內容影響人民的情趣、知識、觀點，影響他們對自己對世界的認識，而且影響他們的未來。圖像和聲音即刻傳送的力量在人類歷史上是前所未有的。這是一種令人敬畏的力量。它有無限的行善能力，亦有無限的作惡能力。它承擔著巨大的責任——你們和我都無法逃避的責任。

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附註：

- 荒原：原籍美國的英國現代詩人兼批評家 T · S.艾略特〔1888—1965〕的一篇著名詩作標題為《荒原》(1922)、該詩描寫現代西方社會人們的極度精神虛脫。
- 空間：原文為 the air,指電視信號賴以傳播的空間。

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...Your industry possesses the most powerful voice in America. It has an inescapable duty to make that voice ring with intelligence and with leadership. In a few years this exciting industry has grown from a novelty to an instrument of overwhelming impact on the American people. It should be making ready for the kind of leadership that newspapers and magazines assumed years ago, to make our people aware of their world.

Ours has been called the jet age, the atomic age, the space age. It is also, I submit, the television age. And just as history will decide whether the leaders of today's world employed the atom to destroy the world or rebuild it for mankind's benefit, so will history decide whether today's broadcasters employed their powerful voice to enrich the people or debase them....

Like everybody, I wear more than one hat. I am the chairman of the FCC. I am also a television viewer and the husband and father of other television viewers. I have seen a great many television programs that seemed to me eminently worthwhile, and I am not talking about the much-bemoaned good old days of "Playhouse 90" and "Studio One."

I am talking about this past season. Some were wonderfully entertaining, such as "The Fabulous Fifties," the "Fred Astaire Show" and the "Bing Crosby Special"; some were dramatic and moving, such as Conrad's "Victory" and "Twilight Zone"; some were marvelously informative, such as "The Nation's Future," "CBS Reports," and "The Valiant Years." I could list many more— programs that I am sure everyone here felt enriched his own life and that of his family. When television is good, nothing— not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers— nothing is better.

But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet, or rating book to distract you— and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.

You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, Western badmen, Western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials— many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And, most of all, boredom. True, you will see a few things you will enjoy. But they will be very, very few. And if you think I exaggerate, try it.

Is there one person in this room who claims that broadcasting can't do better. . . .

Why is so much of television so bad. I have heard many answers: demands of your advertisers; competition for ever higher ratings; the need always to attract a mass audience; the high cost of television programs; the insatiable appetite for programming material— these are some of them. Unquestionably these are tough

problems not susceptible to easy answers.

But I am not convinced that you have tried hard enough to solve them. I do not accept the idea that the present overall programming is aimed accurately at the public taste. The ratings tell us only that some people have their television sets turned on, and, of that number, so many are tuned to one channel and so many to another. They don't tell us what the public might watch if they were offered half a dozen additional choices. A rating, at best, is an indication of how many people saw what you gave them. Unfortunately it does not reveal the depth of the penetration or the intensity of reaction, and it never reveals what the acceptance would have been if what you gave them had been better— if all the forces of art and creativity and daring and imagination had been unleashed. I believe in the people's good sense and good taste, and I am not convinced that the people's taste is as low as some of you assume. . . .

Certainly I hope you will agree that ratings should have little influence where children are concerned. The best estimates indicate that during the hours of 5 to 6 P.M., 60 percent of your audience is composed of children under twelve. And most young children today, believe it or not, spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. I repeat— let that sink in— most young children today spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. It used to be said that there were three great influences on a child: home, school, and church. Today there is a fourth great influence, and you ladies and gentlemen control it.

If parents, teachers, and ministers conducted their responsibilities by following the ratings, children would have a steady diet of ice cream, school holidays, and no Sunday school. What about your responsibilities. Is there no room on television to teach, to inform, to uplift, to stretch, to enlarge the capacities of our children. Is there no room for programs deepening their understanding of children in other lands. Is there no room for a children's news show explaining something about the



world to them at their level of understanding. Is there no room for reading the great literature of the past, teaching them the great traditions of freedom. There are some fine children's shows, but they are drowned out in the massive doses of cartoons, violence, and more violence. Must these be your trademarks. Search your consciences and see if you cannot offer more to your young beneficiaries whose future you guide so many hours each and every day.

What about adult programming and ratings. You know, newspaper publishers take popularity ratings too. The answers are pretty clear; it is almost always the comics, followed by the advice-to-the-lovelorn columns. But, ladies and gentlemen, the news is still on the front page of all newspapers, the editorials are not replaced by more comics, the newspapers have not become one long collection of advice to the lovelorn. Yet newspapers do not need a license from the government to be in business— they do not use public property. But in television— where your responsibilities as public trustees are so plain— the moment that the ratings indicate that Westerns are popular, there are new imitations of Westerns on the air faster than the old coaxial cable could take us from Hollywood to New York....

Let me make clear that what I am talking about is balance. I believe that the public interest is made up of many interests. There are many people in this great country, and you must serve all of us. You will get no argument from me if you say that, given a choice between a Western and a symphony, more people will watch the Western. I like Westerns and private eyes too— but a steady diet for the whole country is obviously not in the public interest. We all know that people would more often prefer to be entertained than stimulated or informed. But your obligations are not satisfied if you look only to popularity as a test of what to broadcast. You are not only in show business; you are free to communicate ideas as well as relaxation. You must provide a wider range of choices, more diversity, more alternatives. It is not enough to cater to the nation's whims— you must also serve the nation's

needs. . . .

Let me address myself now to my role, not as a viewer but as chairman of the FCC. . . . I want to make clear some of the fundamental principles which guide me.

First, the people own the air. They own it as much in prime evening time as they do at 6 o'clock Sunday morning. For every hour that the people give you, you owe them something. I intend to see that your debt is paid with service.

Second, I think it would be foolish and wasteful for us to continue any worn-out wrangle over the problems of payola, rigged quiz shows, and other mistakes of the past. . . .

Third, I believe in the free enterprise system. I want to see broadcasting improved and I want you to do the job. . . .

Fourth, I will do all I can to help educational television. There are still not enough educational stations, and major centers of the country still lack usable educational channels. . . .

Fifth, I am unalterably opposed to governmental censorship. There will be no suppression of programming which does not meet with bureaucratic tastes. Censorship strikes at the taproot of our free society.

Sixth, I did not come to Washington to idly observe the squandering of the public's airwaves. The squandering of our airwaves is no less important than the lavish waste of any precious natural resource....

What you gentlemen broadcast through the people's air affects the people's taste, their knowledge, their opinions, their understanding of themselves and of their world. And their future. The power of instantaneous sight and sound is without precedent in mankind's history. This is an awesome power. It has limitless

capabilities for good— and for evil. And it carries with it awesome responsibilities — responsibilities which you and I cannot escape. . . .

湯姆.海登(TOM HAYDEN)

### 休倫港宣言 The Port Huron Statement

我們是當代人，在至少是小康的環境中長大，目前住在大學校園裏，正忐忑不安地注視著我們所繼承的世界。

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1962 年，積極投身民權運動與和平運動的大學生們創建了實現民主社會學生同盟。該同盟代表當時被人們稱為新左派的力量。在密執安州休倫港舉行的成立大會上，該同盟正式通過了由密執安大學研究生湯姆.海登(1939— )起草的一篇宣言。休倫港宣言對美國社會進行了廣泛的批評——涉及種族歧視、核戰爭危險、無法和平發展原子能、冷戰、財富分配不公、大學生的政治冷漠以及自由主義思想的枯竭，等等。以下所載為休倫港宣言的引言。六十年代和七十年代初該宣言在學生激進分子中是一份頗有影響的文件。

湯姆.海登於 1982 年被選入加利福尼亞州立法機關。

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我們是當代人，在至少是小康的環境中長大，目前住在大學校園裏，正忐忑不安地注視著我們所繼承的世界。當我們還是幼童時，美國是世界上最富裕、最強大的國家，當時唯有它擁有原子彈，它最少受到現代戰爭的侵害，而且它是聯合國——我們認為該組織將把西方的影響擴散到全世界——的一個發起國。人人自由平等，民有、民治、民享的政府——我們那時覺得這些美國價值

觀念很好，是我們安身立命的原則。我們中許多人在自滿情緒中成長。

然而隨著年齡增長，我們的舒適安逸被一個又一個不能不令人憂慮的事件所打破。首先是南方反種族偏見鬥爭所昭示的無所不在、令人痛苦的人格貶黜的事實，迫使我們大多數人從沈默變為積極行動。其次，由原子彈的存在所象徵的冷戰籠罩世界的事實，使我們意識到：我們自己、我們的朋友以及千百萬我們因共同的危險更加瞭解的抽象的「其他人」隨時可能死去。對別的人類問題我們可以故意忽視、迴避或麻木不仁，但這兩個問題則不然，因為它們的衝擊太直接太猛烈，它們對我們提出的要求太富有挑戰性——要求我們每個人為衝突和問題的解決負起責任。

當這些和其他問題或直接壓在我們身上或折磨我們的良心，成為我們自己關切的事，我們也開始看到我們周圍的美國複雜而令人不安的自相矛盾現象。在南方及北方大城市中黑人生活的現實面前，「人人生而平等……」的宣言顯得何等虛偽。美國所宣稱的和平意圖與它在冷戰現狀中的經濟和軍事投資互相抵觸。

我們已親眼目睹，而且將繼續看到其他自相矛盾的種種怪事。依靠核能很容易向一座座城市提供全部電力，然而那些佔據支配地位的民族國家似乎更有可能發動人類戰爭史上規模空前的毀滅性戰爭。雖然我們自己的技術正摧毀舊的社會組織形式，創造新的社會組織形式，人們仍在容忍徒勞無功的工作和懶懶散散，無所事事。三分之二的人類正苦於營養不良，而我們自己的上流社會卻窮奢極欲，紙醉金迷。雖然世界人口預計在四十年後將增加一倍，各國仍聽任

無政府主義成為國際行動的一大原則，而不加節制的開採正耗盡地球的自然資源。雖然人類亟需革命的領導，美國卻安於國家的僵局。它的目標模糊不清，模稜兩可，受傳統框框束縛；它的民主制度與其說是「民有，民治，民享」，還不如說是冷漠無情的，為權勢所操縱擺佈。

不僅我們關於美國人美德的意象蒙上了污點，不僅因美國理想的虛偽性被揭穿引起幻想破滅，而且我們開始感到，原來我們心目中的美國黃金時代其實是一個時代的衰落。在世界範圍爆發的反對殖民主義和帝國主義的革命、極權主義國家的牢固確立、戰爭威脅、人口膨脹、國際秩序混亂、超技術等等——這些趨勢正考驗我們自己為民主和自由承擔義務的堅韌性，考驗我們在一個動亂的世界實現民主和自由的能力。

我們的工作遵從這種觀念的引導：我們可能是進行生存實驗的最後一代人。但我們屈居少數——我國人民的絕大多數認為我們社會和世界的暫時均衡是永恆的功能要素。或許這又是件自相矛盾的咄咄怪事：我們自己感到形勢逼人，時不我待，但我們的社會卻發出這種資訊，即沒有什麼可行的方案能取代現狀。在政治家寬慰人心的語調後面，在認定美國將「馬馬虎虎對付過去」的一般觀點後面，在那些拒不考慮未來的人們的呆滯遲鈍後面，有著一種瀰漫於社會的想法：根本就沒有什麼選擇的餘地；我們的時代不但已目睹了建立烏托邦的嘗試以失敗告終，而且也看到了任何新方針走向窮途末路。人們感覺到社會的複雜壓迫著空虛的生活，擔心事情隨時隨地會失去控制。人們害怕變革本身，因為變革可能擊碎眼下似乎為他們遏制住混亂的任何無形的框架。對大多數美國人來說，一切社會運動的參加者都可疑，都很危險。每個人在他的同輩人身上

看到的都是冷漠，這一情況使得不願組織起來實行變革的普遍心態永久存在。佔統治地位的制度和機構紛繁複雜，足以挫損它們的潛在批評者的銳氣；而且它們森嚴壁壘，足以迅速驅散或徹底擊潰抗議和改革的力量，這樣便限制了人們對未來的期望。此外，我們是個物質生活已得到改善的社會，通過自己狀況的改善我們似乎已削弱了進一步變革的理由。

有些人希望我們相信，美國人在繁榮昌盛中感到心滿意足——把這稱為他們對自己在新的世界中的作用內心深處的憂慮外表塗上的一層釉彩豈不更好。如果說這種憂慮造成對人類事務更不關心的冷漠態度，難道它不也會引起對以下信念的渴求：現狀有可替代的東西，人們能夠採取行動以改變學校、工廠、官僚體制和政府的狀況。這種渴求既是變革的導火線又是變革的動力，我們正是向人們的這種渴求發出呼籲。為現狀尋求真正民主的替代物，承擔對它們進行社會實驗的義務，是有價值、能充分發揮才能的人類事業，這項事業今天推動我們前進，我們也希望它推動別人前進。正是在此基礎上我們提出這份關於我們的信念和分析的文件，作為二十世紀後期理解和改變人類狀況的一種努力，它植根於這樣一個古老的、至今尚未實現的設想——人獲得左右自己生活環境的力量。

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We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence

throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people— these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concern, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal..." rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and

uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The world-wide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, super technology— these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority— the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change.



The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity— but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world. And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government. It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

埃德.麥克迪

(ED MCCURLM)

昨夜我做了個最奇怪的夢

Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream

埃德.麥克 (1919— ) 生於賓夕法尼亞州威斐霍爾。他是歌唱家兼作曲家，曾在廣播電視上，在咖啡館和劇院裏演出。他的歌曲《昨夜我做了個最奇怪的夢》寫於 1950 年，但它六十年代在越南戰爭的反對者中非常流行。因為這首

歌歌詞不是關於任何一次特定的衝突，其樸素的語言所表述的和平主義使它多年來一直很受人們歡迎。

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昨夜我做了一個最  
奇怪的夢，

是以前我從未做過  
的，

我夢見世界一致贊  
成，

人類從此結束戰  
爭。

我在夢中看見一間  
大廳，

熙熙攘攘擠滿人，

人們正簽署一份文  
件，

Last night I had the strangest dream,  
I'd never dreamed before,  
I dreamed the world had all agreed  
To put an end to war. I dreamed I saw a mighty  
room  
And the room was full of men,  
And the paper they were signing said  
They'd never fight again. And when the paper  
was all signed,  
And a million copies made,  
They all joined hands and bowed their heads  
And grateful prayers were prayed. And the  
people in the streets below  
Were dancing 'round and 'round.  
While swords and guns and uniforms  
Were scattered on the ground.

宣佈他們永不再  
戰。

當文件全部簽署  
完，

便印成百萬份傳  
單，

他們互相握手又行  
禮，

齊聲禱告感謝上  
帝。

大街上人流聚樓  
前，

手舞足蹈盡情狂  
歡。

刀劍槍支和軍裝，

全都丟棄在地上。

雷切爾.卡森(RACHEL CARSON)

### 寂靜的春天 Silent Spring

「控制大自然」這一短語是在驕傲自大的心態中構思出來的，它源於尼安德特人時期的生物學和哲學，當時人們以為自然界是為人類的便利而存在的。

六十年代初期，雷切爾.卡森的書《寂靜的春天》引起國際上對環境污染危險的關注。卡森比當時任何人更強烈地提醒世界注意由任意使用化學藥品造成的人員傷亡和自然界損失。卡森(1907—1964)是個生物學家，長期在美國漁業局工作。她也是頗有成就的作家。1951年卡森因《我們周圍的海洋》一書獲得國家圖書獎。然而她留給後人最為不朽的遺產是1962年出版的《寂靜的春天》，該書對發動美國的環境保護運動起了重要作用。

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地球上生命的歷史即是生物與它們的環境互相作用的歷史。在很大程度上，地球上動植物的形體和習性是由環境造成的。考慮到地球的漫長歷史，反向作用即生物對其環境的實際影響相對較小。只有在由本世紀所體現的時光瞬間中，一個物種——人——才獲得了有效力量去改變他所在世界的大自然。

在過去的四分之一世紀裏，這種力量不僅增大到了令人不安的程度，而且其

性質亦發生了變化。人類對環境最可怕的破壞是用危險甚至致命的物質對空氣、土地、河流和海洋的污染。這種污染多數是無法救治的；由它所引發的惡性循環不僅存在於生物賴以生存的世界，而且存在於生物組織中，而這種惡性循環大都不可逆轉。在當今對環境的普遍污染中，化學藥品是幅射線的兇惡但卻被人忽視的同謀，它們共同改變著世界的根本性質——它的生物的根本性質。由核爆炸釋放到空中的銻 90 以放射性塵埃的形式隨雨水或漂浮物落到地球上，留在土壤裏，進入地上生長著的草、玉米或小麥等植物體內，最後鑽進人體，停留在骨骼裏直到人死去。同樣，噴灑在農田、森林或花園裏的化學藥品長期留在土壤中，進入活的生物體內，在一種毒害和死亡的連鎖反應中從一個生物體傳到另一生物體。或者這些化學藥品隨地下溪流神秘地流淌直至冒到地表，通過空氣和陽光的化合作用構成新形式，毒死植物，使牲畜得病，對那些飲用曾一度純淨的井水的人們造成人所不知的危害。正如阿爾伯特·施威策所說：「人甚至連自己創造的魔鬼都認不出來。」

要生成現今棲居在地球上的生物需要億萬年的時間——在這漫長的時間裏，生物不斷發展進化，種類越變越多，達到一種同其環境相適應、相平衡的狀態。而環境一絲不苟地塑造和引導它所供養的生物，這環境既包含有利生物生長的成分，又包含有害的成分。某些岩石放射出危險的射線；即便在一切生物從中取得能量的日光中，也包含有傷害力的短波射線。經過一定的時間——不是過了若干年，而是過了千百年，生物適應了環境，達到了平衡，因為時間是最基本的因素。但在現代世界裏人們沒有時間。

伴隨著人類急躁輕率的步伐而非自然界穩健的步履，事物很快發生變化，新情

況急劇不斷地產生。如今幅射不僅是地球上出現生命之前便存在的岩石隱秘的射線、宇宙射線的轟擊以及太陽紫外線；它更是人類撥弄原子的奇異產物。逼迫生物與之適應的化學物質不再只是鈣、二氧化矽、銅，以及從岩石上沖刷出來由河流帶入海洋的其他礦物質，它們是人類聰明才智所合成的創造物，在實驗室裏配製而成，在自然界找不到與它們相似的東西。

適應這些化學藥品所需時間應以大自然的尺度衡量；人的一生太短暫，它要求的是若干世代的時間。但即令這麼漫長的時間內可能奇蹟般地實現了適應，也將毫無用處，因為從我們的各個實驗室會源源不斷地冒出新的化學藥品投入實際使用。這數字令人震驚，而且它的深層含義不易為人們所領會——每年有五百種新化學藥品需要人和動物的身體以某種方式去與之適應，它們完全超出了生物學經驗的範圍。

在這些化學藥品中，有許多被用於人類對自然的戰爭。自 40 年代中期以來，逾二百種基本化學藥品被研製出來，用於殺死昆蟲、雜草、齧齒動物和其他現代行話稱為「害蟲」的生物體；這些化學藥品打著數千種不同的商標出售。

這些噴霧液、花粉、煙霧劑現在幾乎普遍在農場、花園、森林和家庭中使用——這些化學藥品能夠不加選擇地殺死任何昆蟲，不論其是「好」是「壞」；能夠使鳥兒不再歌唱，魚兒不再跳躍於水中；能夠以一層劇毒物質覆蓋在葉片表面或長期滯留在土壤中。而人們使用所有這些藥品消滅的目標或許僅僅是屈指可數的幾種雜草或昆蟲。難道有人會相信，可以向地球表面傾瀉這麼多毒物而又繼續使它適宜一切生物生長。這些化學藥品不應稱作「殺蟲藥劑」，而應稱

為「殺生物藥劑」。

藥物噴灑的整個發展過程似乎捲入了一個永無終點的螺旋。自從滴滴涕被允許民用便逐步升級，人們得不斷尋找更有毒性的物質。這是因為作為對達爾文適者生存原理的絕好證明，昆蟲已演化出對人們使用的某一殺蟲藥具有抗藥性的超級品種，於是人們必須發明一種更毒的藥劑，接著又發明一種比這種藥劑更毒的藥劑。……

「控制大自然」這一短語是在驕傲自大的心態中構思出來的，它源於尼安德特人時期的生物學和哲學，當時人們以為自然界是為人類的便利而存在的。應用昆蟲學的概念和實踐大都發端於那石器時代的科學。如此原始的科學竟已用最現代、最可怕的武器裝備起來、這真是我們的一大災禍。這門科學在使用這些武器對付害蟲的同時也在打擊整個地球。

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附註：

- 尼安德特人：指更新世晚期，舊石器時代個期的「古人」，分佈在歐洲、北非、西亞一帶。
- 阿爾伯特.施威策：阿爾伯特.施威策(1875－1965)，法國。

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The history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things

and their surroundings. To a large extent, the physical form and the habits of the earth's vegetation and its animal life have been molded by the environment. Considering the whole span of earthly time, the opposite effect, in which life actually modifies its surroundings, has been relatively slight. Only within the moment of time represented by the present century has one species— man— acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world.

During the past quarter century this power has not only increased to one of disturbing magnitude but it has changed in character. The most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers, and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials. This pollution is for the most part irrecoverable; the chain of evil it initiates not only in the world that must support life but in living tissues is for the most part irreversible. In this now universal contamination of the environment, chemicals are the sinister and little-recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world— the very nature of its life. Strontium 90, released through nuclear explosions into the air, comes to the earth in rain or drifts down as fallout, lodges in soil, enters into the grass or corn or wheat grown there, and in time takes up its abode in the bones of a human being, there to remain until his death. Similarly, chemicals sprayed on croplands or forests or gardens lie long in the soil, entering into living organisms, passing from one to another in a chain of poisoning and death. Or they pass mysteriously by underground streams until they emerge and, through the alchemy of air and sunlight, combine into new forms that kill vegetation, sicken cattle, and work unknown harm on those who drink from once pure wells. As Albert Schweitzer has said, "Man can hardly even recognize the devils of his own creation."

It took hundreds of millions of years to produce the life that now inhabits the earth— eons of time in which that developing and evolving and diversifying life reached a state of adjustment and balance with its surroundings. The environment, rigorously shaping and directing the life it supported, contained elements that were



hostile as well as supporting. Certain rocks gave out dangerous radiation; even within the light of the sun, from which all life draws its energy, there were short-wave radiations with power to injure. Given time— time not in years but in millennia— life adjusts, and a balance has been reached. For time is the essential ingredient; but in the modern world there is no time.

The rapidity of change and the speed with which new situations are created follow the impetuous and heedless pace of man rather than the deliberate pace of nature. Radiation is no longer merely the background radiation of rocks, the bombardment of cosmic rays, the ultraviolet of the sun that have existed before there was any life on earth; radiation is now the unnatural creation of man's tampering with the atom. The chemicals to which life is asked to make its adjustment are no longer merely the calcium and silica and copper and all the rest of the minerals washed out of the rocks and carried in rivers to the sea; they are the synthetic creations of man's inventive mind, brewed in his laboratories, and having no counterparts in nature.

To adjust to these chemicals would require time on the scale that is nature's; it would require not merely the years of a man's life but the life of generations. And even this, were it by some miracle possible, would be futile, for the new chemicals come from our laboratories in an endless stream; almost five hundred annually find their way into actual use in the United States alone. The figure is staggering and its implications are not easily grasped— 500 new chemicals to which the bodies of men and animals are required somehow to adapt each year, chemicals totally outside the limits of biologic experience.

Among them are many that are used in man's war against nature. Since the mid-1940's over 200 basic chemicals have been created for use in killing insects, weeds, rodents, and other organisms described in the modern vernacular as "pests"; and they are sold under several thousand different brand names.

These sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes— nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the "good" and the "bad," to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in the soil — all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life. They should not be called "insecticides," but "biocides."

The whole process of spraying seems caught up in an endless spiral. Since DDT was released for civilian use, a process of escalation has been going on in which ever more toxic materials must be found. This has happened because insects, in a triumphant vindication of Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest, have evolved super races immune to the particular insecticide used, hence a deadlier one has always to be developed— and then a deadlier one than that. . . .

The "control of nature" is a phrase conceived in arrogance, born of the Neanderthal age of biology and philosophy, when it was supposed that nature exists for the convenience of man. The concepts and practices of applied entomology for the most part date from that Stone Age of science. It is our alarming misfortune that so primitive a science has armed itself with the most modern and terrible weapons, and that in turning them against the insects it has also turned them against the earth.

小馬丁.路德.金(MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)

從伯明罕市監獄發出的信 Letter from Birmingham City Jail

任何一個地方的不公正是對一切地方的公正的威脅。

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小馬丁·路德·金(1929－1968)生於佐治亞州亞特蘭大，祖父和父親均為浸禮會牧師。他 15 歲入莫爾豪斯學院專修為天資聰慧的學生開設的課程，以後在賓夕法尼亞州切斯特的克勞澤神學院獲神學士學位，又在波斯頓大學獲哲學博士學位。金在阿拉巴馬州蒙哥馬利市的德克斯特大街浸禮會教堂任牧師時，一場對公共汽車的聯合抵制運動開始了。他領導這場鬥爭歷時一年，這使他成了全國知名人物。隨後他組織南方基督教領袖聯合會，成為迅速擴展的民權運動的領導人。

1963 年，金把一場非暴力和消極抵抗運動帶到種族隔離和種族歧視嚴重的伯明罕市。在一次次抗議性的示威遊行中數百人被捕。金寧可進監獄也不服從法院關於停止示威的命令。在單獨監禁的日子裏，金對七位重要的教會人士寫的信作了答覆。他們在信中要求他取消示威運動，轉而依靠談判和法院解決問題。金用復活節週末的時間起草他的答覆。金因為領導了民權運動於 1964 年被授予諾貝爾和平獎。1968 年當他指導田納西州孟菲斯的罷工鬥爭時遇刺身亡。

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我在這伯明罕市監獄的鐵窗內閱讀你們最近的聲明，該聲明把我們當前的活動稱為「不明智而又不合時宜的。」……

既然你們已受「外界的人紛紛介入」一說的影響，我認為我應當闡明自己在伯明罕的原因。……我與我的幾名助手在伯明罕，是應邀前來的。我來伯明罕是因為我在這裏有些基本的組織關係。此外，我來伯明罕是因為這裏存在著不公正。正如八世紀的先知們離開他們的小小村落，把「上帝是這麼說的」一話

傳到遠離他們故鄉的地方，正如使徒保羅離開他在塔爾蘇斯的小村，把耶穌基督的福音帶到希臘—羅馬世界的幾乎每一村莊和城市，我也被迫把自由的福音帶到我自己故鄉以外的地方。……任何一個地方的不公正是對一切地方的公正的威脅。……

你們對目前正在伯明罕舉行的遊行示威感到痛心。但是我很遺憾，你們的聲明竟沒有對引起示威的客觀形勢表述同樣的關切。我相信你們每個人都不願緊跟在淺薄的社會分析家腳後，只看後果而不去設法解決根本原因。我會毫不猶豫地說，眼下在伯明罕發生所謂的示威遊行是不幸的事。但是我想更強調一點：該市白人政權逼得黑人居民走投無路，沒有別的選擇。

任何非暴力鬥爭都包括四個步驟：(1)收集情況以判斷是否存在不公正；(2)談判；(3)自我淨化；(4)直接行動。在伯明罕我們已經歷了所有這些步驟。無可置疑的事實是，種族不公平籠罩著該市黑人社區。伯明罕可能是美國種族隔離最徹底的城市。該市警察暴行的醜惡記錄全國各地盡人皆知。該市法庭對待黑人的不公亦是臭名昭著的現實。比起我國其他城市，伯明罕有更多尚未解決的黑人家宅和教堂爆炸案。這些都是確鑿的，殘酷的，令人難以置信的事實。……

通過痛苦的經驗我們懂得了，自由不會由壓迫者自願送上門；自由必須由被壓迫者去爭取。坦率地說，我可從未參加過根據某些人的時間表是「時機恰當」的直接抗爭運動，這些人從未飽嘗種族隔離之苦。多年來我一直聽到這個話：「等待！」每個黑人的耳朵都聽膩了。這「等待」一詞幾乎總是意味著「永不行動」。它不啻起鎮靜作用的反應停，使緊張情緒放鬆片刻，卻導致沮喪失意

感這一畸形兒的產生。我們必須同意昨天傑出的律師的觀點：「公正被延誤太久，也就是公正被否定。」對我們的憲法和上帝賜予的權利，我們已等待了 340 多年。亞洲和非洲國家正以噴射機的速度衝向政治獨立的目標，而我們卻仍以老牛破車的步速去爭取在便餐櫃檯喝上一杯咖啡。……

你們對我們意欲違反法律表示極大的憂慮。這當然是合理的關注。既然我們如此奮力地催促人們服從最高法院 1954 年關於在公立學校取締種族隔離的決定，那麼發現我們有意識地違反法律便會感到奇怪、荒謬。有人或許要問：「你們怎麼能既提倡違反某些法律，又提倡遵守另一些法律呢。」可以用存在著兩種法律的事實來回答：既有公正的法律，又有不公正的法律。我願第一個為遵守公正的法律大聲疾呼。一個人既有法律上，亦有道義上的責任去遵守公正的法律。反過來說，一個人有道義上的責任拒絕遵守不公正的法律。我贊成聖奧古斯丁的話：「一個不公正的法律就根本不是法律。」

那麼公正與不公正的法律二者差別何在。人們怎樣判斷一個法律公正還是不公正呢。一個公正的法律是人制定的符合道德法則和上帝的法則的法規。一個不公正的法律則是與道德法則不一致的模式。用聖托馬斯.阿奎那斯的話來說，一個不公正的法律是一種並非植根於永恆和自然法則的人類法律。任何提高人格的法律是公正的，任何貶低人格的法律則是不公正的。

一切種族隔離法都不公正，因為種族隔離扭曲靈魂，損害人格。它給予實行隔離者以虛假的優越感，給予被隔離者以虛假的自卑感。借用傑出的猶太哲學家馬丁.布貝爾的說法，隔離用「我一它」關係取代「我一你」關係，最後把人

降低到物的地位。因而種族隔離不僅在政治上、經濟上、社會學意義上是荒謬的，而且在道德上也是錯誤和有罪的。保羅·蒂利希曾說過：罪惡即是分離，難道種族隔離不是人類悲慘的分離的存在主義表現，不是人類極度的疏遠和可怕的罪孽的表現嗎。因此我號召人們遵守最高法院 1954 年的決定，因為它在道德上是正確的；我號召人們拒絕遵守隔離法，因為這些法令在道德上是錯誤的。……

請允許我作另一種解釋。不公正的法律是一種強加於少數人的法規，這些人不參與該法規的制定或創立，因為他們沒有毫無阻礙地投票的權利。有誰能說頒佈種族隔離法令的阿拉巴馬州立法機關是民主產生的呢。整個阿拉巴馬州用盡各種合謀方式阻止黑人成為正式選民。在一些縣裏黑人雖佔人口大多數，但竟然沒有一個黑人登記參加投票。難道這樣一個州確立的任何一項法律能被看作是民主制定的嗎。

我們決不能忘記，當年希特勒在德國幹的每一勾當都是「合法的」，而匈牙利自由戰士在匈牙利做的每一件事皆是「非法的」。在希特勒治下的德國，幫助、安慰一個猶太人是「非法的」。但我相信，倘若當時我生活在德國，我準會幫助、安慰我的猶太弟兄們，儘管這是非法的。倘若我今天生活在一個共產主義國家，某些基督教信仰所珍視的原則遭踐踏，我相信我會公開提倡拒絕遵守這種反宗教的法律。……

我們這一代人將不能不為壞人的惡語劣行，同時也為好人令人吃驚的沈默感到悔恨。我們必須認識到，決不能依靠必然性車輪的滾動來實現人類進步。人類

進步通過自願與上帝合作的人孜孜不倦的努力、堅持不懈的工作得以實現，而若是沒有這種艱苦的工作，時間本身將成為社會惰性力量的同謀。……

你們把我們在伯明罕的活動稱為極端和行動。起初我對教會同仁竟把我的非暴力鬥爭視作極端主義者的行為感到失望。我開始考慮這麼一個實際情況，即我恰恰站在黑人社會兩股對立的力量中間，滿足於現狀的那股力量由兩類黑人組成。一類黑人因長期遭受壓迫已完全失去自尊自重之心，適應了種族隔離；第二類人是為數不多的中產階級黑人，因享有某種程度學術上和經濟上的保障，又因有時從種族隔離中獲利，他們已不自覺地變得對群眾的疾苦麻木不仁。另一股勢力飽嘗辛酸，充滿仇恨，它再向前跨出一步便會鼓吹暴力行動。該勢力體現於在全國層出不窮的各種黑人民族主義團體，其中最大最出名的是以利亞·穆罕默德的穆斯林運動。當代人对種族歧視繼續存在的沮喪失望感使這一組織應運而生，發展壯大。它由對美國失去信念的人組成，他們徹底否定基督教，而且得出結論，認定白人為不可救藥的「魔鬼」。

我盡力設法站在這兩股力量中間，我說我們不必追隨滿足現狀者的「無所作為主義」，也不必做黑人民族主義者的仇恨和絕望。有一種以博愛和非暴力抗議為手段的更好途徑。我感謝上帝，因為通過黑人教會，非暴力方式進入了我們的鬥爭。假如這非暴力哲學至今未誕生，那麼我肯定此刻南方許多街道已血流成河。而且我更確信，假如我們的白人弟兄把我們斥為「暴民煽動者」和「外來鼓動家」——指我們中那些通過非暴力直接行動的渠道工作的人——而且拒絕支援我們的非暴力鬥爭，那麼數以百計的黑人出於沮喪和絕望將從黑人民族主義思想中獲取安慰和保護，這一發展趨勢不可避免會導致恐怖的種族對抗

惡夢。

被壓迫人民不堪永遠受壓迫，爭取自由的浪潮終將到來。這便是美國黑人的經歷。內心有物提醒他們記住自己天賦的自由權；身外有物提醒他們記住自己能夠取得這權利。……

然而當我繼續思考這一問題時，我卻漸漸爲自己被看作極端主義者而略感欣慰。難道耶穌不正是一個在博愛方面的極端主義者嗎。——「愛你的敵人，祝福詛咒你的人，爲虐待你的人祈禱」。難道阿摩司不正是爭取公正的極端主義者。——「讓公正如洪水，正義如激流滾滾而來。」難道保羅不是傳播耶穌基督福音的極端主義者。——「我在自己的身體上帶著主耶穌的痕跡。」難道馬丁·路德不是極端主義者。——「我站在這裏；我別無選擇，所以拯救我吧，上帝」。難道約翰·班揚不是極端主義者。——「我將留在獄中直到我死去的那一天，免得把自己的良心變爲屠場。」難道亞伯拉罕·林肯不是極端主義者。——「這個國家不能在半奴隸、半自由狀況中繼續生存。」難道托馬斯·傑斐遜不是極端主義者？——「我們認爲這些真理不言自明：人人生而平等。」

所以問題不在於我們是否要做極端主義者，而在於我們要做什麼樣的極端主義者。我們要做服務於仇恨的極端主義者還是服務於博愛的極端主義者。我們要做爲保存不公正而奮鬥的極端主義者，抑或是爲正義的事業奮鬥的極端主義者。……

我已周遊了阿拉巴馬州、密西西比州和南方其他各州。在炎熱的夏日和秋高氣爽的早晨，我看著一座座尖塔直插雲霄、外觀很美的教堂，注意到南方在營造



大批宗教教育場所上不惜工本。我一次又一次情不自禁地暗自發問：「誰在這兒做禮拜。誰是他們的上帝。當巴尼特州長大談干預，鼓吹拒絕執行國會的法令時，當華萊士州長公然號召挑戰，煽動仇恨時，他們的聲音上哪兒去了……」當代教會常常只是發出微弱、無效、動搖不定的聲音。它常常是維護現狀的主要支持者。普通地區的權力機構不但不對教會的存在感到不安，而且因教會的緘默，因教會常對現狀表示認可感到安慰。

但上帝對教會的審判從未像現在這樣嚴厲。如果當今的教會無法恢復早期教會的犧牲精神，它將喪失權威的光環，失去千百萬人對它的忠誠，被人們當作對 20 世紀毫無意義、無關宏旨的社會團體。……我感謝上帝，因為有組織的宗教階層中某些高尚的人已從束縛手腳、令人癱瘓的鎖鏈中掙脫出來，積極加入我們為自由而鬥爭的隊伍。……他們懷著這樣的信念踏上征程：正義即使被擊敗也比取得勝利的邪惡強大。如果說這個種族是塊麵團，這些人便是發酵劑。他們的證言已成為精神食鹽，在這動盪不安的時期用於保存福音的真話。他們已在失望的黑暗山洞中鑿通了一條希望的隧道。……但即便教會不去援助正義，我對未來也不感到絕望。即使我們的動機目前被誤解；我對我們在伯明罕鬥爭的結果也不感到擔憂。我們將在伯明罕和全美國達到自由的目標，因為美國的目標是自由。雖然我們可能被辱罵被嘲笑，我們的命運與美國的命運緊緊結合在一起。……總有一天，南方會認識到它真正的英雄是何人。他們將是詹姆斯·梅雷迪思們，以巨大的勇氣和堅定的意志面對暴徒的嘲笑和敵視，面對令人痛苦的孤獨，而這些正是先驅者生涯的特點。他們將是年老的、飽受壓迫欺凌的黑人婦女，以阿拉巴馬州蒙哥馬利市一位 72 歲的老婦人為典型。她懷

著自尊感與決心不乘實行隔離的公共汽車的黑人同胞們一起站立，對詢問她是否疲勞的人作了語法不規範但卻頗有深度的回答：「我的腳很累，但我的心安寧。」他們將是年輕的大中學學生、年輕的福音傳教牧師和大批年長者，勇敢而又和平地在便餐櫃檯邊靜坐抗議，爲了問心無愧寧願坐牢。總有一天，南方會明白，當這些被剝奪繼承權的上帝的孩子們在便餐櫃檯坐下時，他們實際上是爲實現美國夢的最佳理想，爲猶太—基督教傳統最神聖的準則挺身而出，從而把整個國家帶回到民主的偉大源泉，由建國的先輩們在擬定憲法和獨立宣言時所深深開掘的源泉。……

我希望這封信能使你們堅定信念。我也希望自己有可能很快與你們每一位會面，不是以一個牧師和基督教兄弟的身份，而是作爲一個主張取消種族隔離的人或一名民權領袖。讓我們期盼種族偏見的烏雲很快飛走，誤解的濃霧從我們擔驚受怕的居民區消散；讓我們期盼在不遠的明天博愛和兄弟情誼的燦爛星辰將以美麗的光華照亮我們偉大的國家。

附註：

- 反應停：反應停係一種能導致胎兒畸形的化學藥品，在這種災難性的後果發現之前，曾用作鎮靜藥和止吐藥。
- 聖奧古斯丁(354—430)，古代基督教會傑出的思想家，396—430 年任羅馬帝國非洲領地希波的主教。
- 聖托馬斯.阿奎那斯(1225—1274)，義大利神學家兼哲學家。
- 馬丁.布貝爾(1878—1965)，生於奧地利的以色列哲學家，社會學家和猶太神學家。

- 保羅.蒂利希(1886—1965)，美國神學家。
- 阿摩司，西元前 8 世紀的希伯來人，最早的先知。
- 馬丁.路德(1483—1546)，16 世紀歐洲宗教改良運動的發起者，西方文化史上的重要人物。
- 約翰.班揚(1628—1688)，英國宗教作家和傳道士，《天路歷程》一書
- 密西西比州州長，種族隔離主義者。
- 阿拉巴馬州州長，種族隔離主義者。
- 詹姆斯.梅雷迪斯是美國南方第一個申請並獲准進入白人大學的黑人青年。

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While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." . . .

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." . . . I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the 8th century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town, and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. . . . Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . .

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the

conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: 1 ) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; and 4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts....

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing Thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward

the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. . . .

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others." The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two. How does one determine when a law is just or unjust. A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust.

All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey

segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong. . . .

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because it did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the Legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected. Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured. . . .

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a Communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws. . . .

We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. . . .

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up

of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "donothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators"—those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action—and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded that he can gain it. . . .

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of

satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice — "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ— "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist— "Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist— "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist— "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist— "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal."

So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love. Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice— or will we be extremists for the cause of justice. . . .

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other Southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here. Who is their God. Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification. Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred. . . . The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch-supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the (church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the Church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of



today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the 20th century. . . . I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the rank's of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom . . . they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment. . . . But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. . . . One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a 72-year-old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the Gospel and a host of the elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience's sake. One day the South will know that w4ien these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in ourJudeo-Christian heritage, and thus carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of

the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away, that the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and that in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

約翰.F.甘迺迪(JOHN F.KENNEDY)

### 在柏林牆邊的演說 Speech at the Berlin Wall

Ich bin ein Berliner.

1961 年 8 月 12—13 日夜間，東德政府築起柏林牆把東西柏林分開。起初它只是一道鐵絲網屏障，用來防止東德人逃往西德。但不久鐵絲網便被厚厚的水泥牆所取代，由哨兵巡邏警戒。柏林牆的醜惡存在提醒人們記住戰後東西歐的分割。許多意欲逃往西方的人在試圖跨越這條邊界時命歸黃泉。1963 年甘迺迪總統訪問歐洲。6 月 26 日成為他此行的高潮，那天他站在柏林牆前宣告：「Ich bin ein Berliner」——「我是一個柏林人。」

二十八年之後，1989 年 11 月，東德政府打開柏林牆，卻自相矛盾地阻止人們成群結隊越過匈牙利邊界從壓抑他們的社會逃出。就在那不平常的一年，東歐國家政權崩潰了。在整個歐洲乃至世界，人們為柏林牆的開放歡呼，把它看作冷戰結束的象徵。

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二千年以前，最自豪的誇耀是「Civitas Romanus sum.」今天，自由世界最自豪的誇耀是「Ich bin ein Berliner，」

世界上有許多人確實不懂，或者說他們不明白什麼是自由世界和共產主義世界的根本分歧。讓他們來柏林吧。有些人說，共產主義是未來的潮流。讓他們來柏林吧。有些人說，我們能在歐洲或其他地方與共產黨人合作。讓他們來柏林吧。甚至有那麼幾個人說，共產主義確是一種邪惡的制度，但它可以使我們取得經濟發展。「Lasst sie nach Ben kommen.」

自由有許多困難，民主亦非完美，然而我們從未建造一堵牆把我們的人民關在裏面，不准他們離開我們。我願意代表我的同胞們——他們與你們遠隔千里住在大西洋彼岸——說，他們為能在遠方與你們共有過去十八年的經歷感到莫大的驕傲。我不知道還有哪一個城鎮或都市被圍困十八年後仍有西柏林的這種生機、力量希望和決心。全世界都看到，柏林牆最生動最明顯地表現出一種失敗。但我們對此並不感到稱心如意，因為柏林牆既是對歷史也是對人性的冒犯，它拆散家庭，造成妻離子散骨肉分離，把希冀統一的一個民族分成兩半。

這個城市的事實也適用於整個德國——只要四個德國人中有一個人被剝奪了自由人的基本權利，即自由選擇的權利，那麼歐洲真正持久的和平便絕無可能實現。經過保持和平與善意的十八年，這一代德國人終於贏得自由的權利，包括在持久和平中善待所有的人民，實現家庭團聚和民族統一的權利。你們住在受到保護的一座自由之島上，但你們的生活是大海的一部分。因此讓我在結束

講話時請求你們抬起目光，超越今日的危險看到明天的希望；超越柏林市或你們的祖國德國的自由看到世界各地的進展；超越這道牆看到正義的和平來臨的一天；超越你們自己和我們自己看到全人類。自由是不可分割的，只要一人被奴役，所有的人都不自由。當所有的人都自由了，那時我們便能期待這一天的到來：在和平與希望的光輝中這座城市獲得統一，這個國家獲得統一，歐洲大陸獲得統一。當這一天最終來臨——它必將來臨——時，西柏林人民將能對這一點感到欣慰：在幾乎二十年時間裏他們站在第一線。一切自由人，不論他們住在何方，皆是柏林市民，所以作為一個自由人，我為「Ich bin ein Berliner」這句話感到自豪。

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附註：

- 德語，意為「我是一個柏林人。」
  - 拉丁語，意為「我是一個羅馬公民。」
  - 德語，意為「讓他們來柏林。」
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Two thousand years ago the proudest boast — was "Civitas Romanus sum."  
Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner."

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that Communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that Communism is an evil system, but it

permits us to make economic progress. "Lasst sie nach Berlin kommen."

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last eighteen years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for eighteen years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system. for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany — real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In eighteen years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond ourselves and ourselves to all mankind. Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one— and this country, and this great continent of Europe— in a peaceful and hopeful glow. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober

satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

小馬丁.路德.金(MARTIN LUTHER KING,JR)

向華盛頓進軍演說詞The March on Washington Address

我有一個夢。

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1963年8月28日，逾二十萬美國人聚集於美國首都，為全體人民同享公正在林肯紀念堂和華盛頓紀念館之間的林蔭道上以和平集會方式舉行示威。在當天激動人心的演說中，小馬丁.路德.金的《我有一個夢》這篇演講尤其扣人心弦。他用高昂雄辯的言語自覺地將宗教修辭與人們耳熟能詳的愛國主義象徵熔為一爐，表達了一種對理想世界的預言和振奮人心的觀念。這篇《我有一個夢》演說詞作為對民權運動目標的精闢闡述迅速進入了美國語言和全民意識。

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一百年以前，一位偉大的美國人——我們就站在他像徵性的庇蔭下——簽署了解放宣言。這一重要的法令猶如燈塔把輝煌的希望之光帶給千百萬飽受屈辱、處於水深火熱中的黑人。它就像歡快的黎明來臨，結束了奴隸被囚禁的漫漫長夜。

然而一百年後的今天，我們不能不面對這一悲劇性的事實，即黑人仍未獲得自由。一百年後今天，黑人的生命仍慘遭種族隔離桎梏和種族歧視枷鎖的束縛。一百年後的今天，黑人仍生活在物質繁榮的汪洋大海所包圍的貧窮孤島上。一

百年後的今天，黑人仍蜷縮在美國社會的偏僻角落，感到自己是自己國家裏的流放者。因此我們今天來到這裏以引起人們對一種駭人聽聞的情況的注意。

在某種意義上，我們來到我國首都是爲著兌現支票。當我們共和國的創建者們寫下憲法和獨立宣言時，他們也就簽署了一份期票，每個美國人都有它的繼承權。這期票是一種許諾，保證給予每一個人不可轉讓的生活、自由和追求幸福的權利。

顯而易見，今天美國在關係到她有色人種公民的問題上已對這份期票違約。美國沒有承兌這一神聖的契約，而是給黑人一張空頭支票；該支票被寫上「存款不足」退回。但是我們不相信正義的銀行已破產。我們不相信這個國家機會的金庫中已存款不足。所以我們來此兌現支票——這支票將按要求給予我們自由的財富和公正的保障。

我們來到這神聖的地點，也是爲了提醒美國記住現在極端緊迫的任務。目前不是享受一下清靜或服用漸進主義鎮靜劑的時候。現在該實現民主的許諾了。現在該從種族隔離黑暗荒涼的峽谷走上種族公平的金光大道了。現在該向上帝所有的孩子們打開機會的大門了。現在該把我國從種族歧視的流沙中救出，置於兄弟情誼的堅硬岩石之上了。

倘若這個國家忽視了此刻緊迫的形勢，低估了黑人的決心，那將造成致命的後果。這一黑人合理不滿的悶熱夏季將不會過去，直到自由平等的爽朗秋季來臨。一九六三年不是終結，而是開端。倘若國家一如既往恢復原樣，那些希望黑人只是需要出出氣，現在可以滿意的人將會大失所望。美國將沒有安寧和平靜，

除非黑人獲得了他們的公民權。反抗的旋風將繼續震撼我們國家的基礎，直到公正的晴天出現。

但有件事我得告訴我的站在通向公正之宮溫暖入口的人民。在爭取我們合法地位的奮鬥過程中，我們不應幹違法之事。我們切莫端起苦澀和仇恨的杯子來滿足自己對自由的渴求。我們必須永遠在尊嚴的紀律的高水準上開展鬥爭。我們決不能讓我們創造性的抗議墮落成爲暴力行動。我們必須一次又一次昇華到用精神力量對付武力的崇高境界。

黑人社區洋溢著嶄新的戰鬥精神不應導致我們對一切白人都不信任，因爲我們許多白人弟兄，正如他們今天的到場所證明的，已意識到他們的自由與我們的自由血肉相連，不可分割。我們不能獨自行進。

我們一旦起步，就必須發誓勇往直前。我們不能往回走。有人這樣問民權運動的忠實鬥士：「你們何時才能滿足。」

只要黑人仍是警察暴行難以形容的恐怖的受害者，我們就決不會滿足。

只要我們雖經旅途奔波渾身疲乏仍無法在公路或城市中租用汽車遊客旅館，我們就決不會滿足。

只要黑人的基本遷移方式只是從一處較小的黑人區遷到一處較大的黑人區，我們就決不會滿足。

只要密西西比州有一個黑人不能投票，只要紐約有一個黑人認爲沒有什麼東西



值得他去投票，我們就不會滿足。

是的，我們不滿足，而且我們將永不滿足，直到公正如洪水，正義如激流滾滾而來。

我不能不注意到，你們有些人經歷了巨大的痛苦和磨難來到這裏。你們有些人剛從狹窄的牢房出來。你們有些人來自某些地區，在那裏你們因爭取自由慘遭迫害，被警察的暴行所摧殘。你們已是為創造而受苦的老戰士。繼續懷著這一信念工作吧：並非由自己招致的苦難將帶來補償。

回密西西比去，回阿拉巴馬去，回南卡羅來納去，回佐治亞去，回路易斯安那去，回到我們北方城市的貧民窟和黑人區去，既然你們知道因某種原因形勢可能而且必將發生變化。我們且莫在絕望的山谷中打滾。

我今天對你們說，我的朋友們，儘管眼下困難重重，頗多挫折，我仍然有一個夢。它深深植根於美國夢。

我夢見總有一天這個國家將站立起來，實現它的信條的真話：「我們認為這些真理不言自明：人人生而平等。」

我夢見有一天在佐治亞的紅山上，原先的奴隸的兒子們與原先奴隸主的兒子們坐在一張桌子旁共敘手足情。

我夢見有一天甚至密西西比州遭不公正和壓迫的酷熱煎熬的沙漠將變成自由和公正的綠洲。

我夢見有一天自己的四個孩子將生活在一個國家，在那裏人們對他們的評價不是根據膚色，而是根據品格。

我今天有一個夢。

我夢見有一天阿拉巴馬州——其州長最近大談干預，鼓吹拒絕執行國會的法令——將會大變樣，黑人兒童與白人兒童攜手並肩，親如手足。

我今天有一個夢。

我夢見有一天每一條山谷都升高，每一座山頭都降低，地勢崎嶇的地方變得平坦，彎彎曲曲的地帶變得筆直，而上帝的光輝得以展現，讓所有的人都看見。

這是我們的希望，正是懷著這一信念我回南方。懷著這信念我們將能從絕望的大山中開鑿出希望的石塊。懷著這信念我們將能把我國的一片嘈雜吵鬧聲變為一曲華麗的兄弟情誼的交響樂。

懷著這信念，我們將能夠一起工作，一起祈禱，一起奮鬥，一起入獄，一起為自由挺身而出，因為我們知道有一天我們將會自由。

那將是這樣的一天，屆時上帝所有的孩子將能唱出新的意義：「你是我的祖國，美好的自由之邦，我要為你歌唱。父輩葬身之處，移民誇耀之土，讓我自由之聲，響徹每個山岡。」

如果美國要成為一個偉大的國家，這就必須變成現實。讓自由從新罕布夏的崇山峻嶺響起。讓自由從賓夕法尼亞高高阿勒格尼山響起：

讓自由從科羅拉多白雪覆蓋的落磯山脈響起！讓自由從加利福尼亞逶迤的群山響起！不僅如此，還要讓自由從佐治亞的石山上響起！讓自由從田納西的盧考特山響起！

讓自由從密西西比每座山頭和小丘響起。讓自由從每一處山腰響起。

當我們讓自由鳴響，讓自由從每一座村莊響起，從每一個州和每一個城市響起，我們就能使這一天更快來臨，那時上帝所有的孩子們，不論是黑人還是白人，猶太人還是非猶太人，新教徒還是天主教徒，都將手拉著手高唱一首古老的黑人聖歌的歌詞：「終於自由了！終於自由了！感謝萬能的上帝，我們終於自由了！」

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Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have

come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check— a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is not time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship

rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied." We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy -with fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be

transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my father died, land of the Pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lockout Mountain of Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and mole- hill of Mississippi. From every

mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

我們一定會勝利

We Shall Overcome

《我們一定會勝利》作為六十年代民權運動的頌歌聞名於世。每當民權運動工作者們聚集在一起，或舉行群眾示威活動時，人們總是拉起手來，身體左右搖擺著齊唱《我們一定會勝利》。它是 1963 年 8 月 28 日向華盛頓進軍的主題歌，那天小馬丁·路德·金髮表了他的著名演說《我有一個夢》。這首歌源於十九世紀的一首黑人聖歌。像許多表示抗議的民歌一樣，這首歌歌詞隨場合不同而變動，因而它有多種歌詞。

總有一天，

我們一定會勝利，

我們一定會勝利，

我們一定會勝利。

哦，在內心深處，

We shall overcome,

We shall overcome,

We shall overcome,

Someday.

Oh, deep in my heart,

I do believe, that

We shall overcome

Someday. We'll walk hand in hand,

We'll walk hand in hand,



|          |  |
|----------|--|
| 我相信      | We'll walk hand in hand,<br>Someday.             |
| 總有一天，    | Oh, deep in my heart,<br>I do believe, that      |
| 我們一定會勝利。 | We shall overcome<br>Someday. We are not afraid, |
| 總有一天，    | We are not afraid,<br>We are not afraid,         |
| 我們將攜手共進， | Oh, no, no, no,<br>'Cause, deep in my heart,     |
| 我們將攜手共進， | I do believe, that<br>We shall overcome,         |
| 我們將攜手共進。 | Someday.   |
| 哦，在內心深處， |  |
| 我相信      |  |
| 總有一天，    |  |
| 我們一定會勝利。 |  |
| 我們不畏懼，   |  |
| 我們不畏懼，   |  |
| 我們不畏懼，   |  |

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <p>哦，我們決不畏懼。</p> <p>因為在內心深處，</p> <p>我相信</p> <p>總有一天，</p> <p>我們一定會勝利。</p> |  |
|--|--|--|

啊，自由

O Freedom

這是六十年代表示抗議的民歌中較重要的一首。它來源於十九世紀流行於黑人群眾中的一首聖歌。有些提供資料的人認為，它是一首獲得自由的黑奴的歌，因為歌詞表述的是現在的個人自由，而不是來世的自由。在六十年代，有人為適應形勢需要對這首歌作了改寫，它有許多種歌詞。

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 啊，自由！     | O Freedom!                                 |
| 啊，自由！     | O Freedom!                                 |
| 啊，自由護佑我！  | O Freedom over me!                         |
| 在我成為奴隸之前， | And before I'd be a slave,                 |
| 我將被埋入墳墓，  | I'd be buried in my grave,                 |
|           | And go home to my Lord and be free!No more |
|           | mournin'                                   |
|           | No more weepin'                            |
|           | No more misery over me.                    |

回到我的上帝身旁永享  
自由!

And before I'd be a slave,  
I'd be buried in my grave,  
And go home to my Lord and be free

不要再哀悼，

不要再哭泣，

不要再爲我悲痛。

在我成爲奴隸之前，

我將被埋入墳墓，

回到我的上帝身旁永享  
自由！

李.海斯，皮特.西格

(LEE HAYS AND PETE SEEGER)

假如我有一把鐵錘

If I Had a Hammer

1940 年李.海斯和皮特.西格是年曆歌唱團成員，以後又加入織工歌詠隊，後者在二十世紀中期成爲美國最走紅的民歌四重唱演出隊。多才多藝的西格是第二次世界大戰後美國民間音樂復興的幹將。海斯唱男低音，彈奏鋼琴，譜寫民間樂曲。海斯與西格一同為《假如我有一把鐵錘》作詞譜曲，這首歌是六十年代最有名的抗議歌曲之一。

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>假如我有一把鐵錘，不論<br/>清晨</p> <p>還是夜晚——我將錘遍<br/>全國。</p> <p>錘聲發出危險信號，錘聲<br/>發出警告，</p> <p>錘聲表達兄弟姐妹間的<br/>友愛，</p> <p>響遍全國。</p> <p>假如我有一隻銅鈴，不論<br/>清晨</p> <p>還是夜晚——我將搖遍<br/>全國。</p> <p>鈴聲發出危險信號，鈴聲<br/>發出警告，</p> <p>鈴聲表達兄弟姐妹間的</p> | <p>If I had a hammer, I'd hammer in the morning,<br/>I'd hammer in the evening — all over this land.</p> <p>I'd hammer out danger, I'd hammer out warning,<br/>I'd hammer out love between my brothers and my<br/>sisters</p> <p>All over this land. If I had a bell, I'd ring it in<br/>the morning</p> <p>I'd ring it in the evening — all over this land.</p> <p>I'd ring out danger, I'd ring out warning,<br/>I'd ring out love between my brothers and my<br/>sisters</p> <p>All over this land. If I had a song, I'd sing it in<br/>the morning.</p> <p>I'd sing it in the evening — all over this land.</p> <p>I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out warning.<br/>I'd sing out love between my brothers and my<br/>sisters</p> <p>All over this land. Well, I've got a hammer,<br/>and I've got a bell.</p> <p>And I've got a song, All over this land.</p> <p>It's the hammer of justice, it's the bell of<br/>freedom</p> <p>It's the song about love between my<br/>brothers and my sisters</p> <p>All over this land.</p> |
|--|---|

友愛，

響遍全國。

假如我有一首歌曲，不論  
清晨

還是夜晚——我將唱遍  
全國。

歌聲發出危險信號，歌聲  
發出警告，

歌聲表達兄弟姐妹間的  
友愛，

響遍全國。

嘿，我已有了鐵錘，我已  
有了銅鈴，

我已有了了一首歌，響遍全  
國。

它是正義的鐵錘，它是自  
由的銅鈴，

它是詠唱兄弟姐妹友愛  
的歌，

響遍全國。

鮑勃.戴倫

(BOB DYLAN)

在風中吹響

Blowin'in the Wind

鮑勃.戴倫 1941 年生於明尼蘇達州德盧斯；他原名羅伯特.阿倫.齊默爾曼，入明尼蘇達大學一年後他更名改姓登上民間音樂舞臺。鮑勃.戴倫被公認為六十年代最有影響的歌手和歌曲作者。他寫過抗議歌曲、愛情歌曲、民歌和搖擺舞曲。《在風中吹響》(1963)被稱為民權運動的非正式頌歌，在反戰運動中也很流行。

一個男人要走過多少

How many roads must a man walk down  
Before you call him a man.

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 路，               | Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail<br>Before she sleeps in the sand.  |
| 你才能稱他爲男子漢。       | Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannon balls fly<br>Before they're forever banned.  |
| 一隻白鴿要飛過多少海面，     | The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind,<br>The answer is blowin' in the wind.How many times<br>must a man look up<br>Before he can see the sky.             |
| 她才能在沙丘安眠。        | Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have<br>Before he can hear people cry.   |
| 炮彈要掠過天空多少回，      | Yes 'n' how many deaths will it take till he<br>knows<br>That too many people have died.   |
| 它們才被永遠禁用。        | The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind<br>The answer is blowin' in the wind.How many<br>years can a mountain exist<br>Before it's washed to the sea.        |
| 這回答，我的朋友，正在風中吹響， | Yes, 'n' how many years can some people<br>exist<br>Before they're allowed to be free.   |
| 這回答正在風中吹響。       | Yes, 'n' how many times can a man head,<br>Pretending he just doesn't see.<br>The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind.<br>The answer is blowin' in the wind. |
| 一個人抬頭看多少次，       |  |
| 才能望見藍天。          |  |

一個人須多少只耳  
朵，

才能聽到人們的哭  
喊。

多少人死去才能使他  
瞭解，

已有太多人死亡。

這回答，我的朋友，  
正在風中吹響，

這回答正在風中吹  
響。

一座山要聳立多少  
年，

才會被沖刷入海。

一些人要生活多少  
年，



才會被給予自由.

一個人能轉過頭去多  
少回。

假裝他什麼也沒看  
見.

這回答，我的朋友，  
正在風中吹響，

這回答正在風中吹  
響。

達德利.蘭德爾

(DUDLEY RANDALL)

伯明罕民歌

Ballad of Birmingham

達德利.蘭德爾(1914— )生於華盛頓特區，在韋恩州立大學獲英語專業學士學位，1951 年又在密執安大學獲圖書館學碩士學位。作為底特律布勞德賽德出版社的創辦人和主編，作為美國黑人詩歌的主要出版者，蘭德爾在鼓勵其他黑人詩人的創作上起了重要作用。他編輯了幾部黑人詩歌選集，包括《黑人詩人們》，而且出版了幾部他自己的詩集，包括《燃燒的城市》。1963 年 9 月 15 日，阿拉巴馬州伯明罕市黑人教堂被炸，四個小女孩被炸死。蘭德爾《伯明罕民歌》一詩對這一事件作出反應。那些放置炸彈的人企圖阻止伯明罕反種族隔離的民權運動，而不料兇手們卻起了動員全國輿論支援民權運動的作用。

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>「媽媽，親愛的，我能不能<br/>不在外頭玩耍，<br/>讓我參加今天的自由進軍，<br/>走在伯明罕大街上？」</p> <p>「不，寶貝，你不能去，<br/>因為惡狗兇狠野蠻，<br/>而且警棍、水、手槍和牢房，<br/>一個小孩子不該碰上。」</p> <p>「可是，媽媽，我不會一人<br/>亂闖，<br/>別的孩子將和我回去，<br/>爲了我們國家的自由，<br/>走在伯明罕大街上。」</p> | <p>"Mother, dear, may I go downtown<br/>instead of out to play,<br/>and march the streets of Birmingham<br/>in a freedom march today." "No, baby, no, you<br/>may not go,<br/>for the dogs are fierce and wild,<br/>and clubs and hoses, guns and jails<br/>ain't good for a little child." "But, mother, I<br/>won't go alone.<br/>Other children will go with me,<br/>and march the streets of Birmingham<br/>to make our country free." "No, baby, no, you<br/>may not go,<br/>for I fear those guns will fire.<br/>But you may go to church instead,<br/>and sing in the children's choir."<br/>She has combed and brushed her nightdark<br/>hair,<br/>and bathed rose petal sweet,<br/>and drawn white gloves on her small brown<br/>hands<br/>and white shoes on her feet.<br/>The mother smiled to know her child<br/>was in the sacred place,<br/>but that smile was the last smile<br/>to come upon her face.<br/>For when she heard the explosion,<br/>her eyes grew wet and wild.</p> |
|---|--|

「不，寶貝，你不能去，

因為我怕警察開槍。

但是你可以加入兒童唱詩  
班，

並且去教堂。」

她替女兒梳理烏黑的頭髮，

把她梳洗得像玫瑰一般芳  
香，

棕色的小手戴著白手套，

一雙白鞋穿腳上。

母親面帶微笑，她知道

女兒正在神聖的地方。

She raced through the streets of Birmingham  
calling for her child.

She clawed through bits of glass and brick.  
then lifted out a shoe.

"O, here's the shoe my baby wore,  
but, baby, where are you."

但不幸這笑容卻成了

她臉上最後的微笑。

因為當她聽見爆炸轟響，

淚水湧出眼眶，心急若狂。

她大聲呼喚著女兒，

穿過伯明罕大街小巷。

母親扒開碎磚爛石，

撿起一隻鞋子。

「唉，這是我女兒的鞋子，

可是，寶貝，你在什麼地方。」

貝蒂·弗萊頓(BETTY FRIEDAN)

女性的奧秘 The Feminine Mystique

現在是到了停止侈談什麼在美國已不必為婦女鬥爭的時候了。

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貝蒂·弗萊頓於 1963 年發表的《女性的奧秘》一書幫助發動了現代婦女運動。弗萊頓(1921— )生於伊利諾伊州，1942 年畢業於史密斯學院。《女性的奧秘》問世的時期，正值越來越多的婦女進入勞工隊伍，女性正打進男人控制的行業。該書是為能夠整天呆在家裏當主婦的中產階級或中產階級上層女性寫的，但它對人們如何看待一般婦女問題，對形成婦女利益院外活動集團均起了催化作用。弗萊頓是全美婦女組織的一位創始人，曾領導爭取平等權利修正案這場未獲成功的政治鬥爭。她也是《這改變了我的生活》和《第二階段》這兩本書的作者。

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這問題深埋在美國婦女的心底無人理會已有多年。它是美國婦女在二十世紀中期所感到的奇怪的躁動不安、不滿和渴望。每個城市郊區的婦女獨自同它搏鬥。在她整理床鋪，購買食品，挑選傢俱套布料，與孩子們一塊兒吃花生醬三明治，與幼年男女童子軍開車，或夜晚躺在丈夫身邊的時候，她甚至不敢向自己提出這一內心深處的問題——「這就是我的全部生活嗎。」

整整十五年，在關於婦女或為婦女而寫的專欄、書籍、文章的浩瀚文字中，對這種渴望隻字不提，寫這些文稿的專家們告訴婦女，她們擔任的角色便是盡妻子和母親的義務。婦女們一遍又一遍地聽到傳統的和弗洛伊德玄奧學說的聲音，說她們除了為自己的女子氣質感到榮耀，休想指望更好的命運。專家們教

她們如何追一個男人並保住他，如何給嬰兒餵奶、把尿，如何處理子女之間的爭吵以及他們青春期的反叛行爲；還教她們怎樣買洗碗機，怎樣烤麵包，怎樣煮美味蝸牛，怎樣自己動手建游泳池；還教她們什麼樣的服飾、容貌和舉止才能更加女性化，使婚姻生活更富激情；怎樣照顧丈夫，使他免於早死，怎樣管教兒子，使他們不致淪爲少年罪犯。有人教導她們憐憫那些神經過敏、欠溫柔，不快樂、想當詩人、物理學家或總統的女人。她們懂得了，真正有女子氣質的婦女不想要職業、高等教育、政治權利——舊式的男女平等主義者所奮力追求的獨立和機會。有些四十多歲或五十多歲的婦女對當初放棄這些理想所經歷的痛苦記憶猶新，但年輕婦女中大多數人甚至不再想到它們。千百位專家異口同聲歡呼她們的女子氣質，她們的自我調整和她們的新的成熟。她們所該做的一切便是從少女時代起將一生奉獻給嫁一個男人生兒育女這一任務。……

女性的奧秘說：婦女的最高價值和唯一義務是使她們自身的女性氣質達到完美。它說，西方文化的一大錯誤是在其歷史的大部分時間內低估了這女性氣質。它說，女性氣質是如此神秘和直覺，如此接近生命的創造和本源，以致人類的科學可能永遠無法理解它。然而不論怎樣特殊和不同，女性氣質絕不比男人的本質低下；在某些方面或許更優越。女性的奧秘說：錯誤在於，往昔婦女煩惱的根源在婦女妒忌男人，婦女竭力模仿男人，而不是承認自己的本質，而女性的本質又只有在性關係的被動、男性的支配地位和有親情養育的情況下才能得以實現。……

女性的奧秘的邏輯爲婦女問題的根本性質重下定義。一旦婦女被看作一個具有無限人類潛力的人，與男人平等的人，任何妨礙她充分發揮潛力的東西便成了

應予解決的問題：接受高等教育和參與政治的障礙，在法律或道德方面的歧視和偏見等等。但既然人們只按其性角色看待婦女，對她充分發揮潛力的障礙，妨礙她完全參與社會事務的偏見也就不再成為問題。現在剩下的僅僅是那些干擾她為適應家庭婦女的職責所作調整的問題。於是職業是問題，教育是問題，政治興趣，甚至對婦女智力和個性的承認也成了問題。最後還有一個莫名其妙的問題，即除了洗碗碟、燙衣服、懲罰或表揚子女，還有一種含糊不清的對「其他事情」的渴望。……

倘若一個能幹的美國婦女未將其精力和才能用於某種有意義的事務(它意味著競爭，因為我們社會每項嚴肅的事務中都存在著競爭)，那麼她將把自己的精力浪費在神經病症狀、徒勞無功的訓練或破壞性的「戀愛」上。

現在是到了停止侈談什麼在美國已不必為婦女鬥爭的時候了，是停止侈談什麼婦女的權利已經獲得的時候了。叫姑娘們在進入一個新領域或舊領域時保持沈默以不讓男人們注意到她們的存在，是荒唐可笑的。幾乎在每一個專業性領域，在商業、藝術和科學方面，婦女仍被視作二等公民。勸打算踏進社會工作的姑娘們對這種微妙、令人不舒服的歧視作好精神準備，是一件大好事——叫她們不要沈默，不要希望歧視會消失，而要與之鬥爭。一個女子不該期待因自己性別享受特權，但她也不該去「適應」偏見和歧視。

她必須學會競爭，不是作為一名婦女，而是作為一個人。只有當大批婦女走出邊緣彙入主流時，社會本身才會為她們實現新生活的計劃提供安排。……

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The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night— she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question— "Is this all."

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers. Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity. Experts told them how to catch a man and keep him, how to breastfeed children and handle their toilet training, how to cope with sibling rivalry and adolescent rebellion; how to buy a dishwasher, bake bread, cook gourmet snails, and build a swimming pool with their own hands; how to dress, look, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting; how to keep their husbands from dying young and their sons from growing into delinquents. They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights— the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for. Some women, in their forties and fifties, still remembered painfully giving up those dreams, but most of the younger women no longer even thought about them. A thousand expert voices applauded their femininity, their adjustment, their new maturity. All they had to do was devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children. . . .

The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for



women is the fulfillment of their own femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the undervaluation of this femininity. It says this femininity is so mysterious and intuitive and close to the creation and origin of life that man-made science may never be able to understand it. But however special and different, it is in no way inferior to the nature of man; it may even in certain respects be superior. The mistake, says the mystique, the root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men, women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love. . . .

The logic of the feminine mystique redefined the very nature of woman's problem. When woman was seen as a human being of limitless human potential, equal to man, anything that kept her from realizing her full potential was a problem to be solved: barriers to higher education and political participation, discrimination or prejudice in law or morality. But now that woman is seen only in terms of her sexual role, the barriers to the realization of her full potential, the prejudices which deny her full participation in the world, are no longer problems. The only problems now are those that might disturb her adjustment as a housewife. So career is a problem, education is a problem, political interest, even the very admission of women's intelligence and individuality is a problem. And finally there is the problem that has no name, a vague undefined wish for "something more" than washing dishes, ironing, punishing and praising the children. . . .

If an able American woman does not use her human energy and ability in some meaningful pursuit (which necessarily means competition, for there is competition in every serious pursuit of our society), she will fritter away her energy in neurotic symptoms, or unproductive exercise, or destructive "love."

It . . . is time to stop giving lip service to the idea that there are no battles left to be fought for women in America, that women's rights have already been won. It

is ridiculous to tell girls to keep quiet when they enter a new field, or an old one, so the men will not notice they are there. In almost every professional field, in business and in the arts and sciences, women are still treated as second-class citizens. It would be a great service to tell girls who plan to work in society to expect this subtle, uncomfortable discrimination— tell them not to be quiet, and hope it will go away, but fight it. A girl should not expect special privileges because of her sex, but neither should she "adjust" to prejudice and discrimination.

She must learn to compete then, not as a woman, but as a human being. Not until a great many women move out of the fringes into the mainstream will society itself provide the arrangements for their new life plan. ...

馬爾維納.雷諾爾茲

(MALVINA REYNOLDS)

小 盒 子

Little Boxes

馬爾維納.雷諾爾茲(1900—1978)生於舊金山，就讀於伯克利加州大學，在該校獲學士、碩士和博士學位。她因積極參加左翼政治活動，被列入黑名單，就業遇到困難。在創作政治歌曲的同時，她先後當過裁縫、社會福利工作人員、教員和鋼鐵廠工人。她寫了五百多首歌曲，而且在國內外成為頗有造詣的表演家。她的幾首歌是流行歌曲，包括瓊.比斯 1962 年灌製的《你們對雨幹了什麼.》以及 1963 年皮特.西格灌製的《小盒子》。後者批評了由遍佈市郊的「用廉價材料造的房子」所象徵的整齊劃一、用戶至上主義和政治冷漠。這首歌深受大學生和其他一些人的喜愛，這些人在「用廉價材料造的房子」裏長大，他們想要表明：他們並非「結果完全相同」。

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|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| 山坡上的小盒子，用廉價材料做的小盒子。 | Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky tacky   |
| 山坡上的小盒子，一模一樣的小盒子，   | Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes all the same<br>There's a green one and a pink one and a blue one and a yellow one  |
| 有綠，有紅，有藍，有黃，        | And they're all made out of ticky tacky and they all look just the same. And the people in the houses  |
| 它們全都用廉價材料製成，        | All went to the university,<br>Where they were put in boxes<br>And they came out all the same,<br>And there's doctors and there's lawyers,<br>And business executives,                           |
| 看上去一個樣子。            | And they're all made out of ticky tacky<br>And they all look just the same. And they all play on the golf course<br>And drink their martinis dry,<br>And they all have pretty children           |
| 這些房子裏的人，            | And the children go to school,<br>And the children go to summer camp<br>And then to the university,<br>Where they are put in boxes and they come out all the same. And the boys go into business |
| 在大學他們住在盒子裏，         | and marry and raise a family<br>In boxes made of ticky tacky<br>And they all look just the same.   |
| 結果完全相同。             |  |
| 有的當醫生，有的當律師，        |  |

有的當董事，

他們都用廉價材料製  
成，

看上去一個樣子。

他們都打高爾夫球，

喝無果味馬丁尼酒。

他們都有可愛的孩子，

孩子們上學，

孩子們去夏令營，

然後進大學，

在大學他們住在盒子  
裏，結果完全相同。

小夥子跨入商界，

結婚成家立業，

住在用廉價材料製成  
的盒子裏，

看上去一個樣子。

林頓.B. 約翰遜

(LYNDON B.JOHNSON)

在霍華德大學的演說

Howard University Address

你不能找一個多年鐵鏈鎖腳的人，將他釋放，把他帶到比賽起跑線上然後說：  
「你可以自由地與別人競爭了。」

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當約翰.F·甘迺迪遇刺後，林頓.約翰遜 (1908－1973)任總統。當時最緊迫的國內問題是公民權，而約翰遜成了一位卓有成效的社會立法——他稱其為自己的「大社會」方案——的鼓吹者。國會對他的倡導作出反應，通過了一項重要的民權法令、聯邦援助教育計劃、反貧困方案以及聯邦保護選舉權的規定。

1965 年 6 月 4 日約翰遜在霍華德大學作就職演說，解釋為什麼法律平等仍不足以滿足美國黑人完全參與美國社會事務的願望。約翰遜希望以他對美國人民的健康、教育、福利作出的貢獻流芳百世。但是他的政府陷入越南戰爭的泥潭，那場戰爭耗費了他的精力和全國預算中的很大一筆開支。任總統一屆期滿後，他不再競選下一任總統。

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從許許多多方面看，美國黑人已成為另一個民族，他們被剝奪了自由，被仇恨所折磨，沒有希望跨入機會之門。

在我們的時代，這個國家業已發生變化。美國黑人以感人的克制態度舉行和平抗議和進軍，進入了審判室和政府席位，要求享有長期得不到的公正。黑人的聲音呼喚著行動。但我們應讚頌美國，因為一旦被喚醒，它的法庭和國會，總統和大多數人民都是進步的同盟者。……

選舉權法案將是一系列眾多勝利中最近、最重要的一個勝利。然而這一勝利——正如溫斯頓·邱吉爾談及另一自由的勝利時所說——「不是結束。它甚至不是結束的開端。但它或許是開端的結束。」

這開端便是自由；封鎖這自由的屏障正在倒坍。自由即是完全平等地共同享有美國社會的權利——有權投票、就業、進入公共場所、上學讀書。它是這樣一種權利：在我們國家生活的每一方面被當作在尊嚴和前途上與他人平等的一個人。

但僅僅自由還不夠。你不能講這麼一句話便把幾個世紀的傷疤抹去：現在你可以自由地去自己想去的處方，做自己想做的事情，選自己擁護的領袖了。你不能找一個多年鐵鏈鎖腳的人，將它釋放，把他帶到比賽起跑線上然後說：「你可以自由地與別人競爭了，」而且仍自信你做得完全公平。

因此開啓機會的大門還不夠。我們所有的公民必須有能力走進這些大門。

這是爭取民權的戰鬥下一個，而且是意義更深刻的階段。我們不僅追求自由，

而且追求機會。我們不僅追求法律公平，而且追求人的能力，不僅追求作為權利和理論的平等，而且追求作為事實和結果的平等。……

當然，美國黑人與美國白人一樣已分享我國不斷增長的財富。但嚴酷的事實是，在爭取真正平等的戰鬥中，每天有很多人——太多人——正丟失陣地。

我們並不完全確信已弄明箇中原因。我們明白原因是複雜微妙的。但我們確實知道兩大基本理由，而且我們知道我們必須行動。

第一，黑人——同許多白人一樣——陷於從上一代傳下來的，毫無出路的貧困之中。他們缺乏訓練，缺少技能。他們被封閉在貧民窟中，得不到正規醫療。個人窮困和公眾窮困結合，更削弱了他們的能力。

我們正通過反貧困方案、教育計劃、醫療和其他衛生計劃，以及另外 12 項針對這種貧窮根源的大社會方案，盡力剷除這些不幸。

我們將在未來的歲月中加重、加快、加大對貧困根源的進攻，直到這最頑固的敵人最後向我們頑強不屈的意志投降。

但是還有第二個原因——更難解釋，更加根深蒂固，更加咄咄逼人。它是長期奴隸制度劫掠性的傳統以及一個世紀的壓迫、仇恨和不公。

因為黑人的貧困不是白人的貧困。貧困的許多原因和對策相同。但是存在著差別——深刻的、頑固的差別——把痛苦的根系深深紮入社區，紮入性格。

這些差別不是種族差異。它們僅只是古老的暴行、往昔的不公和當今偏見的

後果。觀察它們是令人痛苦的事。對黑人來說，它們不斷提醒他們記住壓迫。對白人而言，它們不斷提醒他們有罪。但是必須面對它們，必須對付它們，必須克服它們，如果我們要爭取這一天的到來，那時黑人與白人之間唯一的差別在他們的膚色。

我們也不能在其他美國少數民族的經驗中找到圓滿的回答。他們作出了勇敢的、相當成功的努力以衝出貧窮和偏見的樊籬。

黑人同這些少數民族一樣，將不能不主要依靠自己的努力。但是黑人不能單獨行動。因為其他少數民族沒有需要克服的若干世紀的遺產，沒有被經年累月的仇恨與絕望所扭曲和摧殘的文化傳統，也沒有因種族或膚色遭排斥——這種被排斥的感覺是我們社會任何偏見造成的痛苦所無法相比的。

這些差別也不能理解為互相孤立的弱點。它們是一張緊密的網。它們互為因果，相輔相成。

黑人社會多半被埋在歷史和環境的毯子下。只抓起這毯子的一角不是個永久解決辦法。如果我們要解放我們的黑人同胞，我們就必須站在四周掀開整個覆蓋物。……

或許最重要的——其影響遍及生活的各方面——是黑人家庭結構的解體。對於這一點，美國白人社會應負主要責任。它源於若干世紀對美國黑人的壓迫和迫害。它源於經年累月的貶礎與歧視，這損傷了他的尊嚴，削弱了他為自己家庭從事生產的能力。……



家庭是我們社會的基石。家庭比其他力量更多地決定一個孩子的態度、希望、志向和價值觀念的形成。當家庭解體時，往往總是孩子遭殃。當家庭崩潰大規模發生時，社會本身遭到損害。

因此，除非我們努力鞏固家庭，創造使大多數父母白頭偕老的條件，任何其他因素——學校、運動場、公共援助或私人關懷——都不足以完全切斷絕望和喪失的循環。

對所有這些問題沒有一個簡單的答案。就業是部分答案。一份工作的收入使一個人能夠供養家庭。

在良好的環境中的良好住房和求學機會——平等的求學機會——是部分答案。

有利於家庭團聚的福利和制訂得更妥善的社會服務計劃也是部分答案。

照料病人是部分答案。

所有美國人的同情心是答案的另一重要組成部分。

我將把約翰遜政府不斷擴展的努力用於這些戰線及其它許多方面。

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In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation; deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope.

In our time change has come to this nation. The American Negro, acting -with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtrooms and the seats of government, demanding a justice that has long been denied. The voice of the Negro was the call to action. But it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress. . . .

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and among the most important, in a long series of victories. But this victory— as Winston Churchill said of another triumph for freedom— "is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning." That beginning is freedom; and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally, in American society— to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result. . . .

Of course Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance. But the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true

equality too many— far too many— are losing ground every day. We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle. But we do know the two broad basic reasons. And we do know that we have to act.

First, Negroes are trapped— as many whites are trapped— in inherited, gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in, in slums, without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through our poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs, and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack in years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding -will.

But there is a second cause— much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred, and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences— deep, corrosive, obstinate differences— radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

"These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be dealt with and they must be overcome, if we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice.

The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly upon his own efforts. But he just cannot do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded— these others— because of race or color— a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens. . . .

Perhaps most important— its influence radiating to every part of life— is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man. It flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination, which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family. . . .

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, all the rest— schools, and playgrounds, and public

assistance, and private concern— will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation. There it is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn— an equal chance to learn— are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer. Care for the sick is part of the answer.

An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer.

And to all of these fronts— and a dozen more — I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration.

羅道爾佛.岡薩雷斯

(RODOLFO GONZALES)

我是喬昆

I Am Joaquin

六十年代，許多種族團體抵制由熔爐所象徵的同化目標。羅道爾佛.岡薩雷斯(1928— )寫的《我是喬昆》一詩強烈地表現出美籍墨西哥人對文化同化的拒斥。該詩於 1967 年發表，成為奇卡諾政治運動的宣言書。它用很長篇幅對奇卡諾人的歷史作了回顧，將奇卡諾人與他們的阿茲台克和印第安傳統聯繫在一起，用這一歷史支援種族團結。

岡薩雷斯生於丹佛，年輕時當過職業拳擊手和工人，以後開了間街道酒吧。他

積極參與丹佛市民主黨活動，經辦保釋保證書業務，成為六十年代初丹佛市反貧困行動的主席。1966 年岡薩雷斯創建美籍墨西哥人的民權運動組織正義十字軍。

最初岡薩雷斯自己刊印這首詩，散發十萬份。該詩吸引了廣大卡奇諾讀者，遂於 1972 年印成一本書出版。以下系該詩的節錄。

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| 我是喬昆，   | I am Joaquin,                             |
| 失落在混亂的  | Lost in a world of confusion,             |
| 世界裏，    | Caught up in a whirl of a gringo society. |
| 捲入外國佬社  | Confused by the rules,                    |
| 會       | Scorned by attitudes,                     |
| 的漩渦中。   | Suppressed by manipulations,              |
| 被種種規則搞  | And destroyed by modern society           |
| 得暈頭轉向，  | My fathers                                |
| 被人嗤之以鼻， | have lost the economic battle             |
| 被操縱者壓制， | and won                                   |
| 被現代社會摧  | the struggle of cultural survival.        |
| 殘。      | And now!                                  |
| 我的父輩    | I must choose                             |
|         | Between the paradox of                    |
|         | Victory of the spirit,                    |
|         | despite physical hunger                   |
|         | Or  |
|         | to exist in the grasp                     |
|         | of American social neurosis               |
|         | sterilization of the soul                 |
|         | and a full                                |
|         | stomach.....                              |
|         | ..I shed tears of anguish                 |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| 打輸了經濟仗， | as I see my children disappear            |
| 卻贏得     | behind the shroud of mediocrity           |
| 文化生存的鬥  | never to look back to remember me.        |
| 爭。      | I am Joaquin.                             |
| 再看現在！   | I must fight                              |
| 我必須在二者  | And win this struggle                     |
| 之間作出選擇： | for my sons, and they                     |
| 置精神勝利   | must know from me                         |
| 與肉體飢餓   | Who I am.                                 |
| 的相互矛盾於  | Part of the blood that runs deep in me    |
| 不顧，     | Could not be vanquished by the Moors      |
| 或是      | I defeated them after five hundred years, |
| 生活在     | and I endured.                            |
| 美國社會神經  | The part of blood that is mine            |
| 病       | has labored endlessly five-hundred        |
| 的魔掌中    | years under the heel of lustful           |
|         | Europeans                                 |
|         | I am still here!                          |
|         | I have endured in the rugged mountains    |
|         | of our county                             |
|         | I have survived the toils and slavery     |
|         | of the fields.                            |
|         | I have existed                            |
|         | in the barrios of the city,               |
|         | in the suburbs of bigotry,                |
|         | in the mines of social snobbery,          |
|         | in the prisons of dejection,              |
|         | in the muck of exploitation               |
|         | and                                       |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| 靈魂貧瘠，   | in the fierce heat of racial hatred.And now the trumpet sounds |
| 腸胃塞飽。   | The music of the people stirs the                              |
| .....   | Revolution.  |
| .....   | Like a sleeping giant it slowly                                |
| 我流下痛苦的  | rears its head   |
| 眼淚，     | to the sound of  |
| 當我看見自己  | Tramping feet  |
| 的孩子     | Clamouring voices  |
| 消失在平庸的  | Mariachi strains   |
| 幕障後面，   | Fiery tequila explosions                                       |
| 再不記得我，再 | The smell of chile verde and                                   |
| 不回頭看我一  | Soft brown eyes of expectation for a                           |
| 眼。      | better life.   |
| 我是喬昆。   | And in all the fertile farm lands,                             |
| 我必須戰鬥，  | the barren plains,   |
| 為我的兒子們  | the mountain villages,   |
| 贏得這場鬥爭， | smoke smeared cities   |
|         | We start to MOVE.  |
|         | La Raza!   |
|         | Mejicano!  |
|         | Espanol!   |
|         | Latino!  |
|         | Hispano!   |
|         | Chicano!   |
|         | or whatever I call myself,                                     |
|         | I look the same  |
|         | I feel the same  |
|         | I cry  |
|         | and  |



而他們必須從  
我身上認識

我是何人。

在我體內奔流  
的一部分血液

未能被摩爾人  
征服，

我在五百年後  
戰勝了他們，

而且我挺了過  
來。

我的一部分血  
統

在貪婪的歐洲  
人

鐵蹄下，

不停地勞作了

Sing the same

I am the masses of my people and

I refuse to be absorbed.

I am Joaquin

The odds are great

but my spirit is strong

My faith unbreakable

My blood is pure

I am Aztec Prince and Christian Christ

I SHALL ENDURE!

I WILL ENDURE!

五百年，

我仍健在！

在我們國家崎

嶇的山脈

我堅持下來，

我從莊稼地的

苦役中

熬了過來。

我生存在

城市的外圍，

偏執的郊區，

在社會勢利的

深井，

沮喪的牢獄，

剝削的污穢

以及

種族仇恨的炙  
熱中。

而今喇叭吹響，

人民的鼓樂激  
起

革命，

猶如睡著的巨  
人，它緩緩地

抬起頭，

迎著

沈重的腳步聲，

人們的叫喊聲，

墨西哥流浪樂  
隊的樂曲

龍舌蘭酒火一  
般的烈性，

綠色乾辣椒的  
氣味

以及期待改善  
生活的

柔和的褐色眼  
睛。

在所有肥沃的  
農田，

荒蕪的原野，

山區小村，

煙塵污染的城  
市，

我們開始行  
動。

這民族啊！

墨西哥人！

西班牙人！

拉丁人！

講西班牙語的  
美洲人！

奇卡諾人！

不論我把自己  
稱作什麼人，

我面容一樣，

我感覺一樣，

我叫喊的

以及

唱的一樣。

我是我的民族  
的群眾，

我拒絕被同化。

我是喬昆。

力量懸殊，

但我的精神堅

強不屈，

我的信念牢不

可破，

我的血液純潔

無比，

我是阿茲台克

君主和基督教

的耶穌。

我將會堅持下

去！

我一定堅持下

去！

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附註：

- chicano，原為西班牙語，指住在美國的墨西哥男人。
- 阿茲台克人指墨西哥印第安人。

- 指非洲西北部柏柏爾人的後裔。

羅伯特．F．甘迺迪

(ROBERT F.KENNEDY)

反對越南戰爭

Against the War in Vietnam

在戰爭結束時，只會有更多戰死的美國人.....以致他們可以說，正如塔西陀評述羅馬時所說：「他們造成一片沙漠，稱它為和平。」

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羅伯特.F.甘迺迪(1925－1968)在他的哥哥約翰.F.甘迺迪總統的內閣中任司法部長。1964 年羅伯特.甘迺迪從紐約州被選為參議員，成為越南戰爭的一個重要的批評者和自由主義民主黨人的代言人。1968 年 3 月 16 日他宣佈自己的民主黨提名總統候選人身份，兩天後對美國的越南政策進行尖銳的抨擊。兩星期後，林頓.約翰遜總統宣佈他不再參加競選。

1965 年約翰遜總統使美國對戰爭的捲入升級成了美國生活中最引起爭議的問題。到 1968 年，在越南已有五十萬美軍。這場戰爭釀成一場憤怒的反戰運動，損害了公眾對政府、軍隊和其他國家機構的信任。1975 年美國從越南撤出最後一批戰鬥人員以後很長時間，那場戰爭的陰影仍繼續影響大眾文化和國家政治。

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……這是選擇之年——在這一年我們不單選擇我們由誰來領導，而且選擇我們願意被引向何方；選擇我們自己想要的國家，以及我們爲自己的子孫所要的國家。如果在這選擇之年我們按舊幻想塑造新政治，那麼我們只能擔保爲自己的未來帶來危機——而且我們將把這些危機的慘痛結果遺贈給子孫。……

今天，我要對你們談談……越南戰爭。我來這裏……是爲了同你們討論爲什麼我認爲我們的有關政策破產了。……

我不想——我相信大多數美國人也不想——出賣美國利益，簡單地撤出軍隊，舉起白旗投降。那樣做對我們作爲一個國家和一個民族都是無法接受的。但我擔心——我相信大多數美國人亦擔心——我們目前遵循的方針犯了嚴重錯誤。我擔心——我相信大多數美國人也擔心——我們正在反對中立國和我們歷史上的盟國的判斷和願望，彷彿其他國家概不存在似的。我擔心——我相信大多數美國人也擔心——我們目前的方針將不會帶來勝利，不會帶來和平，不會制止流血，不會增進美國的利益或世界和平事業。

我擔心，在戰爭結束時，只會有更多戰死的美國人，我們更多的財富被耗費；而且因爲戰爭雙方的痛苦和仇恨，又有千千萬萬越南人遭殺戮；以致他們可以說，正如塔西陀評述羅馬時所說：「他們造成一片沙漠，稱它稱爲和平。」

而我認爲這並不真正是美國精神的全部含義。

讓我以個人和公職的雙重身份開始這一討論。我曾參與制訂許多對越南問題的早期決定，正是那些決定導致我們走上現在這條道路。很可能我們在越南問題



上的努力一開始便注定要失敗；從來就不可能真正把南越全體人民置於我們所支援的歷屆政府統治下——南越的一任又一任政府被腐敗、低效和貪婪所困擾，沒有也無法吸引和激發人民的民族情感。如果情況確是如此，我願在歷史和我的同胞們面前承擔自己的一份責任。但過去的錯誤不能成為它永遠存在的藉口。悲劇是活著的人賴以取得教訓的工具，不是指引生活的嚮導。讓我們一如既往地用古老的檢驗標準衡量自身，以對自己作出公正的評價。如索福克勒斯的《安提戈涅》一劇所言：「人人都犯錯誤，但一個好人知錯就改，並盡力彌補過失。世上唯一的罪惡是驕傲。」

最近幾個月的退卻迫使軍方要求增加二十萬六千兵員。本週末，已宣佈說其中的一部分——被稱為「適度」的增援——將很快派出。然而這不正是我們過去幹過的事嗎。假如我仔細回顧這場衝突的歷史，我們會發現這可悲的故事一再重覆。每一次——每當危機發生——我們總是否認出了差錯；增派部隊；發表更為自信的公報。每一次我們總是得到保證，稱這一最後步驟將帶來勝利。而每一次，預言和許諾總是落空、被人遺忘，於是又提出在梯子上再爬高一級的要求。

但是所有的軍事升級，所有的最後步驟，都並未比以前的行動把我們帶到離勝利更近一點的地方。相反，戰鬥規模越大，南越政府越是無力組織和保衛自身，而我們則越來越馱起戰爭的全部負擔。

而總統又一次對我們說，正如我們二十年來反覆聽到的，「我們即將獲勝」；「勝利」在望。

但是真實情況怎樣.我們當前形勢如何.……

我們綏靖行動的意義過去一貫被描寫為「深得人心。」我們認識到，向農村提供抵禦越共的軍事防衛將是枉費心機，而且實際上也不可能，除非農村人民視自己的利益與我們的利益相同，不去援助越共，而是幫助西貢政府。為此，我們認識到他們的思想必須加以改變——他們的自然傾向是支援越共，或至少消極觀望，而不是為外國白種人或遙遠的西貢政府流血犧牲。

正是這種綏靖工作上個月遭到嚴重挫折。我們無法改變村莊裏受敵人控制的人民的思想。……如果多年來這些村子由西貢掌管，政府帶來誠實、社會改變、土地——如果它這麼做，如果對人民關於新的、更好的生活的很多許諾均已兌現——那麼，在再佔領的過程中，我們便可作為解放者出現：正如我們1944—1945 年間在歐洲所做的，儘管當時戰爭造成巨大破壞。但是在南越，改革的許諾並未履行。貪污腐化和濫用職權的現象至今猶存。土地改革從來就只是一句空洞的諾言。目睹西貢政府過去三年的所作所為，南越農民沒有理由為這一政權的擴展而戰鬥，沒有理由不把這種努力進一步造成的破壞看作災難。……

過去兩個月的第二個明顯的事實是，西貢政府已不再是比以前更好的盟友；它甚至可能變得更糟了；這場戰爭正無情地越來越成為美國的事。……事實是，數以千計的南越青年花錢買到緩服兵役的特權，而美國海軍陸戰隊士兵卻戰死在溪山。

事實是，西貢政府已逮捕了僧侶和勞工領袖，逮捕了原總統候選人和政府官員

——包括維護國家委員會的若干著名成員。僅僅幾週前美國官員還在這些人身上寄予厚望。

同時，西貢政府的腐敗愈演愈烈，正在削弱南越並損害我們援助其人民的努力。……

第三，這一點變得日益明顯：我們取得的勝利將以對我們一度曾希望扶助的國家的破壞為代價。……

一位美國指揮員在談及檳知市時這麼說：「爲了救這座城鎮，有必要毀了它。」當美軍指揮員們決定用空襲和炮火拯救他們的士兵生命時，很難與他們爭論是非；如果美國部隊是爲越南的城市而戰，那麼他們理應得到保護。我無法弄懂的只是，爲什麼重佔順化、檳知和其他城市以及隨之造成的破壞，其責任竟首先落在美軍身上。

如果共產黨起義者或侵略者們佔領紐約、華盛頓或舊金山，我們不會讓外國人去收復它們並且在此過程中毀了這些城市及其居民。……

倘若西貢政府的部隊不願或無力爲他們的城市戰鬥，我們也不能毀了他們。那種救世之道不是我們設想自己能爲它們做出的行動。因爲我們必須問美國政府，問我們自己：這種邏輯推演到哪一步才是終結。如果有「必要」爲了「拯救」南越而毀滅整個南越，我們也會這樣做嗎。如果我們對南越漠不關心，樂意看到其國土被毀，人民被殺，那麼我們當初爲什麼要去那裏。

難道我們能自授上帝莊嚴的權力——決定哪些城市村莊該被摧毀，決定人們

的生死，決定哪些人將加入難民的行列，在我們創造的沙漠中流浪。……

我們且不要誤解。對這場戰爭不可能有任何簡單的道義上的答案，不能單方面譴責美國的行動。我們應當捫心自問的是：我們是否有權給另一個國家造成如此嚴重的破壞，而手頭又無清晰可信的證據說明這種破壞乃是它的人民的要求，而這恰恰是我們所欠缺的證據。他們要求和平，不受任何外部勢力左右的和平。這正是我們擔保要盡力帶給他們的，而且不是在遙遠的未來，是在殘存的些許生命亟待從大屠殺中得到拯救的時刻。

第四個事實現在比以往任何時候更明瞭，即越南戰爭根本就不是對美國最後的嚴峻考驗，實際上它削弱了我們在亞洲、在世界的地位，侵蝕了在過去三十年間直接支撐我國安全的國際合作結構。……我們最初是要證明我們在世界任何一個地方承擔義務的意願。可是我們正在證明，美國人民已不可能再自願投入這種鬥爭。與此同時，我國最老、最強的那些盟國撤回到自己的海岸，只剩下我們獨自在全亞洲充當警察。……

我們有權質問，人們要求我們質問：還需多少兵員、多少生命、多少破壞來取得永遠即將來臨的勝利，填入我們夢的無底深淵。

但是對這一問題美國政府不回答也無法作出回答。它沒有答案——除了在一場以往靠軍事力量已不能解決任何問題的衝突中不斷增派兵力，利用更多的我國英勇士兵們的生命。

人們早就該質問：這場戰爭正給我們帶來什麼後果。當然，它使我們耗費金錢——占聯邦預算的整整四分之一。但這只是我們付出的最小代價。真正的代價

是我們的小夥子，他們有數萬人永遠失去了生命。真正的代價是我們的國際地位——對於中立國和盟國都是如此，它們對一個自己無法理解的政策日漸感到困惑和疏遠。

我們付出的更大代價在於我們的內心生活，在於我們國家的精神受到的損害。在一百年中，我們第一次公開反對為國家的事業作出奉獻。或許在我國歷史上第一次在我們的軍隊中出現了由政治和道義上的原因造成的開小差行為。我們的報紙頭版刊登美國士兵虐待俘虜的照片。每天夜裏我們在晚間新聞中都看到恐怖事件。暴力行動在全國無情地蔓延，騷擾街道，危害我們的生活。不論我們付出什麼代價，讓我們想想派往越南的年輕人：不僅是那些被殺死的，而且還有那些不得不去殺人的人；不僅是那些殘廢的，而且還有那些不得不目睹他們所作所為造成的後果的人。……

這戰爭目前的發展向我們或是向越南人民索取的代價遠遠超過了我們有理由希望從中得到的任何好處。這場戰爭必須也能夠結束，只須怒火滿腔，相信唯有自己才正確的雙方勇士停止互毆，達致和平。我們已向不同的神作了祈禱，而雙方的祈禱均未獲完全的應答。現在雖然仍有時間等待一些祈禱得到部分應答，卻是停止祈禱的時候了。

事實上可做的事很多。我們能夠——正如我兩年來一直催促，而我們始終未做的——與民族解放陣線談判。我們能夠——我們從未這麼做——確保護民族解放陣線在南越政治生活中切實佔有一席之地。我們能夠——我們今天仍拒絕這麼做——開始讓戰爭降級，集中保衛居民區，以減少美軍傷亡，減緩對農村的

破壞。我們能夠——我們從未這麼做——堅持要求南越政府擴大其基礎，實行名副其實的改革，與他們的同胞共同尋求體面的解決辦法。……

但只要我們的現任領導懷著軍事勝利在即的幻想，在我們目前方針的泥淖中越陷越深，那麼即令這一適度而合理的方案也不可能付諸實行。……

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附註：

- 塔西陀 (西元 55—120)，羅馬歷史學家。

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. . . This is a year of choice—a year when we choose not simply who will lead us, but where we wish to be led; the country we want for ourselves—and the kind we want for our children. If in this year of choice we fashion new politics out of old illusions, we insure for ourselves nothing but crisis for the future—and we bequeath to our children the bitter harvest of those crises. . . .

Today I would speak to you . . . of the war in Vietnam. I come here . . . to discuss with you why I regard our policy here as bankrupt. . .

I do not want—as I believe most Americans do not want—to sell out American interests, to simply withdraw, to raise the white flag of surrender. That would be unacceptable to us as a country and as a people. But I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that the course we are following at the present time is deeply wrong. I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that we are acting as if no other nations existed,

against the judgment and desires of neutrals and our historic allies alike. I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that our present course will not bring victory; will not bring peace; will not stop the bloodshed; and will not advance the interests of the United States or the cause of peace in the world.

I am concerned that, at the end of it all, there will only be more Americans killed; more of our treasure spilled out; and because of the bitter-ness and hatred on every side of this war, more hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese slaughtered; so that they may say, as Tacitus said of Rome: "They made a desert, and called it peace."

And I do not think that is what the American spirit is really all about.

Let me begin this discussion with a note both personal and public. I was involved in many of the early decisions on Vietnam, decisions which helped set us on our present path. It may be that the effort was doomed from the start; that it was never really possible to bring all the people of South Vietnam under the rule of the successive governments we supported—governments, one after another, riddled with corruption, inefficiency, and greed; governments which did not and could not successfully capture and energize the national feeling of their people. If that is the case, as it well maybe, then I am willing to bear my share of the responsibility, before history and before my fellow-citizens. But past error is no excuse for its own perpetuation. Tragedy is a tool for the living to gain wisdom, not a guide by which to live. Now as ever, we do ourselves best justice when we measure ourselves against ancient tests, as in the *Antigone* of Sophocles: "All men make mistakes, but a good man yields when he knows his course is wrong, and repairs

the evil. The only sin is pride."

The reversals of the last several months have led our military to ask for 206,000 more troops. This weekend, it was announced that some of them—a "moderate" increase, it was said—would soon be sent. But isn't this exactly what we have always done in the past. If we examine the history of this conflict, we find the dismal story repeated time after time. Every time—at every crisis—we have denied that anything was wrong; sent more troops; and issued more confident communiques. Every time, we have been assured that this one last step would bring victory. And every time, the predictions and promises have failed and been forgotten, and the demand has been made again for just one more step up the ladder.

But all the escalations, all the last steps, have brought us no closer to success than we were before. Rather, as the scale of the fighting has increased, South Vietnamese society has become less and less capable of organizing or defending itself, and we have more and more assumed the whole burden of the war.

And once again, the President tells us, as we have been told for twenty years, that "we are going to win;" "victory" is coming.

But what are the true facts. What is our present situation....

The point of our pacification operations was always described as "winning the hearts and minds" of the people. We recognized that giving the countryside military security against the Viet Cong would be futile—indeed that it would be impossible—unless the people of the countryside themselves came to identify their interests with ours, and to assist not the Viet Cong, but the Saigon government. For this we recognized that their minds would have to be changed—that their natural inclination would be to support the Viet Cong,



or at best remain passive, rather than sacrifice for foreign white men, or the remote Saigon government.

It is this effort that has been most gravely setback in the last month. We cannot change the minds of the people in villages controlled by the enemy. . . . If, in the years those villages and hamlets were controlled by Saigon, the government had brought honesty, social reform, land—if that had happened, if the many promises of a new and better life for the people had been fulfilled—then, in the process of reconquest, we might appear as liberators: just as we did in Europe, despite the devastation of war, in 1944—45. But the promises of reform were not kept. Corruption and abuse of administrative power have continued to this day. Land reform has never been more than an empty promise. Viewing the performance of the Saigon government over the last three years, there is no reason for the South Vietnamese peasant to fight for the extension of its authority or to view the further devastation that effort will bring as anything but a calamity. . . .

The second evident fact of the last two months is that the Saigon government is no more or better an ally than it was before; that it may even be less; and that the war inexorably is growing more, not less, an American effort. . . . The facts are that thousands of young South Vietnamese buy their deferments from military service while American Marines die at Khe Sanh.

The facts are that the government has arrested monks and labor leaders, former Presidential candidates and government officials—including prominent members of the Committee for the Preservation of the Nation, in which American officials placed such high hopes just a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile, the government's enormous corruption continues, debilitating South Vietnam and crippling our effort to help its people. . . .

Third, it is becoming more evident with every passing day that the victories we achieve will only come at the cost of destruction for the nation we once hoped to help. . . .

An American commander said of the town of Ben Tre, "it became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it." It is difficult to quarrel with the decision of American commanders to use air power and artillery to save the lives of their men; if American troops are to fight for Vietnamese cities, they deserve protection. What I cannot understand is why the responsibility for the recapture and attendant destruction of Hue, and Ben Tre and the others, should fall to American troops in the first place.

If Communist insurgents or invaders held New York or Washington or San Francisco, we would not leave it to foreigners to take them back, and destroy them and their people in the process....

If the government's troops will not or cannot carry the fight for their cities, we cannot our-selves destroy them. That kind of salvation is not an act we can presume to perform for them. For we must ask our government—we must ask our-selves: where does such logic end. If it becomes "necessary" to destroy all of South Vietnam in order to "save" it, will we do that too. And if we care so little about South Vietnam that we are willing to see the land destroyed and its people dead, then why are we there in the first place.

Can we ordain to ourselves the awful majesty of God—to decide

what cities and villages are to be destroyed, who will live and who will die, and who will join the refugees wandering in a desert of our own creation. . . .

Let us have no misunderstanding. The Viet Cong are a brutal enemy indeed. Time and time again, they have shown their willingness to sacrifice innocent civilians, to engage in torture and murder and despicable terror to achieve their ends. This is a war almost without rules or quarter. There can be no easy moral answer to this war, no one-sided condemnation of American actions. What we must ask ourselves is whether we have a right to bring so much destruction to another land, without clear and convincing evidence that this is what its people want. But that is precisely the evidence we do not have. What they want is peace, not dominated by any out-side forces. And that is what we are really committed to help bring them, not in some indefinite future, but while some scraps of life remain still to be saved from the holocaust.

The fourth fact that is now more clear than ever is that the war in Vietnam, far from being the last critical test for the United States is in fact weakening our position in Asia and around the world, and eroding the structure of international cooperation which has directly supported our security for the past three decades. . . . We set out to prove our willingness to keep our commitments everywhere in the world. What we are ensuring instead is that it is most unlikely that the American people would ever again be willing to . . . engage in this kind of struggle. Meanwhile our oldest and strongest allies pullback to their own shores, leaving us alone to police all of Asia. . . .

We are entitled to ask—we are required to ask—how many more men, how many more lives, how much more destruction will be

asked, to provide the military victory that is always just around the corner, to pour into this bottomless pit of our dreams. But this question the Administration does not and cannot answer. It has no answer—none but the ever-expanding use of military force and the lives of our brave soldiers, in a conflict where military force has failed to solve anything in the past. . . .

It is long past time to ask: what is this war doing to us. Of course it is costing us money—fully one-fourth of our federal budget—but that is the smallest price we pay. The cost is in our young men, the tens of thousands of their lives cut off forever. The cost is in our world position—in neutrals and allies alike, every day more baffled by and estranged from a policy they can-not understand.

Higher yet is the price we pay in our inner-most lives, and in the spirit of our country. For the first time in a century, we have open resistance to service in the cause of the nation. For the first time perhaps in our history, we have desertions from our army on political and moral grounds. The front pages of our newspapers show photographs of American soldiers torturing prisoners. Every night we watch horror on the evening news. Violence spreads inexorably across the nation, filling our streets and crippling our lives. And whatever the costs to us, let us think of the young men we have sent there: not just the killed, but those who have to kill; not just the maimed, but also those who must look upon the results of what they do. . . .

The costs of the war's present course far out-weigh anything we can reasonably hope to gain by it, for ourselves or for the people of Vietnam. It must be ended, and it can be ended, in a peace of brave men who have fought each other with a terrible fury, each believing that he alone was in the right. We have prayed to different gods,

and the prayers of neither have been answered fully. Now, while there is still time for some of them to be partly answered, now is the time to stop.

And the fact is that much can be done. We can—as I have urged for two years, but as we have never done—negotiate with the National Liberation Front. We can—as we have never done—assure the Front a genuine place in the political life of South Vietnam. We can—as we are refusing to do today—begin to deescalate the war, concentrate on protecting populated areas, and thus save American lives and slowdown the destruction of the countryside. We can—as we have never done—insist that the Government of South Vietnam broaden its base, institute real reforms, and seek an honorable settlement with their fellow countrymen. . . .

Even this modest and reasonable program is impossible while our present leadership, under the illusion that military victory is just ahead, plunges deeper into the swamp that is our present course....

羅伯特.F.甘迺迪

(ROBERT F. KENNEDY)

關於小馬丁.路德.金之死

On the Death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

我們需要的……不是分裂……不是仇恨……不是非暴力行動……而是愛和明智，互相同情。

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1968 年 4 月 4 日，小馬丁.路德.金博士在孟菲斯遇刺。那天晚上，羅伯特.

甘迺迪預定要在印地安那波利斯市一個貧窮的黑人區爲他爭取民主黨總統候選人提名的競選運動發表演說。警察告誡甘迺迪當晚不宜去演講，因爲他們不能保證他的安全。當他到達那個地區時，他發現聽眾尙未聽說金的遇害。他當晚的即席講話回顧了一名狙擊手的子彈奪去他兄弟的生命後他個人的巨創深痛。

三個月後，1968年6月4日，甘迺迪慶祝在重要的加州初選中旗開得勝。那天晚上他在洛杉磯大使飯店向他的擁護者們演說時，似乎正邁向民主黨提名的目標。羅伯特·甘迺迪穿過一間廚房的過道離開飯店，被一名心懷怨恨的巴勒斯坦移民開槍擊中，兩天後死去。

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我有一則不幸的消息要告訴你們，告訴我們全體同胞，告訴全世界愛好和平的人民，那就是馬丁·路德·金遇刺身亡。

馬丁·路德·金爲他的同胞們把自己的一生獻給愛，獻給正義，他因爲作出這種努力被害。

在這艱難的一天，在這對美國而言艱難的時刻，問一問我們是怎樣一個民族，我們要走向何方，或許不無裨益。對於你們中的黑人——考慮到現場的證據，顯然白人須對金的遇刺負責——你們可能義憤填膺，滿腔仇恨，亟欲復仇。我們作爲一個國家可能朝那個方向走，即兩極分化——黑人和白人互相隔絕，互相仇視。

或者我們能夠，正如馬丁·路德·金所做的，互相理解，用同一種以愛心和同情去理解的努力取代那種暴力行爲，取代已染遍我們國土的斑斑血跡。

對於你們中那些由這一非正義行動導致對全體白人充滿仇恨和懷疑的黑人，我只能說我內心懷著同樣的情感。我有一位家庭成員被害，但他是被一個白人殺害的。然而我們必須做出努力，必須在美國作出努力，我們必須努力去理解，努力度過這十分艱難的時期。

我最喜愛的詩人是埃斯庫羅斯。他寫道：「在我們的睡夢中，不能忘懷的痛苦一點一滴地落在心頭，直到我們在自己的絕望中，明智違背我們的意願受上帝莊嚴的感召來臨。」

在美國我們需要的不是分裂；在美國我們需要的不是仇恨；在美國我們需要的不是非暴力行動或無法無天，而是愛和明智，互相同情，以及對那些仍在我國受苦受難的白人或黑人的正義的感情。

所以今晚我將請求你們回家為馬丁·路德·金的家人祈禱，理應如此，但更重要的是為我們自己的國家，為我們大家熱愛的國家祈禱——為理解和我方才提到的同情祈禱。

我們在這個國家能夠做得很好。我們將會有艱難的時期。我們以前曾有過艱難的時期。我們將來還會有艱難的時期。這不是暴力的結束；這不是非法行為的結束；這不是混亂的結束。

但是這個國家白人的大多數和黑人的大多數要求共同生活，要求改善我們的生活水平，要求對這片國土上的全體居民給予公正。

讓我們為實現希臘人多少年前寫下的這句箴言獻出全部力量：馴服人的野性，

使這個世界的生活變得溫和宜人。

讓我們為此獻出一切，並且為我們的國家和我們的人民祈禱。

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附註：

- 埃斯庫羅斯：埃斯庫羅斯(西元前 525—456)，古希臘著名詩劇作家。
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I have bad news for you, for all of our fellow citizens, and people who love peace all over the world, and that is that Martin Luther King was shot and killed tonight.

Martin Luther King dedicated his life to love and to justice for his fellow human beings, and he died because of that effort.

In this difficult day, in this difficult time for the United States, it is perhaps well to ask what kind of a nation we are and what direction we want to move in. For those of you who are black—considering the evidence there evidently is that there were white people who were responsible—you can be filled with bitterness, with hatred, and a desire for revenge. We can move in that direction as a country, in great polarization—black people amongst black, white people amongst white, filled with hatred toward one another.

Or we can make an effort, as Martin Luther King did, to understand and to comprehend, and to replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand with compassion and love.



For those of you who are black and are tempted to be filled with hatred and distrust at the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I can only say that I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man. But we have to make an effort in the United States, we have to make an effort to understand, to go beyond these rather difficult times.

My favorite poet was Aeschylus. He wrote: "In our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice towards those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or they be black.

So I shall ask you tonight to return home, to say a prayer for the family of Martin Luther King, that's true, but more importantly to say a prayer for our own country, which all of us love—a prayer for understanding and that compassion of which I spoke.

We can do well in this country. We will have difficult times. We've had difficult times in the past. We will have difficult times in the future. It is not the end of violence; it is not the end of lawlessness; it is not the end of disorder.

But the vast majority of white people and the vast majority of black people in this country want to live together, want to improve the quality of our life, and want justice for all human beings who

abide in our land.

Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and to make gentle the life of this world.

Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people.

阿貝拉多.德爾嘎多

(ABELARDO DELGADO)

愚蠢的美國

Stupid America

阿貝拉多.德爾嘎多 (1931— )生於墨西哥奇瓦瓦。1943 年他隨母親移民美國，住在德克薩斯州的埃爾帕索，上公立學校，進德克薩斯大學學習。他是六十年代末七十年代初芝加哥政治運動的主要作家之一。德爾嘎多的詩作均以「阿貝拉多」署名，他出版了很多部詩集。《愚蠢的美國》一詩收入 1969 年出版的他的第一部詩集《奇卡諾：一股奇卡諾風的二十五篇章》。

愚蠢的美國，看那奇卡諾人

用他堅定的手

拿著一把利刀

他不是要刺你

Stupid america, see that chicano

with a big knife

in his steady hand

he doesn't want to knife you

he wants to sit on a bench

and carve christfigures

but you won't let him.

stupid america, hear that chicano

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 只是想坐在凳子上      | shouting curses on the street           |
| 雕刻基督的形象       | he is a poet                            |
| 可是你卻不讓。       | without paper and pencil                |
|               | and since he cannot write               |
|               | he will explode.                        |
| 愚蠢的美國，聽那奇卡諾人  | stupid america, remember that chicanito |
|               | flunking math and English               |
| 在街頭大聲咒罵       | he is the Picasso                       |
|               | of your western states                  |
| 他是詩人          | but he will die                         |
|               | with one thousand masterpieces          |
| 卻沒有紙筆         | hanging only from his mind.             |
|               |   |
| 既然無法寫作        |   |
|               |   |
| 他將爆炸。         |   |
|               |   |
| 愚蠢的美國，記住那奇卡諾人 |   |
|               |   |
| 數學和英語考不及格     |   |
|               |   |
| 他是個你西部各州的     |   |
|               |   |
| 畢卡索           |   |
|               |   |
| 但是他死的時候       |   |
|               |   |
| 那千百件藝術傑作      |   |

只在他頭腦中懸掛。

華萊士.斯泰格納

(WALLACE STEGNER)

### 保留自然環境的想法

#### The Wilderness Idea

我們作為一個民族將會永遠失去某種東西，如果我們讓現存的自然保護區被毀。

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華萊士.斯泰格納(1909— )生於洛瓦，畢業於猶他大學。他是個多產作家，寫了多部小說及各種各樣的非虛構作品。他的小說曾榮獲普利茲獎和全國圖書獎。他的非虛構作品包括幾部反映他對自然和西部的熱愛的書(《這是恐龍》、《狼柳》和《山水聲》)。《保留自然環境的想法》一文取自《山水聲》(1969)。

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……我想要為之辯護的是……保留自然環境的想法，它本身便是一種資源。作為一種無形的、精神的資源，它對注重實際的人似乎顯得十分神秘——不過任何用推土機無法移動的東西對他們都可能顯得難以理解。

我想為保留自然環境的想法辯護，該想法有助於我們性格的形成，當然它塑造了我們作為一個民族的歷史。……

我們作為一個民族將會永遠失去某種東西，如果我們讓現存的自然保護區被毀；如果讓最後的原始森林變成一堆連環畫冊和塑膠煙盒；如果我們把野生動

物所剩無幾的種類驅入動物園或使其滅絕；如果我們污染最後的潔淨空氣，玷污最後的清澈溪流，把我們的公路鋪設到最後的寧靜區域。以致美國人在自己的國家裏將再也躲不開噪音、廢氣、人的體臭和機動車廢棄物。這樣，我們就再也沒有機會讓自己在世界上悠然獨處，成為由樹木、岩石、泥土組成的環境的一部分，成為其他動物的兄弟，成為自然界的一部分而且有資格屬於大自然。失去了剩餘的自然保護區，我們將無以稍作思考、休息片刻，勢必一頭鑽進我們機械的、白蟻般的生活，徹底投入「美妙的新世界」即完全由人控制的環境。我們需要保存自然保護區——所有現存的各種各樣的自然保護區，因為我們作為一個民族的特性正是迎著這一挑戰形成的。能提醒我們並證實自然保護區仍然存在有益於我們的精神健康，即使我們在十年中從未涉足其間。當我們年輕時，它對我們有益，因為它能通過假期和休養將短暫的清醒帶入我們瘋狂的生活。當我們年邁時，它對我們十分重要，僅只因為它的存在——也就是說，僅僅作為想法就很重要。

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附註：

- 《美妙的新世界》：《美妙的新世界》系英國作家 A.赫胥黎所著空想諷刺小說的書名，該書以悲觀主義態度描述汽車大王福特之後第七世紀假想的世界國家。
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. . . What I want to speak for is. . . the wilderness idea, which is a resource in itself. Being an intangible and spiritual resource, it will seem mystical to the practical-minded—but then anything that

cannot be moved by a bulldozer is likely to seem mystical to them.

I want to speak for the wilderness idea as something that has helped form our character and that has certainly shaped our history as a people....

Something will have gone out of us as a people if we ever let the remaining wilderness be destroyed; if we permit the last virgin forests to be turned into comic books and plastic cigarette cases; if we drive the few remaining members of the wild species into zoos or to extinction; if we pollute the last clear air and dirty the last clean streams and push our paved roads through the last of the silence, so that never again will Americans be free in their own country from the noise, the exhausts, the stink of human and automotive waste. And so that never again can we have the chance to see ourselves single, separate, vertical and individual in the world, part of the environment of trees and rocks and soil, brother to the other animals, part of the natural world and competent to belong in it. Without any remaining wilderness we are committed wholly, without chance for even momentary reflection and rest, to a headlong drive into our technological termite-life, the Brave New World of a completely man-controlled environment. We need wilderness preserved—as much of it as is still left, and as many kinds—because it was the challenge against which our character as a people was formed. The reminder and the reassurance that it is still there is good for our spiritual health even if we never once in ten years set foot in it. It is good for us when we are young, because of the incomparable sanity it can bring briefly, as vacation and rest. into our in-sane lives. It is important to us when we are old simply because it is there—important, that is, simply as idea.

羅娜.迪.塞萬提斯

( LORNA DEE CERVANTES)

## 難 民 船

### Refugee Ship

羅娜.迪.塞萬提斯(1954— )生於舊金山有很多西班牙人居住的地區。她在加州聖何塞長大。少女時期，她酷愛英國浪漫主義詩人，尤其是拜倫、濟慈和雪萊。她最早的詩作發表在她的中學的報紙上。1974 年當她二十歲時，曾在墨西哥城的一場劇院演出中朗誦《難民船》一詩，以後該詩刊登於當地一家報紙。這首詩描述喪失了文化根基卻又無法與美國文化認同的移民的窘境。1974 年，塞萬提斯創辦一個文學刊物《芒果樹》以發表奇卡諾作家的作品。

《難民船》刊載於塞萬提斯 1981 年出版的詩集《逃亡》。

就像濕玉米粉

我在我祖母眼前溜過

《聖經》在她身邊

當她摘下眼鏡

布丁變得模糊不清

like wet cornstarch

I slide past *mi abuelita's* eyes

bible placed by her side

she removes her glasses

the pudding thickens

*mama* raised me with no language

I am an orphan to my Spanish name

the words are foreign, stumbling on  
my tongue

I stare at my reflection in the mirror  
brown skin, black hair

I feel I am a captive

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>媽媽不用任何語言將我帶大</p> <p>我是自己西班牙語姓名的孤兒</p> <p>這幾個是外國單詞，在我口中結結巴巴</p> <p>我端詳著鏡子裏的自己</p> <p>褐色皮膚，黑色頭髮</p> <p>我覺得我是個俘虜</p> <p>乘坐在難民船上</p> <p>一艘永不停靠碼頭的船</p> <p>一艘永不停靠碼頭的船</p> | <p>aboard the refugee ship</p> <p>a ship that will never dock</p> <p>a ship that will never dock</p> |
|---|--|

朱迪.格倫

(JUDY GRAHN)

內玎坐在她鄰居的門戶階上休息



## Nadine, Resting on the Her Neighbor's Stoop

朱迪.格倫(1940— )生於芝加哥。她在新墨西哥州長大，畢業於舊金山州立大學。1970年朱迪.格倫與別人共同創辦了第一家婦女出版社。她創作了幾部詩集，編輯出版了若干本短篇小說集。

以下這首詩刊載於《一個普通婦女的工作》(1978)一書。

她把東西聚攏，募集保釋金，

讓房東修補最大的漏洞。

在星期日聯歡會上，她給每一杯飲料

加入烈酒，而且向你講她的一半知識

傾訴不停。她攻擊城市的廢墟

就像一輛坦克；而她認為

自己是把粗齒鋸

割斷木頭的節瘤。她的語句

如一根根粗松木柄

She holds things together, collects bail,  
makes the landlord patch the largest  
holes.

At the Sunday social she would spike  
every drink, and offer you half of what  
she

knows,  
which is plenty. She pokes at the ruins  
of the  
city

like an armored tank; but she thinks  
of herself as a rip saw cutting through  
knots in wood. Her sentences come out  
like thick pine shanks

and her big hands fill the air like  
smoke.

She's a mud-chinked cabin in the slums,  
sitting on the doorstep counting  
rats and raising 15 children,  
half of them her own. The

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>而她的一雙大手像濃煙瀰漫空中，</p> <p>她是貧民窟一間小屋，用泥巴堵塞了裂縫，</p> <p>坐在門前的石階上數耗子</p> <p>養育十五個孩子，</p> <p>一半由她親生。這街道沒了她</p> <p>會失火燒成焦土；</p> <p>最近她自己將擊打出火花。</p> <p>她由油脂</p> <p>和金屬製成，頭顱堅硬</p> <p>使她周圍的男人顯得脆弱。</p> <p>這普通的婦女平常得如同一根鐵釘。</p> | <p>neighborhood</p> <p>would burn itself out without her:</p> <p>one of these days she'll strike the spark herself.</p> <p>She's made of grease</p> <p>and metal, with a hard head</p> <p>that makes the men around her seem frail.</p> <p>The common woman is as common as a nail.</p> |
| <p>艾莉斯.沃克</p> <p>(ALICE WALKER)</p> <p>晚安，威利.李，我明早見你</p> <p>Good Night, Willie Lee, I'll See You in the Morning</p>   |   |

艾莉斯.沃克(1944—)生於佐治亞，就讀於薩拉勞倫斯學院。她是個小說、散文和詩歌的多產作家。她的長篇小說有《麥瑞迪安》和《紫色》。她的關於婦女的散文以《尋找我們母親的花園》一書出了選集。艾莉斯.沃克還寫了蘭斯頓.休斯的傳記，編輯出版了佐拉.尼爾.赫斯頓作品選。她的《晚安，威利.李，我明早見你》一詩最初刊登在 1975 年的《洛瓦評論》上，1979 年出版了以該詩標題為書名的詩選。

俯視著我父親

慘白的臉

作最後的告別

我母親不含

眼淚，不帶笑容

不懷悲哀

卻彬彬有禮地說

「晚安，威利.李，

我明早見你。」

那時我才明白

Looking down into my father's  
dead face

for the last time

my mother said without  
tears, without smiles

without regrets

but with civility

"Good night. Willie Lee, I'll see you  
in the morning."

And it was then I knew that the healing  
of all our wounds

is forgiveness

that permits a promise

of our return

at the end.

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | 我們一切創傷的治癒<br><br>全靠寬恕<br><br>它可以許諾<br><br>讓我們<br><br>最終<br><br>歸來。 |  |
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哈維.米爾克(HARVEY MILK)

由街道組成的城市A City of Neighborhoods

美國夢是從街道開始的。

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哈維.米爾克(1930－1978)是第一個被選入舊金山市管理委員會的公開的同性戀者。三次競選失敗後，米爾克於 1977 年代表卡斯楚區——一個不同種族的人雜居的地區——入選市管委會。對許多當地居民來說，這個區就像一座小城。他們不歡迎市區再建。尤其不歡迎用推土機剷平街道，代之以高樓大廈的做法。米爾克的選民們對是否能保存他們生活的特點，避免發生在其他大城市中已毀了街區的衰敗現象感到疑慮，憂心忡忡。米爾克意欲為同性戀問題以及美國城市街道復興而大聲疾呼。然而 1978 年 11 月 27 日哈維.米爾克和喬治.莫斯科肯市

長被一名心懷仇恨的前市管委會成員暗殺。

哈維·米爾克在就任市管委會職務後不久在一次募集基金的宴會上發表了以下這篇演講。

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……對這一點我們可別弄錯：美國夢是從街道開始的。如果我們要重建城市，我們就必須首先重建街道。而要這麼做，我們就必須認識到，生活的品質比生活的標準更重要。坐在門前臺階上——不論它是一座小城住宅的遊廊還是一個大城市住宅的混凝土門廊——與我們的鄰居閒聊，要比擠坐在起居室的躺椅上看一個顏色失真的虛假世界重要得多。

進步並非美國的唯一事業——當然也不是它最重要的事業。隨著技術的發展，生活的品質下降了，這豈不是咄咄怪事。哦，洗盤子更容易了。正餐本身也更方便了——只須加熱，端上飯桌，雖說若是我們吃了廣告扔掉食品，營養或許更豐富。當客人來訪時，我們再也不怕玻璃器皿上會有污點了。但是，當然囉，也沒人來做客了，因為我們的朋友怕上我們家來，我們去他們那兒也不安全。

我不必多費口舌告訴你們：在那十九或二十四英吋的世界圖像中，清潔早已使神聖黯然失色。所以我們將個個散發出清潔的氣息，顯示出清潔的外貌，簡直像實驗室一般一塵不染，從裏到外皆無菌。我們是完美的消費者，身邊全是最新式的用具。我們是完美的觀眾，坐在比賽場週邊的座位上幾乎能看到世界上任何競賽專案，無臭、無味、無感覺——孤孤單單、鬱鬱寡歡地呆在我們各自起居室的荒原中。我認為我們真正需要的應該是褲子後檔多沾上一點灰土，坐在門戶階上再次與鄰居談天說地，享受著夏日的閒暇，那時大蒜的氣味比音

速傳得還略快些。

我們乾淨整潔的生活缺少某種東西。這種東西是在華盛頓的我國領導人絕對無法用簡單的法令提供的，也是電視廣告從未宣傳過的，因為尚無人發明一種方法用瓶子、盒子或罐頭將它裝入。我們所欠缺的是生活的觸感、溫暖和意義。

《時代》週刊的四色整頁廣告無法代替它。電視上三十秒鐘的廣告節目或華盛頓一場安撫人心的記者招待會也不能代替它。

我在華爾街和蒙哥馬利街度過多年，因而完全瞭解那些大公司欠了它們的股東多少債務、多少責任。我也完全瞭解紐約、克利夫蘭和底特律都市如戰場的實情。我看見城市失業者以及可能會失業的人的臉。我看見唐人街、常聚集小偷和賭徒的獵人角、西班牙人聚居區、妓女和嫖客集中的娛樂區人們的臉……而我不喜歡自己看到的這一切。

奇怪的是，我也回想起一個商行所能構思出的最棒的口號：顧客永遠是正確的。

娛樂區和獵人角的人被忘掉了。街上的那些人正是顧客，當然是潛在的顧客，他們應當被當作顧客對待。政府不能對他們置之不理，商業界也不能無視他們的存在。倘若潛在的顧客買不起產品，生產產品又有何意義呢。這不單是價格問題，它是個購買力的問題。對於一個身無分文的人，從一點二九美元降到九十九美分仍是一大筆錢。

美國商業界必須意識到，股東們總是第一位的。但緊接著便是對他們的顧客的關切和供應問題，他們對顧客和該顧客所在的城市負有債務和責任，對商業本身在其中生存壯大的城市負有債務和責任。拋棄一個把你從幼童培養成人的

老年公民是錯誤的。一旦你的商業發達了便對一個城市任意處置是同樣錯誤的，甚至更加目光短淺。

不幸的是，對於那些欲逃避城市問題的人，城市的問題不僅限於城市。在我們的城市周圍並沒有護城河將這些問題封鎖在城內。在紐約和舊金山發生的事最終也會在聖何塞發生。這只是時間遲早的問題。就像流感，它傳播得越廣情況就越糟。我們的城市不該被遺棄，它們值得人們爲之奮鬥。不只是那些城市居民，產業界、商業界、工會，所有的人都該爲之奮鬥。不僅因爲它們代表過去，而且因爲它們代表未來。你們的孩子，而且很可能還有你們的孫子，將住在這些城市裏。爲了實際效果，從波斯頓到紐瓦克的東部走廊將成爲一個規模宏大的長條形城市。從密爾沃基到印地安那州的加裡也將如此。而在加利福尼亞，由柏油路和霓虹燈構成的繁華的新月狀地帶將從聖巴巴拉一直伸展到聖疊戈。城市枯萎病是否將順著快車道的動脈蔓延呢.當然會這樣——除非我們阻止它。

因此 80 年代的挑戰將是如何喚醒工商界的覺悟，使他們認識到在拯救曾養育他們的城市的工作中應起什麼作用。每家公司都懂得，它必須不斷地向自己的工廠投資以保持健康發展。而城市是那工廠的一部分，城市居民是城市的一部分。這些因素相互關聯，一損俱損，一榮俱榮。

總之，生產一種產品成本最低廉的地方若是使你的顧客丟了職業，也就不可能有什麼成本低廉可言，倘若美國的顧客沒錢買電視機，在日本製造電視機便毫無意義。產業界應積極僱用失業者，培訓身無一技之長的人。「勞動集約」不

是一個骯髒的詞，並非每件工作都是機器幹得更出色。產業界的任務不僅在創造產品，而且也要創造顧客。

代價高嗎。我不認為如此。碼頭上堆滿貨物無人問津，這問題造成的損失大得多。那樣做還有別的好處：犯罪率降低，福利負擔減少，而且可以讓你們的朋友和鄰居坐在煥然一新的門廊裏。

許多公司感到，援助城市是慈善事業的一種形式。我認為把它視作經營上的部分費用更確切，應把它作為未來分期償還的款項入帳。我希望工商界這樣考慮問題，因為我認為工商界比政府有更大的創造力，或許能力也更高一籌。我認為工商界不但可以把市場區以南的地方變成工業區，而且可以把它變成一個街區。請允許我編造一個雙關語：我們太多的城市有綜合企業，事實上有太多的綜合企業。我們不需要另一個混凝土建築物的叢林，當你們夜晚熄燈後，它便死去。我們需要的是一個街區，人們能在那兒步行去上班，養育他們的小孩，享受生活的樂趣。

我們的城市將得到拯救。我們的城市將得到治理。但它們將不是由三千英里外的華盛頓管理，不是由州議會管理，尤其不是由那些已逃到市郊的提氈包的人們管理。你們不可能讓不住在城裏的人管城市，正如你們不可能讓不住在城市的人組成有戰鬥力的警察力量。在這兩種情況中，你得到的都只是佔領軍而已。……

我們的城市將不會被這種人所拯救，他們覺得住在這些城市活受罪，迫不急待地想遷往馬林或聖何塞、埃文斯頓或韋斯特切斯特。我們的城市將由熱愛它



們的市民拯救。這些人在街道商店和商業大街這兩者之間更喜歡前者。他們去劇院看戲，去餐館吃飯，去夜總會跳迪斯可；這些人即便自己無子女也關心孩子們所接受的教育。

那將不只是未來的城市，它是今天的城市。它意味著新的方向，新的聯盟，對古老的問題的新穎解決方式。擁有兩輛汽車和二點二個孩子的典型美國家庭不再居住在那裏。這種情況始於若干年前。人口統計數字現在不同了，我們都明白。我們的這些城市成了獨身男女的城市，年輕夫婦的城市，成了退休老人和窮人的城市，成了說多種語言、膚色不同的人雜居的城市。

我們的城市將自我管理，將自己創造解決問題的方式。區級選舉不是結束，而只是開端。我們將解決自己的問題——依靠你們的幫助，如果我們能夠做到；不靠你們的幫助，如果我必須做到。我們需要你們的幫助，我不否認這點。但是你們也需要我們。我們是你們的顧客，我們是你們的未來。

我正騎馬奔向那未來世界，坦率地說，我不知道自己是戴著曼布裡諾的虛構的頭盔，還是頭戴理髮師的銅盆。我猜我們頭戴各自想戴之物，同我們想與之搏鬥的物件搏鬥。可能我看見了幾條凶龍，而那裏其實只有風車。然而有某種跡象告訴我，那幾條龍是真的，如果我捨得用一兩支長矛投向旋轉的葉片，或許能逮住一條龍。……

昨天市管委會一位可敬的同事說，我們不能只靠希望過日子。我懂得這一點，但我深深感到，關鍵不在我們不能只靠希望度日。而在於沒有了希望生活就失去意義。如果說唐·吉訶德的故事有什麼教益，它告誡人們：生活的精神和生

活的實體同樣重要。一個別人眼中像理髮師的銅盆的東西，你我卻明白那是一頂瑤亮的傳奇般的頭盔。

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附註：

- 綜合企業：原文為 **complex**，也有「情結」或「病態心理」的意思。
  - 提氈包的人們：原文為 **carpetbaggers**，指美國南北戰爭後只帶一隻旅行袋去南方投機謀利的北方人。
  - 頭戴理髮師的銅盆：西班牙名作家塞萬提斯的長篇小說《唐吉訶德》中，主角堂吉訶德因騎士小說入迷，竟把風車當巨人，把羊群當敵人，把理髮師的銅盆當作魔法師的頭盔。
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. . . Let's make no mistake about this: The American Dream starts with the neighborhoods. If we wish to rebuild our cities, we must first rebuild our neighborhoods. And to do that, we must understand that the quality of life is more important than the standard of living. To sit on the front steps— whether it's a veranda in a small town or a concrete stoop in a big city—and talk to our neighborhoods is infinitely more important than to huddle on the living-room lounge and watch a make-believe world in not quite living color.

Progress is not America's only business — and certainly not its most important. Isn't it strange that as technology advances, the quality of life so frequently declines. Oh, washing the dishes is easier. Dinner itself is easier— just heat and serve, though it might be more nourishing if we ate the ads and threw the food away. And we no longer fear spots on our glassware when guests come over. But then, of course, the guests don't come, because our friends are too afraid to

come to our house and it's not safe to go to theirs.

And I hardly need to tell you that in that 19- or 24-inch view of the world, cleanliness has long since eclipsed godliness. So we'll all smell, look, and actually be laboratory clean, as sterile on the inside as on the out. The perfect consumer, surrounded by the latest appliances. The perfect audience, with a ringside seat to almost any event in the world, without smell, without taste, without feel— alone and unhappy in the vast wasteland of our living rooms. I think that what we actually need, of course, is a little more dirt on the seat of our pants as we sit on the front stoop and talk to our neighbors once again, enjoying the type of summer day where the smell of garlic travels slightly faster than the speed of sound.

There's something missing in the sanitized life we lead. Something that our leaders in Washington can never supply by simple edict, something that the commercials on television never advertise because nobody's yet found a way to bottle it or box it or can it. What's missing is the touch, the warmth, the meaning of life. A four color spread in Time is no substitute for it. Neither is a 30-second commercial or a reassuring Washington press conference.

I spent many years on both Wall Street and Montgomery Street and I fully understand the debt and responsibility that major corporations owe their shareholders. I also fully understand the urban battlefields of New York and Cleveland and Detroit. I see the faces of the unemployed— and the unemployable — of the city. I've seen the faces in Chinatown, Hunters Point, the Mission, and the Tenderloin. . . and I don't like what I see.

Oddly, I'm also reminded of the most successful slogan a business ever coined: The customer is always right.

What's been forgotten is that those people of the Tenderloin and Hunters Point, those people in the streets, are the customers, certainly potential ones, and they

must be treated as such. Government cannot ignore them and neither can business ignore them. What sense is there in making products if the would-be customer can't afford them. It's not alone a question of price, it's a question of ability to pay. For a man with no money, 99¢ reduced from \$1.29 is still a fortune.

American business must realize that while the shareholders always come first, the care and feeding of their customer is a close second. They have a debt and a responsibility to that customer and the city in which he or she lives, the cities in which the business itself lives or in which it grew up. To throw away a senior citizen after they've nursed you through childhood is wrong. To treat a city as disposable once your business has prospered is equally wrong and even more short-sighted.

Unfortunately for those who would like to flee them, the problems of the cities don't stop at the city limits. There are no moats around our cities that keep the problems in. What happens in New York or San Francisco will eventually happen in San Jose. It's just a matter of time. And like the flu, it usually gets worse the further it travels. Our cities must not be abandoned. They're worth fighting for. not just by those who live in them, but by industry, commerce, unions, everyone. Not alone because they represent the past, but because they also represent the future. Your children will live there and hopefully, so will your grandchildren. For all practical purposes, the eastern corridor from Boston to Newark will be one vast strip city. So will the area from Milwaukee to Gary, Indiana. In California, it will be that fertile crescent of asphalt and neon that stretches from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Will urban blight travel the arteries of the freeways. Of course it will—unless we stop it.

So the challenge of the 80s will be to awaken the consciousness of industry and commerce to the part they must play in saving the cities which nourished them. Every company realizes it must constantly invest in its own physical plant to

remain healthy and grow. Well, the cities are a part of that plant and the people who live in them are part of the cities. They're all connected; what affects one affects the others. In short, the cheapest place to manufacture a product may not be the cheapest at all if it results in throwing your customers out of work. There's no sense in making television sets in Japan if the customers in the United States haven't the money to buy them. Industry must actively seek to employ those without work, to train those who have no skills. "Labor intensive" is not a dirty word, not every job is done better by machine. It has become the job of industry not only to create the product, but also to create the customer.

Costly. I don't think so. It's far less expensive than the problem of fully loaded docks and no customers. And there are additional returns: lower rates of crime, smaller welfare loads. And having your friends and neighbors sitting on that well-polished front stoop. . . .

Many companies feel that helping the city is a form of charity. I think it is more accurate to consider it a part of the cost of doing business, that it should be entered on the books as amortizing the future. I would like to see business and industry consider it as such, because I think there's more creativity, more competence perhaps, in business than there is in government. I think that business could turn the south of Market Area not only into an industrial park but a neighborhood as well. To coin a pun, too many of our— cities have a complex, in fact, too many complexes. We don't need another concrete jungle that dies the moment you turn off the lights in the evening. What we need is a neighborhood where people can walk to work, raise their kids, enjoy life. . . .

The cities will be saved. The cities will be governed. But they won't be run from three thousand miles away in Washington, they won't be run from the statehouse, and most of all, they won't be run by the carpetbaggers who have fled to the suburbs. You can't run a city by people who don't live there, any more than you

can have an effective police force made up of people who don't live there. In either case, what you've got is an occupying army. . . .

The cities will not be saved by the people who feel condemned to live in them, who can hardly wait to move to Marin or San Jose— or Evanston or Westchester. The cities will be saved by the people who like it here. The people who prefer the neighborhood stores to the shopping mall, who go to the plays and eat in the restaurants and go to the discos and worry about the education the kids are getting even if they have no kids of their own.

That's not just the city of the future; it's the city of today. It means new directions, new alliances, new solutions for ancient problems. The typical American family with two cars and 2.2 kids doesn't live here anymore. It hasn't for years. The demographics are different now and we all know it. The city is a city of singles and young marrieds, the city of the retired and the poor, a city of many colors who speak in many tongues.

The city will run itself, it will create its own solutions. District elections was not the end. It was just the beginning. We'll solve our problems — with your help, if we can, without it if we must. We need your help. I don't deny that. But you also need us. We're your customers. We're your future.

I'm riding into that future and frankly I don't know if I'm wearing the fabled helm of Mambrino on my head or if I'm wearing a barber's basin. I guess we wear what we want to wear and we fight what we want to fight. Maybe I see dragons where there are only windmills. But something tells me the dragons are for real and if I shatter a lance or two on a whirling blade, maybe I'll catch a dragon in the bargain. . . .

Yesterday, my esteemed colleague on the Board said we cannot live on hope alone. I know that, but I strongly feel the important thing is not that we cannot live

on hope alone, but that life is not worth living without it. If the story of Don Quixote means anything, it means that the spirit of life is just as important as its substance. What others may see as a barber's basin, you and I know is that glittering, legendary helmet.

米爾頓·弗萊德曼，羅斯·弗萊德曼 (MILTON ANDROSE FRIEDMAN)

### 自由選擇 Free to Choose

經濟自由是政治自由的基本前提。

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很少有幾位經濟學家像米爾頓·弗萊德曼和羅斯·弗萊德曼在公眾中享有如此高的聲譽。這對夫婦的著作、文章和電視節目宣傳推廣自由市場經濟。米爾頓·弗萊德曼(1912—)生於紐約市，就讀於拉特格斯大學、芝加哥大學和哥倫比亞大學。在芝加哥大學，他是芝加哥經濟學學派的主要理論家，該學派批評政府對經濟的干預。1976年，米爾頓·弗萊德曼獲諾貝爾經濟學獎。他的經濟學理論直接影響了羅納德·雷根和瑪格麗特·柴契爾首相的政策。

羅斯·迪萊克特和米爾頓·弗萊德曼 1938年結為伉儷。她生於波蘭，就讀於裡德學院，在芝加哥大學取得學位。作為一個作家和經濟學家，她與丈夫合寫了三本闡釋自由市場的暢銷書：《資本主義和自由》(1962)、《自由選擇》(1980)、和《現狀的專制》(1984)。後兩本書以原標題在公共電視上以系列節目的形式播出。

以下是《自由選擇》一書的摘錄。

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自從第一批歐洲人來新大陸拓居——1607年在詹姆士敦，1620年在普利茅斯——美國已像磁石般吸引了冒險家們、逃離暴政壓迫的人或只是試圖讓自己和子女過上較好生活的人們。

最初的涓涓細流在美國革命和美利堅合眾國成立後膨脹了。到十九世紀則變成一股洪水，那時數百萬人越過大西洋，為數較少的人越過太平洋。他們被

悲慘生活和專制暴政逼得走投無路，被自由和富裕的希望所吸引。

當他們到達美國後，發現街道上並非黃金鋪地，生活並不舒適安逸。他們並沒有找到充分施展才幹的自由和機會。但憑藉苦幹、創新、節儉和走運，他們多數人成功地實現了自己的不少希望和夢想，足以鼓動親戚朋友加入他們的行列。

美國的歷史是經濟奇蹟和政治奇蹟的歷史，奇蹟的實現全靠把兩套想法付諸實施。巧不可言，這兩套想法都是在同一年，即 1776 年發表的文件中提出的。

第一套想法體現在《國富論》中，這一偉大著作使蘇格蘭人亞當·

斯密成為現代經濟學之父。該書分析了一個市場系統如何把個人追求自己目標的自由與在經濟領域生產我們的食物、衣物和住宅所需的協同合作結合在一起。亞當·斯密最重要的見解是：一項交易雙方都能受益，而且只要合作確實是自願的，那麼除非雙方皆受益，否則就不會發生任何交易。在人人都能受益的個人之間的合作不需要任何外力、強迫手段或對自由的侵犯來促成。這就是為什麼，正如亞當·斯密所說，一個"只考慮自己的利益"的人會由一隻無形的手引導，達到與他的意圖無關的目標。這種目標與個人意圖無關對社會而言並不總是壞事。一個正在為自己的利益奮鬥的人常常比他真正想要為社會謀利時更有效地增進了社會利益。"我從來沒見過那些假裝為公眾利益經商的人做出多少好事。"

第二套想法體現在獨立宣言中。托馬斯·傑斐遜起草該宣言以表述他的同胞們的普遍觀念。它宣佈歷史上首次有一個新的國家建立在這一原則之上，即每一個人都有權追求自己的價值標準："我們認為這些真理不言自明：人人生而平等，造物主賦予他們若干不能出讓的權利，包括生活、自由和追求幸福的



權利。".....

美國歷史的很大一部分是圍繞著力圖將獨立宣言的原則付諸實施的嘗試展開的——從關於黑奴問題的最終由一場流血內戰解決的鬥爭，到以後的爭取機會均等的鬥爭，直到最近爭取平等分享成果的鬥爭。

經濟自由是政治自由的基本前提。經濟自由因為允許人民在不受強迫或集中管理的條件下互相協作，縮小了政權的行使範圍。此外，通過分散權力，自由市場對可能產生的任何政權集中的現象可以起抵銷作用。經濟的和政治的權力在同一批人手中的結合肯定是實行專制統治的訣竅。

經濟的和政治的自由相結合在十九世紀的英國和美國皆造成了一個黃金時期。美國甚至比英國取得了更大的繁榮。它從一張白紙開始：階級和地位的痕跡更少；政府的限制更少；有更廣大的肥沃土地讓人們耕耘、開拓、創新；有一片空白的大陸任人們去征服。

自由的巨大創造力在農業上得到的最鮮明、最顯著的表現。當獨立宣言頒佈時，不足三百萬原籍歐洲和亞洲的人(略去土著印地安人不計)居住在美國東海岸的一條狹長地帶。農業是當時的主要經濟活動。平均每二十名勞動者需要有十九人務農以供養全國居民並用剩餘的農產品出口換回一些外國貨。如今，勞動者中不足二十分之一的人務農，為二億二千萬居民提供食品，而且出口剩餘的農產品使美國成為全世界最大的糧食輸出國。

是什麼東西創造了這一奇蹟呢。顯然不是政府的集中管理——像俄國及其衛星國、南斯拉夫和印度這類目前依賴集中管理的國家，使用勞動力的四分之一至二分之一從事農業，卻經常靠美國的農業來避免大批民眾餓死的悲劇。在美國農業迅速發展的大部分時期中，政府所起的作用微不足道。人們可以得

到土地——但它是原先的不毛之地。十九世紀中期以後，土地贈與學院紛紛建立，這些學院通過政府資助的延伸服務傳播資訊和技術。然而，這場農業革命主要源於在一個對一切人——遺憾的是黑奴除外——開放的自由市場中發揮的個人積極性。黑奴制被廢除後，美國農業進入發展最快的時期。數百萬來自世界各地的移民作為獨立的農民或商人自由地為自己工作，或以雙方都同意的條件為別人工作。他們可以任意試驗新技術——假如試驗失敗，他們承擔風險；假如試驗成功，他們獲得利益。他們從政府那裏沒得到多少幫助，更重要的是，他們從政府那裏不會遇到多少干預。……

具有諷刺意味的是，經濟自由和政治自由的成功對後來的思想家減少了感染力。十九世紀晚期很受局限的政府幾乎不具有危害老百姓的集權，但另一方面這種政府也幾乎不具有能使好人做好事的權力。而一個並不完美的世界裏仍存在著許多罪惡。實際上社會的進步使殘留的罪惡變得更令人討厭了。一如既往，人們把有益的發展當作是必然的事。他們忘了一個強有力的政府對自由造成的危脅。相反，他們為一個更強的政府能夠取得的成績所吸引——只要政府權力掌握在"正直的"人手中。

這些想法於二十世紀初開始影響英國政府。它們在美國的知識份子中被越來越多的人所接受，但直到 30 年代初的大蕭條時期才對政府政策有明顯影響。……沒人認識到政府對大蕭條的責任——不論當時或現在。相反，大蕭條被廣泛理解為自由市場資本主義的失敗。這一荒誕的說法使公眾與知識份子一樣，對個人和政府的相對責任持變化了的觀點。原先強調個人對自己的命運負責，取而代之的是強調個人如同小卒受自己無法控制的力量衝擊。原先的觀點是政府的作用在充當仲裁人以防止個人之間的強制脅迫行為，取而代之的是這

種觀點，即認為政府的作用是充當家長，其職責是強迫一些人幫助另一些人。

在過去的半個世紀中，這些觀點主宰了美國的發展。它們導致各級政府的擴充，導致權力從地方政府和地方控制轉向中央政府和中央控制。政府越來越多地承擔起這一任務：以安全和平等的名義把從一些人那兒取得的東西分給另一些人。

最近幾年的經驗——顯示出生產率的增長和下降——令人產生疑問：倘若我們繼續賦予政府更大的權力，委任一個公務員"新階級"，讓他們據說是代表我們花費我們收入的更大一部分，那麼個人的獨創性是否還能繼續克服政府控制的壓抑性後果。或遲或早——或許比我們許多人預料的早——一個龐大得多的政府將會既毀掉我們多虧自由市場才贏得的繁榮，又毀掉獨立宣言如此雄辯地宣揚的人類自由。

我們尚未到不能自拔，無法回頭的地步。作為一個民族我們仍可自由選擇是繼續在"奴役之路"——正如弗利德里希·海克的那本深刻而有影響的書的標題所示上快跑呢，還是對政府作更嚴格的限制，並更多地依賴自由的個人之間的自願合作以達到我們的若干目標。我們的黃金時期是否將結束，我國是否會故態復萌，倒退到人類大多數一貫而且至今仍然處於其中的專制和苦難的境況中去呢，抑或我們是否將有大智大勇和遠見卓識去改變我們的路線，汲取經驗教訓，從"自由的復活"中獲益……

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附註：

- 弗利德里希·海克：弗利德里希·海克(1899— )。奧地利出生的經濟學家，以保守的觀點和對凱因斯福利國家的批判而著名。

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Ever since the first settlement of Europeans in the New World—at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620— America has been a magnet for people seeking adventure, fleeing from tyranny, or simply trying to make a better life for themselves and their children.

An initial trickle swelled after the American Revolution and the establishment of the United States of America and became a flood in the nineteenth century, when millions of people streamed across the Atlantic, and a smaller number across the Pacific, driven by misery and tyranny, and attracted by the promise of freedom and affluence.

When they arrived, they did not find streets paved with gold; they did not find an easy life. They did find freedom and an opportunity to make the most of their talents. Through hard work, ingenuity, thrift, and luck, most of them succeeded in realizing enough of their hopes and dreams to encourage friends and relatives to join them.

The story of the United States is the story of an economic miracle and a political miracle that was made possible by the translation into practice of two sets of ideas— both, by a curious coincidence, formulated in documents published in the same year, 1776.

One set of ideas was embodied in *The Wealth of Nations*, the masterpiece that established the Scotsman Adam Smith as the father of modern economics. It analyzed the way in which a market system could combine the freedom of individuals to pursue their own objectives with the extensive cooperation and collaboration needed in the economic field to produce our food, our clothing, our housing. Adam Smith's key insight was that both parties to an exchange can benefit and that, so long as cooperation is strictly voluntary, no exchange will take place unless both parties do benefit. No external force, no coercion, no violation of freedom is necessary to produce cooperation among individuals all of whom can benefit. That is why, as Adam Smith put it, an individual who "intends only his own

gain" is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. "I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good."

The second set of ideas was embodied in the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson to express the general sense of his fellow countrymen. It proclaimed a new nation, the first in history established on the principle that every person is entitled to pursue his own values: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." . . .

Much of the history' of the United States revolves about the attempt to translate the principles of the Declaration of Independence into practice— from the struggle over slavery, finally settled by a bloody civil war, to the subsequent attempt to promote equality of opportunity, to the more recent attempt to achieve equality of results.

Economic freedom is an essential requisite for political freedom. By enabling people to cooperate with one another without coercion or central direction, it reduces the area over which political power is exercised. In addition, by dispersing power, the free market provides an offset to -whatever concentration of political power may arise. The combination of economic and political power in the same hands is a sure recipe for tyranny.

The combination of economic and political freedom produced a golden age in both Great Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century. The United States prospered even more than Britain. It started with a clean slate: fewer vestiges of class and status; fewer government restraints; a more fertile field for energy, drive, and innovation; and an empty continent to conquer.

The fecundity of freedom is demonstrated most dramatically and clearly in

agriculture. When the Declaration of Independence was enacted, fewer than 3 million persons of European and African origin (i.e., omitting the native Indians) occupied a narrow fringe along the eastern coast. Agriculture was the main economic activity. It took nineteen out of twenty workers to feed the country's inhabitants and provide a surplus for export in exchange for foreign goods. Today it takes fewer than one out of twenty workers to feed the 220 million inhabitants and provide a surplus that makes the United States the largest single exporter of food in the world.

What produced this miracle. Clearly not central direction by government—nations like Russia and its satellites, mainland China, Yugoslavia, and India that today rely on central direction employ from one-quarter to one-half of their workers in agriculture, yet frequently rely on U.S. agriculture to avoid mass starvation. During most of the period of rapid agricultural expansion in the United States the government played a negligible role. Land was made available— but it was land that had been unproductive before. After the middle of the nineteenth century land-grant colleges were established, and they disseminated information and technology through governmentally financed extension services. Unquestionably, however, the main source of the agricultural revolution was private initiative operating in a free market open to all — the shame of slavery only excepted. And the most rapid growth came after slavery was abolished. The millions of immigrants from all over the world were free to work for themselves, as independent farmers or businessmen, or to work for others, at terms mutually agreed. They were free to experiment with new techniques — at their risk if the experiment failed, and to their profit if it succeeded. They got little assistance from government. Even more important, they encountered little interference from government. ...

Ironically, the very success of economic and political freedom reduced its appeal to later thinkers. The narrowly limited government of the late nineteenth century possessed little concentrated power that endangered the ordinary man. The

other side of that coin was that it possessed little power that would enable good people to do good. And in an imperfect world there were still many evils. Indeed, the very progress of society made the residual evils seem all the more objectionable. As always, people took the favorable developments for granted. They forgot the danger to freedom from a strong government. Instead, they were attracted by the good that a stronger government could achieve — if only government power were in the "right" hands.

These ideas began to influence government policy in Great Britain by the beginning of the twentieth century. They gained increasing acceptance among intellectuals in the United States but had little effect on government policy until the Great Depression of the early 1930s. . . . Government's responsibility for the depression was not recognized — either then or now. Instead, the depression was widely interpreted as a failure of free market capitalism. That myth led the public to join the intellectuals in a changed view of the relative responsibilities of individuals and government. Emphasis on the responsibility of the individual for his own fate was replaced by emphasis on the individual as a pawn buffeted by forces beyond his control. The view that government's role is to serve as an umpire to prevent individuals from coercing one another was replaced by the view that government's role is to serve as a parent charged with the duty of coercing some to aid others.

These views have dominated developments in the United States during the past half-century. They have led to a growth in government at all levels, as well as to a transfer of power from local government and local control to central government and central control. The government has increasingly undertaken the task of taking from some to give to others in the name of security and equality. . . .

The experience of recent years — slowing growth and declining productivity — raises a doubt whether private ingenuity can continue to overcome the deadening effects of government control if we continue to grant ever more power to government, to authorize a "new class" of civil servants to spend ever larger fractions of our income supposedly on our behalf. Sooner or later — and perhaps

sooner than many of us expect— an ever bigger government would destroy both the prosperity that we owe to the free market and the human freedom proclaimed so eloquently in the Declaration of Independence.

We have not yet reached the point of no return. We are still free as a people to choose whether we shall continue speeding down the "road of serfdom," as Friedrich Hayek entitled his profound and influential book, or whether we shall set tighter limits on government and rely more heavily on voluntary cooperation among free individuals to achieve our several objectives. Will our golden age come to an end in a relapse into the tyranny and misery that has always been, and remains today, the state of most of mankind. Or shall we have the wisdom, the foresight, and the courage to change our course, to learn from experience, and to benefit from a "rebirth of freedom". . . .

喬治.J.米切爾 (GEORGE J. MITCHELL)

#### 在伊朗—反對派問題聽證會上的講話 **The Iran—Contra Hearings**

雖然我們常常懇求上帝支援美國的策略，上帝卻不這麼做。

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兩個外交政策問題使雷根政府陷入窘境。第一，雷根政府無法使美國在中東的人質獲釋；第二，它想援助尼加拉瓜左派桑地諾主義政權的反對派(簡稱"反對派")。雷根政府不能為人質付贖金，因為它已公開發誓不與恐怖分子談判；它也不能公開支援反對派，因為國會於 1984 年停止了對他們的資助。所以制定了一個秘密計劃，把武器出售給伊朗，希望伊朗運用其影響讓美國人質獲釋，並且設法把武器銷售活動引向對反對派的支援。

象徵伊朗—反對派問題的人物是奧利弗.諾斯中校，他在國家安全委員會負責實施這一工作。1987 年，諾斯在國會聽證會上作證時為自己的行動辯護，稱這種行動是出自一名軍人的愛國動機。

1987 年 7 月 13 日，喬治.J.米切爾(1933 — )與諾斯中校爭論。大眾傳播媒



介和全國的注意力集中在聽證會上，而米切爾參議員給美國人民上了有關公民學的一課。

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諾斯中校，你常在這兒振振有辭地談論在尼加拉瓜實現民主的必要性。對這一點人們沒有異議。但對於如何以最佳方式達到這一目標，則存在著爭議。

許多人贊同總統的政策，許多人反對。許多強烈反對共產主義的，滿懷愛國熱忱的美國人認為，有一種更好的方式去遏制桑地諾主義者，在尼加拉瓜實現民主，給中美洲帶來和平。

許多愛國的美國公民擔心，當我們在國外追求民主時，是否會在國內或多或少損害了民主。

你和其他一些人極力主張我們的政策的連貫性。你曾說，假如我們前後不一致，我們的盟國和其他一些國家將對我們的可靠性表示懷疑。這種擔心是很現實的。但是，如果說改變政策是壞事，那麼同時採用兩種不同的政策——公開奉行一種政策，暗中卻反其道而行之——則更不可取。

很難設想能有比這種做法更加自相矛盾的了。很難想像有什麼比陰一套陽一套的做法使我們的盟國更有理由認為我們靠不住。

而出售武器給伊朗作為釋放人質的交換條件恰恰正是這種做法。

關於愛國主義和對我國的熱愛，你已說了很多。

大多數國家起源於單一的部落或單一的種族。他們信奉單一的宗教。共同的種族、人種和宗教傳統是許多國家之所以成為國家的粘合劑。

但美國則不然。我們有各種種族，各種宗教，一個很有限的共同傳統。我們美國的國家粘合劑是關於個人自由和公平的美國理想。

法治乃是我國社會的關鍵問題。法律是最偉大的均衡器，因為在美國，法律面前人人平等。

但凡涉及法律，我們決不容許用目的為手段辯護。不論目的多麼重要，多麼崇高——無疑國外的民主是重要而又崇高的——都不能以損害我國的法制為代價來達到。

你談到你的經歷，確實令人感到欽佩。顯然這是美國人民被你所吸引的原因之一。

讓我告訴你我自己經歷中的一個故事。

在我進入參議院之前，我有幸擔任聯邦法官。在那個職位上，我擁有很大的權力。我最樂於行使的權力是讓人們成為美國公民。

我一次又一次主持我們稱為加入國籍的儀式，即公民儀式。

到此刻為止——到此刻為止這是我一生中做過的最激動人心的事情。

這種儀式始終讓我感動，因為我母親便是個移民，而我父親則是一對移民留下的孤兒。我的雙親皆未上過學，他們在我們的社會中從事微賤的工作。但由於美國法律所賦予的機會和公正，我今天以美國參議員的身份坐在這個座位上。

每一次公民儀式結束後，我都堅持同那些新入籍的美國人談話。我問他們為什麼來美國，怎樣來到美國。他們每個人的故事都是扣人心弦的。根據你所表述的對美國的觀點，我相信你對這些故事也會感興趣，也會受感動。

當我問他們為什麼來美國時，他們提到若干原因，主要是兩點。第一，"我們來此，因為在美國這裏每個人都有一個機會，一個良機"。他們，特別是來自極權主義國家的人們還反覆說："我們來到這裏，因為在美國你可以批評

政府而不用擔驚受怕。"在這裏我們有與政府持不同觀點的自由。

現在我向你提出一個請求。

在美國人民感到欽佩的你的品格中，最突出的是你對我國顯而易見的忠誠。請記住，別人也具有這一忠誠。請認識到，一個美國人不贊同你關於援助尼加拉瓜反對派的觀點，但他仍和你一樣愛上帝，愛祖國。

雖然我們經常懇求上帝支援美國的策略，上帝卻不這麼做。

而在美國，不同意政府的觀點並不證明一個人缺乏愛國主義。我想再說一遍：在美國，不同意政府的觀點並不證明一個人缺乏愛國主義。實際上，我們可以公開表示與政府意見相左而不必懼怕報復。這一點是我們自由的實質所在，而且它將使我們 永享自由。

我還有最後一點請求。如同你已經做到並將一定會做到的那樣，奮力投入關於這一問題的辯論。但是請採取這種辯論方式，即尊重那些與你觀點不同的人們的愛國精神和動機，正如你希望他們尊重你的愛國精神和動機一樣。

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Colonel North, you talked here often and eloquently about the need for a democratic outcome in Nicaragua. There is no disagreement on that. There is disagreement over how best to achieve that objective.

Many Americans agree with the President's policy. Many do not.

Many patriotic Americans, strongly anti-Communist, believe there's a better way to contain the Sandinistas, to bring about a democratic outcome in Nicaragua, and to bring peace to Central America.

And many patriotic Americans are concerned that in the pursuit of democracy abroad, we not compromise it in any way here at home. You and others have urged consistency in our policies. You said that if we are not consistent, our allies and other nations will question our reliability.

That's a real concern. But, if it's bad to change policies, it's worse to have two different policies at the same time, one public policy and an opposite policy in private.

It's difficult to conceive of a greater inconsistency than that. It's hard to imagine anything that would give our allies more cause to consider us unreliable than that we say one thing in public and secretly do another.

And that's exactly what was done when arms were sold to Iran, and those arms were swapped for hostages.

Now, you've talked a lot about patriotism and the love of our country.

Most nations derive from a single tribe or a single race. They practice a single religion. Common racial, ethnic, and religious heritages are the glue of nationhood for many.

The United States is different. We have all races, all religions, a limited common heritage. The glue of nationhood for us is the American ideal of individual liberty and equal justice. The rule of law is critical in our society. The law is the great equalizer, because in America everybody is equal before the law.

We must never allow the end to justify the means where the law is concerned. However important and noble an objective— and surely democracy abroad is important and noble— it cannot be achieved at the expense of the rule of law in our country.

You talked about your background and it was really very compelling. It's obviously one of the reasons why the American people are attracted to you.

Let me tell you a story from my background. Before I entered the Senate I had the great honor of serving as a Federal Judge. In that position I had great power. The one I most enjoyed exercising was the power to make people American citizens.

From time to time I presided at what we call naturalization ceremonies. They are citizenship ceremonies.

People came from all over the world, risked their lives, sometimes left their

families and fortunes behind to come here. They had gone through the required procedures and I, in the final act, administered to them the oath of allegiance to the United States and I made them American citizens.

To this moment— to this moment it was the most exciting thing I have ever done in my life. The ceremonies were always moving for me because my mother was an immigrant and my father was the orphan son of immigrants. Neither of them had any education and they worked at very menial tasks in our society. But because of opportunity and equal justice under law in America, I sit here today a United States senator.

After every one of these ceremonies, I made it a point to speak to these new Americans. I asked them why they came, how they came to this country. Their stories, each of them, were inspiring. I think you would be interested and moved by them, given the views you have expressed on this country.

When I asked them why they came they said several things, mostly two. The first is that "We came because here in America everyone has a chance, an opportunity." They also said over and over again, particularly those from totalitarian societies, "We came here because in America you can criticize the government without looking over your shoulder." Here we have freedom to disagree with our government.

You have addressed several pleas to this committee, none more forceful than when you asked that the Congress not cut off aid to the (contras, for the love of God and for the love of country.

Now I address a plea to you.

Of your qualities which the American people find compelling, none is more compelling than your obvious devotion to our country. Please remember that others share that devotion. And recognize that it is possible for an American to disagree with you on aid to the Contras, and still love God and still love this country as much as you do.

Although He is regularly asked to do so, God does not take sides in American

politics. And, in America, disagreement with the policies of the government is not evidence of a lack of patriotism. I want to repeat that. In America, disagreement with policies of the government is not evidence of a lack of patriotism. Indeed, it's the very fact that we can openly disagree with the government without fear of reprisal that is the essence of our freedom, and will keep us free.

I have one final plea. Debate this issue forcefully and vigorously, as you have and as you surely will. But, please, do it in a way that respects the patriotism and the motives of those who disagree with you, as you would have them respect yours.

羅納德·雷根 (RONALD REAGAN)

### 在莫斯科國立大學的演說 **Speech at Moscow State University**

進步不是預先注定的。關鍵是自由——思想的自由，資訊的自由，交流的自由。

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羅納德·雷根(1911— )於 1980 年被選為美國總統。他的當選標誌著八十年代一股強勁的保守潮流的勝利。雷根生於伊利諾伊州，在進入政壇之前是個電影明星，以後曾當選為加州州長。

在他的整個政治生涯中，羅納德·雷根一直表現出對政治上壓抑、經濟上停滯的共產主義制度深惡痛絕。自從米哈伊·戈巴契夫掌權以後，蘇美關係突然向好的方向轉變。戈巴契夫在蘇聯的生活中導致廣泛的政治和經濟變革，最終促成 1989 年東歐各國共產黨統治的崩潰。

在這發生歷史性變化的時期，戈巴契夫邀請雷根訪問蘇聯。1988 年 5 月 31 日，雷根對莫斯科國立大學的學生發表演講，形成他蘇聯之行最精彩的場面之一。在該校一幅列寧像前，雷根描述了全球民主革命的擴展以及在即時通訊時代中自由思想的力量。

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……站在這兒，一幅描繪你們的革命的壁畫前，我想談談目前正發生的一場完全不同的革命，它悄悄地席捲全球，沒有流血和衝突。它的作用是和平的，

但將從根本上改變我們的世界，砸碎陳舊的想法，重塑我們的生活。

人們很容易低估這場革命，因為它並未伴隨著旌旗飄舞的場面和嘹亮的喇叭聲。它被稱作工藝革命或資訊革命，而人們可以把小小矽片——跟指紋印一般大小——當作它的象徵。這樣的一塊矽片比擺滿一間屋子的老式計算器的計算能力更強。

作為一項交流計劃的一部分，現在我們有一個展覽正在貴國巡迴展出，顯示資訊技術正如何改變我們的生活——用機器人代替體力勞動，為農民預報天氣，或是為醫學研究人員繪製脫氧核糖酸的遺傳密碼。這些微型電子計算器如今幫助人們設計各種東西，從房屋、汽車直到太空船——它們甚至可以用來設計運作更好更快的電子計算器。它們能把英語譯成俄語，或使得盲人也能閱讀，甚至幫助邁克爾·傑克遜在一個合成器上奏出管絃樂隊全部樂器的聲音。一個人通過與一個衛星和光纖電纜的網路聯繫，用一架擺在桌面的電腦和一門電話便可獲得幾年前最龐大的政府也無法得到的資料。就像一隻蝶蛹，我們正從產業革命的經濟——被地球的自然資源所束縛和限制的經濟——進入……一個新時代。在一個新時代中，人具有無限的想像力，而創造的自由則是最寶貴的自然資源。

想想那小小矽片吧。它的價值不在製作它的原料——沙子，而在由機靈的人腦設計的它內部的細微結構。或者再以衛星全球轉播為例，它替代了成千上萬噸經採礦、燒鑄製成的銅絲。在新的經濟中，人的創造發明越來越使得自然資源成為過時的東西。我們正突破生存的物質條件，跨入一個人類締造自己命運的世界。甚至當我們探索科學最先進的領域時，我們也追溯到人類文化的古老智慧，它包含在《聖經》的《創世紀》卷中；最初只有聖靈，正是從這一聖

靈源源不斷地創造出天地萬物。

但進步不是預先注定的。關鍵是自由——思想的自由，資訊的自由，交流的自由。著名科學家，學者，貴校的創辦人米哈伊·羅蒙諾索夫深知這一點。"眾所周知，"他說，"科學成績斐然，發展迅速，特別是當奴隸的枷鎖被解除，代之以哲學的自由之後。"……

現代紀元的探索者是企業家，他們高瞻遠矚，敢冒風險，具有堅定的信念，勇於涉足未知領域。這些企業家和他們的小型企業幾乎造成了美國的整個經濟發展。他們是技術革命的原動力。實際上，美國最大的個人電腦公司中的一家便是由兩名與你們年齡相仿的大學生在他們家宅後面的汽車間裏創立的。

有些人，甚至在我自己的國家，面對自由市場經濟試驗中的騷亂，眼中只看見浪費。所有遭到失敗的企業家的情況怎樣呢。其實許多企業家都失敗過，特別是成功的企業家。他們往往失敗過好幾次。假如你向他們詢問成功的秘訣，他們會告訴你，那是他們在摸爬滾打中學到的東西——是他們從失敗中學到的東西。正如對於一名參加角逐的運動員或一位探求真理的學者，經驗即是最偉大的導師。

這正說明為什麼政府的制訂計劃的人員無論怎樣精明也無法代替數百萬夜以繼日埋頭苦幹以實現自己夢想的個人。

我們美國人毫不掩飾我們對自由的信仰。事實上，在某種意義上它是全國人民的娛樂。每隔四年美國人民選一個新總統，1988 年便是大選年。一度有 13 名重要的候選人在兩大政黨內競選，且不提其他政黨，包括社會黨和自由意志黨的候選人——全都問鼎我的職位。

一千家地方電視臺、八千五百家廣播電臺和一千七百家日報——每一家都



是完全不受政府控制的獨立私營企業——對這些候選人進行報導，輪番採訪，把他們拽到一起辯論。最後由人民投票——由人民決定誰將任下一屆總統。

但自由並不以選舉為起點或終點。比方說，走進任何一座美國市鎮，你都能看到代表各種不同信仰的十幾座教堂（在許多地方還有猶太教堂和清真寺），而且你看見屬於各個不同民族的家庭聚集一堂做禮拜。

走進任何一所學校的教室，你都能看見孩子們正接受獨立宣言精神的教育，以使他們懂得：他們被造物主賦予某些不可出讓的權利，其中包括生活、自由和追求幸福的權利，任何政府都沒有理由剝奪這些權利——它們是在他們的憲法中對言論、集會和宗教信仰自由的保證。走進任何一所法庭，你都能看到主持人是一位不依附政府權力的獨立的法官。每一個被告都有權受到通常由 12 名普通男女公民組成的陪審團的審判，完全由這些陪審員來考慮證據，作出有罪或無罪的判決。在法庭上，被告在證實有罪之前是無罪的，而一名警察或官員的話並不比被告的話具有更高的法律地位。

走進任何一所大學的校園，你都可以發現大學生們就美國社會問題及其矯正的方法進行公開的，有時是熱烈的討論。打開電視機，你可以看到立法機關就在攝像機前處理政府事務，就即將成為國家法令的審議事項進行辯論、表決。加入任何一場示威遊行，你就會明白這種活動在美國司空見慣——人民的集會權得到憲法的保障和警察的保護。走進任何一座工會大樓，你會瞭解到工會會員們都知道，他們的罷工權利受法律保護。……

然而自由的含義甚至比這更廣：自由是提出質問的權利，是改變既定工作方式的權利。它是一個市場持續不斷的革命。它是一種認識，使我們能看清缺點，尋求解決的途徑。它是提出一種見解的權利，這見解被專家奚落，卻在人

民中大受歡迎。它是追求你的理想的權利，保持自己良心的權利，即便你一個人處在懷疑者們的重重包圍中。

自由是這種認識，即沒有任何一個人，沒有任何一個權威或政府能壟斷真理，而每一個人的生命都是無比珍貴的，我們每一個降臨到這個世界上的人都是為某種原因而來，要作出某種貢獻。……

民主與其說是一個政府體制，不如說是一個限制政府，使其不能侵犯人權的制度：這種約束權力的制度使政治和政府從屬於生活中的重要因素，即唯有在家庭和信仰中才能找到的價值的真正源泉。

但是我希望你們明白，我談論這些問題不僅為頌揚美國的優點，也為了證明貴國的精神崇高偉大。究竟有誰需要對杜思妥耶夫斯基的祖國談探索真理，對康定斯基和斯克裡亞賓的祖國談想像力，對烏茲別克作家阿利捨·納維奧豐富、高尚的文化談美和心靈呢。

貴國錦繡河山的偉大文化熱情洋溢地向全人類發出呼籲。請允許我引用關於人類自由的最為意味深長的段落之一。它不是摘自美國文學，而是引自貴國二十世紀最傑出的作家之一鮑裡斯·帕斯捷爾納克的小說《齊瓦戈醫生》。他寫道："我認為，倘若藏在一個人體內的獸性能夠用威脅——任何一種威脅，無論是監禁或是死後的報應——加以壓制，那麼人性的最高標誌將是馬戲團裏手執鞭子的馴獅者，而不是犧牲自我的先知。但這恰恰是要害問題：千百年來使人類高於禽獸的不是棍棒，而是內心的音樂——手無寸鐵的真理不可抗拒的力量。"手無寸鐵的真理不可抗拒的力量。今天，整個世界殷切期待著蘇聯發生變化，邁向更大的自由。……

你們這一代人生活在蘇聯歷史上最令人激動，最有希望的時代。在這個時

代，自由最初的氣息在空中流動，人心隨著希望不斷加快的節奏跳動；在這個時代，在漫長的沈寂中積聚起來的精神力量噴薄欲出。

我記起果戈理《死魂靈》將近結尾的膾炙人口的一段文字。果戈理把他的祖國比作奔馳的三套車，並且問它的目的地在何方。然而他寫道："除了傳來美妙的鈴聲，沒有任何回答。"

我們不知道這旅程將如何終結，但我們希望改革的許諾將得以實現。在這莫斯科之春，1988年5月，我們或許能獲得這一希望——猶如托爾斯泰墳上嫩綠的樹苗，自由將最終在你們人民和文化的肥沃土壤上欣欣向榮，蓬勃生長。我們或許能希望，一個新的開放格局的美妙鈴聲將響徹雲霄，引向一個和解、友好與和平的新世界。…….

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附註：

- 瓦西裡·康定斯基(1866—1944)：俄羅斯畫家。
- 亞歷山大·尼古拉耶維奇·斯克裡亞賓(1872—1915)：俄羅斯作曲家。

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... Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It has been called the technological or information revolution, and as its emblem, one might take the tiny silicon chip— no bigger than a fingerprint. One of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your

country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives — replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of DNA for medical researchers. These microcomputers today aid the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft— they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read— or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago. Like a chrysalis, we're emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution— an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources— into . . . an era in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire. In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom— freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." ...

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college students, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail. Well, many do. particularly the successful ones. Often several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they'll tell you, it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way— yes, it's what they learned from failing. Like an athlete in competition, or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

And that's why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true....

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it's something of a national pastime. Every four years the American people choose a new president, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 13 major candidates running in the two major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates— all trying to get my job.

About 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise, fiercely independent of the government, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. In the end, the people vote— they decide who will be the next president.

But freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town. to take just an example, and you'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs— in many places synagogues and mosques— and you'll see

families of every conceivable nationality, worshipping together.

Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights— among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — that no government can justly deny— the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion.

Go into any courtroom and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no government power. There every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers, usually 12 men and women— common citizens, they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman, or any official, has no greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, and there you'll find an open, sometimes heated discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them— the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police. Go into any union hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law....

But freedom is even more than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows us to recognize short-comings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to follow your dream, to stick to your conscience, even if you're the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this earth has been put here for a reason and

has something to offer. . . .

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government limited, unintrusive: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land of Dostoevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of the Uzbek man of letters, Alisher Navoi, about beauty and heart.

The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. Let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom. It comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century, Boris Pasternak, in the novel *Dr. Zhivago*. He writes, "I think that if the beast who sleeps in man could be held down by threats— any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death— then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But this is just the point— what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel, but an inward music— the irresistible power of unarmed truth."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth. Today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union....

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free. I am reminded of the famous passage near the end of Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Comparing his nation to a speeding troika, Gogol asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "There was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvelous sound."

We do not know what the conclusion of this journey will be, but we're hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope — that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace....

傑西.傑克遜 (JESSE JACKSON)

在民主黨全國大會上的演說 **Speech to the Democratic National Convention**  
共同的基礎!

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傑西.傑克遜(1941— )生於南卡羅來納州格林維爾，在貧困中長大。他進伊利諾伊大學，接著轉入歷史上為黑人創辦的北卡羅來納農業和技術學院，以後又在芝加哥神學院學習。於 1968 年被委任為浸禮會牧師。

在大學期間，傑克遜曾在阿拉巴馬州塞爾馬與小馬丁.路德.金一起遊行，同南方基督教領袖聯合會建立了聯繫。傑克遜是一位具有超凡魅力的演說家，他常激勵青少年勤奮學習，努力工作，相信自己。

傑克遜在八十年代積極參與競選政治活動。他在芝加哥領導了一場投票人登記運動，促成該市選出第一位黑人市長。1984 年傑克遜競選民主黨總統候選人提名。成為首位認真爭取擔任總統職務的黑人候選人。1988 年他再次競選民主黨總統候選人提名，票數僅次於麻塞諸塞州州長邁克爾.杜卡基斯。

傑克遜 1988 年 7 月 20 日在佐治亞州亞特蘭大市民主黨全國大會上的演說成為這次競選活動激動人心的高潮，因為它標誌著黑人作為美國政治的一支重要力量已臻成熟。

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……我們今天相聚在一個十字路口，一個需要作出決斷的時刻。



我們將發展壯大，兼收並蓄，取得統一和力量呢，抑或陷入分裂和軟弱無能的境地。

我們來到亞特蘭大——古老南方的搖籃，新興南方的熔爐。

今晚有一種喜慶的意味，因為我們從種族鬥爭的戰場依據法律從根本上轉移到經濟的共同基礎上。明天，我們將需要邁上新臺階。

共同的基礎！

想想耶路撒冷吧，很多道路在那兒會合。一個小村莊成了三大宗教——猶太教、基督教和伊斯蘭教——的誕生地。

為什麼那個村子如此得天獨厚呢。因為它提供了一個交匯點，讓不同的人聚在一起，讓不同的文化、不同的文明能匯合併找到共同的基礎。

當人們聚會的時候，總是鮮花盛開，空中瀰漫著新春的芳香。

再比方紐約，生氣勃勃的大都市。是什麼使紐約這麼特別呢。

是自由女神銅像的召喚——把你們的疲倦、貧窮、擁擠不堪、渴望自由呼吸的民眾交給我吧。

不僅局限於英國人。

許多人，許多文化，許多語種——有一點是共同的，他們渴望自由呼吸。……

共同的基礎！

這便是今晚對我黨提出的挑戰。

左翼。右翼。進步將不是通過漫無邊際的自由主義或凝固呆滯的保守主義得以實現，而是依靠起關鍵作用的主體的共同生存。飛翔需要兩翼。

不論你是雄鷹或鴿子，你不過是棲息在同一環境，同一世界中的一隻鳥。

《聖經》教導說，當獅子和羔羊躺在一起時，兩種動物都不會害怕，將在山谷裏和睦相處。這聽上去似乎不可能。獅子捕食羔羊；羔羊遇上獅子自當逃走。但是即令獅子和羔羊也能找到共同的基礎。爲什麼呢？

因爲獅子和羔羊都不願森林著火，獅子和羔羊都不願酸雨降臨，獅子和羔羊都不能在一場核戰爭中倖存。如果說獅子和羔羊能找到共同的基礎，我們作爲文明的人類當然也能做到。

唯我們走到一起之時，我們才贏得了勝利。……

共同的基礎。

美國不是由一支線、一種顏色、一塊布料製成的毯子。我童年在南卡羅來納格林維爾居住，那時祖母買不起毯子，但她並不怨天尤人，我們也並沒有凍死。相反，她找來一些舊布塊——羊毛、絲綢、華達呢、麻袋布的碎片——只能用來擦鞋的碎布片。但是碎布片當然用不久。祖母勤勞的手拿起針線把它們縫在一起，做成一條被子，美感、力量和文化的象徵。

民主黨黨員們，現在我們必須縫製這樣一條被子。農民們，你們爭取合理的價格，但你們不能單獨行動。你們的布料不夠大。工人們，你們爲合理的工資而鬥爭。你們是對的，但你們的布料不夠大。婦女們，你們爭取可比價值和同工同酬。你們是對的，但你們的布料不夠大。婦女們，母親們，你們爭取生活正面的學前教育、日托和育嬰期的照顧，而不是生活負面的牢房福利待遇，你們是對的，但你們的布料不夠大。

學生們，你們爭取獎學金。你們是對的，但你們的布料不夠大。黑人和拉丁美洲人，當我們爲民權鬥爭時，我們是對的，但我們的布料不夠大。同性戀者們，當你們反對歧視，爭取愛滋病的治療時，你們是對的，但你們的布料不

夠大。保守派和進步人士們，當你們爲自己的信仰奮鬥，右翼、左翼，雄鷹、鴿子——按你們的觀點看，你們是對的，但你們的觀點不夠全面。

可是切莫絕望。應該像我的祖母那樣聰明，把布片碎料拼湊在一起，用一根線縫成一整塊。當我們形成統一和具有共同基礎的一條巨大的被單時，我們將有力量帶來保健、住房、職業、教育，給我們國家帶來希望。

我們人民將贏得勝利。我們站在反動的漫漫長夜的終點。我們今晚團結一致，決心朝新的方向前進。有些人認爲，社會利益來自個人利益，把社會生活看作增加私人財富的手段。幾乎有八年時間，我們被這些人牽著鼻子走。他們已準備犧牲很多人的共同利益以滿足極少數人的私利和對錢財的貪慾。我們信任一個爲公眾服務的，作爲我們的民主手段的政府，而不是爲追求私人財富的貴族服務的工具：……

我只是想把常識提到更高水準。第二次世界大戰結束已 43 年了，我們現在每年耗費一千五百億美元保衛歐洲和日本。如今我們比七年前在歐洲駐紮著更多部隊，然而戰爭的威脅從未像現在這麼遙遠。德國和日本成了債權國——這意味著它們有了剩餘。我們則是債務國——這意味著我們欠了債。

讓它們更多地分擔它們自己的防務責任吧——我們可以用一部分開支建造像樣的房屋！

用一部分開支培養教育我們的孩子。      將一部分開支用於長期保健服務。      將一部分開支用於消除這些貧民窟，讓美國重新運轉！

不論是白色、黑色或棕色的皮膚，飢餓的嬰兒癟塌的肚皮顏色都一樣。稱之爲痛苦，稱之爲創傷，稱之爲折磨。大多數窮人並未靠福利度日。

有些窮人目不識丁，看不懂報上的招聘廣告。讀懂招聘廣告的窮人則找不

到與他們的技能相配的職業。我知道他們每天辛勞工作。我曾生活在他們中間。我就是他們的一員。

我知道他們工作。他們一早出門趕乘公共汽車，他們每天幹活。他們養育別人的孩子，他們每天幹活。他們打掃街道，他們每天幹活。他們駕駛有司機室的運貨車，他們每天幹活。他們在昨晚你們下榻的旅館裏換床單，但卻得不到一份工會契約。他們每天幹活。

不必再一一列舉了。他們並不懶惰。必須有人站出來為他們辯護，因為這是正確的，而他們無法為自己說話。他們在醫院裏幹活。我知道他們在那兒工作。他們為發著高燒，受病痛折磨的人擦身。他們為病人倒便盆。他們為病人洗便桶。沒有什麼工種比他們的更低賤了，可是他們一旦病倒，卻不能躺在他們每天整理的床鋪上。美國啊，這可不好。我們的國家不該這樣。……

而我們的孩子們，美國的年輕一代，現在你們把頭抬起來。我們能贏得勝利。我們決不能讓你們被毒品、暴力、過早懷孕、輕生、犬儒主義、悲觀絕望所毀掉。我們能贏得勝利。

不論今晚你們在哪裡，我要求你們懷有希望和夢想。不要淹沒你們的夢想。最重要的是鍛鍊；即便在服藥期間也要夢見你不再需要藥物的一天。即便住在貧民窟也要夢見你重新站起來的一天。你們決不能停止夢想。面對現實，對。但不要滿足於現狀；夢見的應是理想的世界。懷有夢想吧。面對痛苦，但是愛心、希望、信念和夢想將幫助你從痛苦中超脫出來。把希望和想像當作生存和進步的武器吧，但是你們要堅持夢想，美國的年輕一代。做和平之夢。和平是合情合理的；而戰爭在這個時代是荒謬的，不可能打贏。

夢見這樣的教師吧，他們為生活而不是為謀生而工作。夢見這樣的醫生吧，

他們對公眾健康比對私人財富更關心。夢見這樣的律師吧，他們對公正比對一場審判更關切。夢見這樣的傳教士吧，他們對預言比對牟取暴利更關心。夢見你們行進在正確合理的價值觀念的大路上。……

不要投降，不要認輸。爲什麼我能這樣要求你們呢。傑西.傑克遜，你不瞭解我的處境。你經常上電視。你不理解。我看見你和大人物們在一起。你不理解我的處境。我理解。你們近來確實看見我上電視，但你們不明白是我造就了我自己。當他們看到我競選入主白宮，他們弄不懂爲什麼我參加競選，可是他們沒有看到我是從什麼家庭脫穎而出，參加競選的。

我的經歷值得一提。我過去並沒有一直上電視。記者們過去並不總是等在我家門外。當我那年 10 月 8 日出生在南卡羅來納格林維爾時，沒有哪個記者問我母親她叫什麼名字。沒人願意記下我家的住址。沒人預料我母親會取得成功。沒人預料我會取得成功。要知道，我是由一個十幾歲的母親所生，而她的母親生她時也只有十幾歲。

我理解。我深知被拋棄的滋味，我知道人們對你刻薄，說你一錢不值，微不足道，而且永遠成不了氣候。我理解。傑西.傑克遜是我的第三個名字。我是被人收養的。當我沒有名字時，祖母給了我她的名字。我用傑西.伯恩斯這一姓名直到十二歲。那時我不想有空白，祖母便給我取了個名字延續下去。我懂得什麼時候沒人知道你的名字。我懂得什麼時候你沒有名字。我理解。

我不是在醫院裏出生的。我母親沒有醫療保險，我生在家裏的床上。我確實懂得。我生在一個只有三間屋的房子裏，盥洗室設在後院，床邊放著尿桶，家中沒有冷、熱自來水。我懂。糊牆紙用作裝飾嗎。不，用來擋風。我懂。我是勞動人民出身，所以無論你是黑人或白人，我都理解你。

我懂得幹活的滋味。我不是生在富貴人家。我的手生來是拿鏟子的。我母親是個勞動婦女，天天很早趕去上班，襪子都走破了。她當然不好受，但是她自己穿破襪子，好讓我的兄弟和我穿上相配的襪子，免得在學校被人恥笑。

我理解。感恩節那天下午三點，我們沒吃上火雞，因為那時母親正在給別人烤火雞。我們只得踢足球玩。到六點左右母親才從阿爾塔維特公共汽車上下來；接著我們取出吃剩的食物，在晚上八點吃我們的火雞——殘羹剩菜、肉、酸果果醬。我確實理解。

他們給你們——你們這些今晚在街頭巷尾的廉價公寓裏觀看這一電視廣播的人——貼上所有這些希奇古怪的標籤。我理解。把你們稱為流浪漢，說你們可鄙，不能成功，無足輕重，出身下賤，低人一等。當你看見傑西·傑克遜，當我的名字列入候選人名單，你也就被提名了。

我生在貧民窟，但貧民窟生活並不是我的命運，貧民窟生活也不是你的命運，你能夠成功。抬起頭來挺起胸，你能夠成功。有時天會變黑，但黎明總會到來。你不要屈服。痛苦培育個性。個性培育信念。最後信念將不會消失。

你不該屈服。你或許可能，或許不能達到目標，但是你該明白你完全勝任，你該堅持到底。我們決不屈服。美國將越變越好。始終抱著希望，始終抱著希望，始終抱著希望吧。明晚以後，始終滿懷希望吧。

我非常愛你們。我非常愛你們。

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... We meet tonight at a crossroads, a point of decision.

Shall we expand, be inclusive, find unity and power; or suffer division and impotence.

We come to Atlanta, the cradle of the old south, the crucible of the new South.

Tonight there is a sense of celebration because we are moved, fundamentally moved, from racial battlegrounds by law. to economic common ground, tomorrow we will challenge to move to higher ground.

Common ground!

Think of. Jerusalem— the intersection where many trails met. A small village that became the birthplace for three great religions— Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Why was this village so blessed. Because it provided a crossroads where different people met, different cultures, and different civilizations could meet and find common ground.

When people come together, flowers always flourish and the air is rich with the aroma of a new spring.

Take New York, the dynamic metropolis. What makes New York so special.

It is the invitation of the Statue of Liberty— give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses who yearn to breathe free.

Not restricted to English only.

Many people, many cultures, many languages— with one thing in common, they yearn to breathe free. . . .

Common ground'

That is the challenge to our party tonight.

Left wing. Right wing. Progress will not come through boundless liberalism nor static conservatism, but at the critical mass of mutual survival. It takes two wings to fly.

Whether you're a hawk or a dove, you're just a bird living in the same environment, in the same world.

The Bible teaches that when lions and lambs lie down together, none will be afraid and there will be peace in the valley. It sounds impossible. Lions eat lambs. Lambs sensibly flee from lions. But even lions and lambs find common ground. Why.

Because neither lions nor lambs want the forest to catch on fire. Neither lions nor lambs want acid rain to fall. Neither lions nor lambs can survive nuclear war. If lions and lambs can find common ground, surely, we can as well, as civilized people.

The only time that we win is when we come together....

Common ground.

America's not a blanket woven from one thread, one color, one cloth. When I was a child growing up in Greenville, S.C.. and grandmother could not afford a blanket, she didn't complain and we did not freeze. Instead, she took pieces of old cloth— patches, wool, silk, gabardine, crockersack on the patches— barely good enough to wipe off your shoes with.

But they didn't stay that way very long. With sturdy hands and a strong cord, she sewed them together into a quilt, a thing of beauty and power and culture.

Now, Democrats, we must build such a quilt. Farmers, you seek fair prices and you are right, but you cannot stand alone. Your patch is not big enough. Workers, you fight for fair wages. You are right. But your patch is not big enough. Women, you seek comparable worth and pay equity. You are right. But your patch is not big enough. Women, mothers, who seek Head Start and day care and pre-natal care on the front side of life, rather than jail care and welfare on the back side of life, you're right, but your patch is not big enough.

Students, you seek scholarships. You are right. But your patch is not big enough. Blacks and Hispanics, when we fight for civil rights, we are right, but our patch is not big enough. Gays and lesbians, when you fight against discrimination and a cure for AIDS, you are right, hut your patch is not big enough. Conservatives and progressives. when you fight for what you believe, right-wing, left-wing, hawk, dove— you are right, from your point of view, but your point of view is not enough.

But don't despair. Be as wise as my grand- mama. Pool the patches and the pieces together, bound by a common thread. When we form a great quilt of unity



and common ground we'll have the power to bring about health care and housing and jobs and education and hope to our nation.

We the people can win. We stand at the end of a long dark night of reaction. We stand tonight united in a commitment to a new direction. For almost eight years, we've been led by those who view social good coming from private interest, who viewed public life as a means to increase private wealth. They have been prepared to sacrifice the common good of the many to satisfy the private interest and the wealth of a few. We believe in a government that's a tool of our democracy in service to the public, not an instrument of the aristocracy in search of private wealth. . . .

I just want to take common sense to high places. We're spending \$150 billion a year defending Europe and Japan 43 years after the war is over. We have more troops in Europe tonight than we had seven years ago, yet the threat of war is ever more remote. Germany and Japan are now creditor nations— that means they've got a surplus. We are a debtor nation— it means we are in debt.

Let them share more of the burden of their own defense— use some of that money to build decent housing!

Use some of that money to educate our children!

Use some of that money for long-term health care!

Use some of that money to wipe out these slums and put America back to work! . . .

Whether white, black or brown, the hungry baby's belly turned inside out is the same color. Call it pain. Call it hurt. Call it agony. Most poor people are not on welfare.

Some of them are illiterate and can't read the want-ad sections. And when they can, they can't find a job that matches their address. They work hard every day, I know. I lived amongst them. I'm one of them.

I know they work. I'm a witness. They catch the early bus. They work every day. They raise other people's children. They work every day. They clean the

streets. They work every day. They drive vans with cabs. They work every day. They change the beds you slept in these hotels last night and can't get a union contract. They work every day.

No more. They're not lazy. Someone must defend them because it's right, and they cannot speak for themselves. They work in hospitals. I know they do. They wipe the bodies of those who are sick with fever and pain. They empty their bedpans. They clean out their commode. No job is beneath them, and yet when they get sick, they cannot lie in the bed they made up every day. America, that is not right. We are a better nation than that. . . .

And then, for our children, young America, hold your head high now. We can win. We must not lose you to drugs and violence, premature pregnancy, suicide, cynicism, pessimism and despair. We can win.

Wherever you are tonight, I challenge you to hope and to dream. Don't submerge your dreams. Exercise above all else, even on drugs, dream of the day you're drug-free. Even in the gutter, dream of the day that you'll be up on your feet again. You must never stop dreaming. Face reality, yes. But don't stop with the way things are; dream of things as they ought to be. Dream. Face pain, but love, hope, faith, and dreams will help you rise above the pain.

Use hope and imagination as weapons of survival and progress, but you keep on dreaming, young America. Dream of peace. Peace is rational and reasonable. War is irrational in this age and unwinnable.

Dream of teachers who teach for life and not for a living. Dream of doctors who are concerned more about public health than private wealth. Dream of lawyers more concerned about justice than a judgeship. Dream of preachers who are concerned more about prophecy than profiteering. Dream on the high road of sound values. . . .

Don't surrender and don't give up. Why can I challenge you this way. Jesse Jackson, you don't understand my situation. You be on television. You don't understand. I see you with the big people. You don't understand my situation. I

understand. You're seeing me on TV but you don't know the me that makes me, me. They wonder why does Jesse run, because they see me running for the White House. They don't see the house I'm running from.

I have a story. I wasn't always on television. Writers were not always outside my door. When I was born late one afternoon, October 8th, in Greenville, S.C., no writers asked my mother her name. Nobody chose to write down our address. My mama was not supposed to make it. And I was not supposed to make it. You see, I was born to a teen-age mother who was born to a teen-age mother.

I understand. I know abandonment and people being mean to you, and saying you're nothing and nobody, and can never be anything. I understand. Jesse Jackson is my third name. I'm adopted. When I had no name, my grandmother gave me her name. My name was Jesse Burns until I was 12. So I wouldn't have a blank space, she gave me a name to hold me over. I understand when nobody knows your name. I understand when you have no name. I understand.

I wasn't born in the hospital. Mama didn't have insurance. I was born in the bed at home. I really do understand. Born in a three-room-house, bathroom in the backyard, slop jar by the bed, no hot and cold running water. I understand. Wallpaper used for decoration. No. For a windbreaker. I understand. I'm a working person's person, that's why I understand you whether you're black or white.

I understand work. I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth. I had a shovel programmed for my hand. My mother, a working woman. So many days she went to work early with runs in her stockings. She knew better, but she wore runs in her stockings so that my brother and I could have matching socks and not be laughed at at school.

I understand. At 3 o'clock on Thanksgiving Day we couldn't eat turkey because mama was preparing someone else's turkey at 3 o'clock. We had to play football to entertain ourselves and then around 6 o'clock she would get off the Alta Vista bus: then we would bring up the leftovers and eat our turkey— leftovers, the carcass, the cranberries around 8 o'clock at night. I really do understand.

Every one of these funny labels they put on you, those of you who are watching this broadcast tonight in the projects, on the corners, I understand. Call you outcast, low down, you can't make it, you're nothing, you're from no- body, subclass, underclass— when you see Jesse Jackson, when my name goes in nomination, your name goes in nomination.

I was born in the slum, but the slum was not born in me. And it wasn't born in you, and you can make it. Wherever you are tonight you can make it. Hold your head high, stick your chest out. You can make it. It gets dark sometimes, but the morning comes. Don't you surrender. Suffering breeds character. Character breeds faith. In the end faith will not disappoint.

You must not surrender. You may or may not get there, but just know that you're qualified and you hold on and hold out. We must never surrender. America will get better and better. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive. On tomorrow night and beyond, keep hope alive.

I love you very much. I love you very much.

塔托.拉伐厄熱

(TATO LAVIERA)

美國人

**American**

塔托.拉伐厄熱(1950—)是個詩人兼劇作家，生於波多黎各。1960 年拉伐厄熱來到紐約市，在說西班牙語居民的聚居區度過他形成性格的時期。他的第一本詩集《運貨馬車大轉彎》於 1979 年出版，隨之他很快成為紐約人流派一位頗有造詣，不同凡響的詩人。他還出版了幾部別的詩集。

《美國人》是 1985 年出版的詩集《美國人》中的主要詩篇。在該詩中，拉伐厄熱肯定了"新一代"的幻想。對這一代人來說，和解和多元化在美國的範圍內已成了現實。

1984 年 3 月，拉伐厄熱首次在紐約市亨特學院朗誦了這首詩。

---

我們生出新的一代

美國人，他的廣大勝過遺失的

從未被觸碰、深深藏在

波多黎各山嶺中的金子。我們生出新的一代，

美國人，他包括一切

可以想像的你給它取名我們得到的東西

社會。我們生出新的一代，

美國人向一切民間傳說致敬，

歐洲的，印地安的、黑人的、西班牙人的，

以及其他任何相適的傳說：美國人，和著作家佩德羅·弗羅裡斯的

曲子唱

棕櫚樹高聳

入雲天！

美國人，甜美輕柔的西班牙舞曲吉普賽

動人的民歌西班牙女郎

蛇一般扭動的身影總是

在我們身旁飄蕩！

美國人，勝過鄉村現代行吟詩人

We gave birth to a new generation,  
AmeRican, broader than lost gold  
never touched, hidden inside the  
puerto rican mountains.

we gave birth to a new generation  
AmeRican, it includes everything  
imaginable you-name-it-we-got-it  
society.

we gave birth to a new generation  
AmeRican salutes all folklores,  
european, indian, black, Spanish,  
and anything else compatible:

AmeRican, singing to composer  
pedro flores'  
palm trees high up in the universal  
sky!

AmeRican, sweet soft Spanish  
danzas gypsies  
moving lyrics la espanola  
cascabelling presence always  
singing at our side!

AmeRican, beating jibaro modern  
troubadours  
crying guitars romantic  
continental  
bolero love songs!

如泣如訴的吉他浪漫的歐陸

包列羅舞愛情歌曲！

美國人，穿過去又穿過來，

穿過來又穿過去，

來來回回我們的旅行

是跨過一座座橋樑！它全部溶解

於自己之中，這嘗試真正

做了，這嘗試真正

被吸收被消化，我們吐出

毒汁，我們說出惡意，我們

站立，用肯定的行動

再造一個更廣泛的回答

答覆那突然

吞食我們的邊際狀態。

美國人，以最快的節奏在紐約行走

神氣活現，煥發勃勃生機；

多少人轉過頭來，目光中帶著驚異、

讚美！

美國人，以我們自己的方式給自己下定

義，

用任何方或許多方式 American。

美國人，就像那靈魂滔滔不絕地講述福音

AmeRican, across forth and across  
back back

across and forth back forth across  
and back and forth our trips are  
walking bridges! it all dissolved  
into itself, the attempt was truly  
made, the attempt was truly  
absorbed, digested, we spit out the  
poison, we spit out the malice, we  
stand, affirmative in action, to  
reproduce a broader answer to the  
marginality that gobbled us up  
abruptly!

AmeRican, walking  
plena-rhythms in new york  
strutting beautifully alert, alive,  
many turning eyes wondering,  
admiring!

AmeRican, defining myself my  
own way any  
way many ways Am e Rican, with  
the big R and the accent on the i!

AmeRican, like the soul gliding  
talk of gospel  
boogie music!

AmeRican, speaking new words in  
spanglish

低音連奏的爵士樂鋼琴曲！

美國人，在燈光閃爍的經濟公寓中

說著新單詞，口舌動個不停

街頭巷尾笨拙的話語

產生於一貫的

微笑之中。

美國人，內部包含著這麼多種族

和英國人，同屬人類

我們把精華

混合在一起！

美國人，交融在紐約

決定我們自己的命運，我們自己的

生活方式，

美國人，給新的美國下定義，仁慈的

美國，可敬的美國，可愛的

美國，和諧的美國，

和平世界，我們的精力

共同用於發現

別的文明，同上帝接觸，一步

更進一步，融入神的

精神！

美國人，對，因為如今我熱愛這我的

tenements, fast tongue moving

street corner "que corta" talk being

invented at the insistence of a

smile!

AmeRican, abounding inside so

many ethnic

english people, and out of

humanity, we blend and mix all

that is good!

AmeRican, integrating in new

york and

defining our own destine, our own

way of life,

AmeRican, defining the new

america, humane

america, admired america, loved

america, harmonious america, the

world in peace, our energies

collectively invested to find other

civilizations, to touch God, further

and further, to dwell in the spirit

of

divinity!

AmeRican, yes, for now, for i love

this, my

second land, and i dream to take

the accent from the altercation,

第二祖國，而且我夢想著去掉  
引起爭議的重音，  
自豪地稱自己美國人，  
讓這個單詞具有美國意義，  
American，亞美利加！

and  
be proud to call myself american,  
in the u.s. sense of the word,  
AmeRican, America!

附註：

邊際狀態：原文為 **marginality**，指不同文比的結合而彼此尚未同化。

西奧多.H.懷特(白修德)(THEODORE H. WHITE)

**美國的觀念**The American Idea

美國是由一個觀念產生的國家；不是這地方，而是這觀念，締造了美國政府。

西奧多.H.懷特，中文名字白修德，(1915—1986)是他那一代人中最有造詣的作家之一。他是記者、散文家兼歷史學家，尤其擅長敘述故事。懷特生於波士頓，大蕭條時期在貧困中長大。他靠獎學金就讀於哈佛學院，接著任《時代》週刊駐華記者。在創作了兩部小說後，他轉而以小說的形式描寫總統競選運動。懷特的《總統的產生——1960》獲普利茲獎，嗣後又寫了一系列關於 1964 年、1968 年和 1972 年總統選舉的同名書。

懷特熱愛自己的祖國和努力使民主進程得以實現的人民。他 1986 年 5 月去世前夕正在為《紐約時報雜誌》撰寫紀念美國建國二百一十週年的文章。

以下是他最後一篇文章的摘錄。

這個觀念一開始便存在，早在托馬斯.傑斐遜將它寫成文字之前便存在了——這觀念發出響亮的號召。



當傑斐遜寫以下這段話時，他自己也無法想像在未來的歲月中他的號召在全世界的影響範圍之廣：

"我們認為這些真理不言自明：人人生而平等，造物主賦予他們若干不能出讓的權利，包括生活、自由和追求幸福的權利。"

但是在隨後的兩個世紀中，這號召傳到愛爾蘭的馬鈴薯地、歐洲的猶太人聚居區和中國的稻田，鼓動農民離開他們的土地，市民放棄他們的職業，從而動搖了整個傳統文明。

我們現在歌頌讚美的正是托馬斯·傑斐遜的號召，它體現在俯瞰紐約港的偉大雕像上，體現在回應該號召的移民們身上。

最早的歐洲血統的美國人之中，一些人來新大陸是爲了能以自己的方式崇拜上帝，另一些人是爲了尋找出路。但是在一個半世紀中，這新世界已改變了這些來到北美的歐洲人，尤其是英國人。無論皇帝、宮廷或教堂都不能延伸到大洋彼岸的陸地。爲了生存，最初的移民不得不學會自我管理。但茫茫荒原增強了他們對更多自由的渴望。到傑斐遜起草宣言時，人們已在戰場上爲那些新學到的自由作戰，同世界上訓練得最好，由世界上最強大的海軍支援的英國陸軍進行你死我活的搏鬥。唯人們值得爲之獻出生命的東西才能使美國志願兵團結一心，堅持戰鬥——一個明確宣佈的事業，一面旗幟，一個他們能稱爲自己的國家。

當 1776 年 7 月 4 日殖民地領袖們聚集在費城大陸會議上投票贊成傑斐遜的獨立宣言，他們互相以"我們的生命、我們的財產和我們的神聖榮譽"發誓時，這誓言絕非誇海口說大話。除非他們的新"美利堅合眾國"打贏那場戰爭，不然那些參加大陸會議的人將會同戰場上那些服兵役期間的非正規兵一樣被無情

地判決為叛國分子。而且盡人皆知英國法律允許對判國罪施以何種懲罰。受刑者可能被勒得奄奄一息，在尚未斷氣時內臟被挖出焚燒，屍體被肢解。

新一代美國人乃是為了一個非常堅定的觀念而戰鬥的硬漢。至於他們如何打贏一場場戰役，那段往事載入了學校教科書，學者們對它深入研究，歷史學家和詩人們則給它裹上神話的外衣。

但最重要的是有關這一觀念的故事，該觀念使他們成為一個國家，它具有人們在 1776 年做夢也難以想像的爆炸力。

其他國家都是在這樣的人民中形成的，他們出生在他們的家族自古以來繁衍生息的地方。不論他們的政府如何更迭，英國人是英國人，法國人是法國人，中國人是中國人；他們的民族國家可以分裂，再建而無損於它們的國家地位。而美國是由一個觀念產生的國家；不是這個地方，而是這個觀念締造了美國政府。

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The idea was there at the very beginning, well before Thomas Jefferson put it into words — and the idea rang the call.

Jefferson himself could not have imagined the reach of his call across the world in time to come when he wrote:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But over the next two centuries the call would reach the potato patches of Ireland, the ghettos of Europe, the paddy fields of China, stirring farmers to leave their lands and townsmen their trades and thus unsettling all traditional civilizations.

It is the call from Thomas Jefferson, embodied in the great statue that looks

down the Narrows of New York Harbor, and in the immigrants who answered the call, that we now celebrate.

Some of the first European Americans had come to the new continent to worship God in their own way, others to seek their fortunes. But over a century-and-a-half, the new world changed those Europeans, above all the Englishmen who had come to North America. Neither King nor Court nor church could stretch over the ocean to the wild continent. To survive, the first emigrants had to learn to govern themselves. But the freedom of the wilderness whetted their appetites for more freedoms. By the time Jefferson drafted his call, men were in the field fighting for those new-learned freedoms, killing and being killed by English soldiers, the best-trained troops in the world, supplied by the world's greatest navy. Only something worth dying for could unite American volunteers and keep them in the field— a stated cause, a flag, a nation they could call their own .

When, on the Fourth of July, 1776, the colonial leaders who had been meeting as a Continental Congress in Philadelphia voted to approve Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, it was not puffed-up rhetoric for them to pledge to each other "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." Unless their new "United States of America" won the war, the Congressmen -would be judged traitors as relentlessly as would the irregulars-under-arms in the field. And all knew what English law allowed in the case of a traitor. The victim could be partly strangled; drawn, or disemboweled, while still alive, his entrails then burned and his body quartered.

The new Americans were tough men fighting for a very tough idea. How they won their battles is a story for the schoolbooks, studied by scholars, wrapped in myths by historians and poets.

But what is most important is the story of the idea that made them into a nation, the idea that had an explosive power undreamed of in 1776.

All other nations had come into being among people whose families had lived for time out of mind on the same land where they were born. Englishmen are English, Frenchmen are French, Chinese are Chinese, while their governments

come and go; their national states can be torn apart and remade without losing their nationhood. But Americans are a nation born of an idea; not the place, but the idea, created the United States Government.

本书内容来源：美国国务院。